

HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME XI



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

1942

MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY J. H. FURST COMPANY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
BRONEER, OSCAR: Hero Cults in the Corinthian Agora	128
CAPPS, EDWARD: Misanthropoi or Philanthropoi	325
DANE, NATHAN, II: A Black-Figured Lekythos at Oberlin	349
DAVIDSON, GLADYS R.: A Hellenistic Deposit at Corinth	105
DINSMOOR, WILLIAM BELL: Note on a Circular Monument in the Corinthian Agora	314
DOW, STERLING: The Aigaleos-Parnes Wall	193
GOLDMAN, HETTY, and JONES, FRANCES: Terracottas from the Necropolis of Halae	365
IMMERWAHR, H. R.: Five Dedicatory Inscriptions from the North Wall of the Acropolis	338
SPITZER, DOREEN CANADAY: Roman Relief Bowls from Corinth	162
STEVENS, GORHAM P.: The Sills of the Grilles of the Pronaos and Opisthodomus of the Parthenon	354
VANDERPOOL, EUGENE: An Archaic Inscribed Stele from Marathon	329
 EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA	
BRONEER, OSCAR: The Thesmophorion in Athens	250
FRANTZ, ALISON: Turkish Pottery from the Agora	1
MERITT, BENJAMIN D.: Greek Inscriptions	275
OLIVER, JAMES H.: Greek Inscriptions	29
PRITCHETT, W. KENDRICK: Greek Inscriptions	230
RAUBITSCHKE, A. E.: Notes on Attic Prosopography	304
THOMPSON, MARGARET: Coins for the Eleusinia	213
Indexes to Greek Inscriptions	91, 316

TURKISH POTTERY FROM THE AGORA¹

At Athens the centuries following the conquest by the Turks have only recently begun to receive archaeological attention, and therefore no mass of evidence has been gathered for the dating of the works of this late period. In general, the levels of the later centuries have been so disturbed as to offer little in the way of a continuous picture. Since only by the publication of considerable masses of material can the chronological development of the pottery of the later periods be established, the Turkish pottery from the Agora excavations is presented with only tentative suggestions for dating. It is hoped that the publication of pottery from other sites will correct, confirm, or supplement whatever conclusions are reached here. To facilitate future comparisons the Agora pieces will be presented in catalogue form.

The basis for the present discussion is the pottery from ten different deposits in the Agora, as well as examples of one ware found in various parts of the excavations and proved to be of local manufacture. In these groups there were a few slight indications of absolute date, and the coincidence of different wares gives a certain relative chronology. Little need be said about artistic influences found in the pottery of Athens; the commercial and political relations of Greece with both east and west from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries are too well known to need light from these somewhat dubious sources, and to discuss artistic influences from the point of view of the pottery itself implies an intrinsic merit unhappily for the most part absent. A few obvious imports or imitations will simply be noted.

The ware which can be localized in Athens will be called here "blue and white painted ware." It is one of the most attractive of the later wares and has the following characteristics: on a ground of white slip designs are drawn in blue, usually in outline, occasionally with some surfaces filled in; accessory details are in red or yellow-brown, occasionally green. The inside is covered with a colorless to very light green glaze and the outside is slipped and glazed, except for the underside of the foot, with a darker glaze of the same color, a different color, or the same glaze as on the inside. The first is the most common. Occasionally the outside is unslipped and unglazed except for the upper edge of the rim. The most frequent decorative motives are birds, rosettes, and cross-hatchings; they are usually surrounded by a floral border of varying degrees of decadence. The clay is the usual Attic pinkish buff of a medium coarseness.

¹ I am indebted to the authorities of Dumbarton Oaks for permission to work on this material while in residence there as Junior Fellow.

Although the ware is found in a number of shapes, three exist most frequently. One is a small bowl of the type illustrated in Figure 1, with low ring foot and plain rim. Another is a medium to large plate with a fairly heavy ring foot, flat floor, shallow, slightly curving sides and rim either plain or thickened and flattened on top. Characteristic examples of these are shown in Figures 2, 3, and 4. Finally there is the oval-bodied pitcher with flat bottom, ribbon handle, short neck and trefoil lip (Fig. 5). A particularly pleasant piece is the jug from Group 3 (Fig. 12, left), with a lion; another, smaller, jug from the same place was perhaps made by an apprentice in the same shop, imitating none too successfully the work of the master potter (Fig. 12, right).

A *terminus ante quem* for the manufacture of blue and white painted ware, as well as evidence of its Athenian origin, is provided by the two potter's kilns under the Church of the Vlassarou, beneath the paving of the first building period. In the entrances to the two kilns were found some unfinished sherds and numerous kiln tripods; from one of the kilns itself came a small blue and white bowl (Fig. 1, upper right). Many more tripods were found in a pit a few metres away. Since the Church of the Vlassarou was seen by Spon in 1676,² the latest possible *floruit* of this ware must be considered to be the first half of the seventeenth century.

A variant of blue and white painted ware, made in a kiln near the South Stoa and perhaps also in those of the Vlassarou, uses accessory sgraffito decoration: sometimes it is merely a pair of lines around the inner edge of the rim or a few crude spirals; sometimes the painted design is outlined and supplemented.

Of the groups under discussion the earliest seems to be one which contains an Asia Minor ware plate of the sixteenth century (Figs. 6-9). Considering the relatively good quality of the sgraffito on the small bowl with the warrior (Fig. 7, no. 3), one is inclined to assign the rest of the contents of the well to the same century. The other, presumably later, groups have nothing comparable. This group has also an example of a distinctive type which has appeared in various places in the excavations: a fragment of a small bowl with a sgraffito bird in the centre. The bowls of this class are always the same in shape and fabric, and are made of a fine hard red clay of thin fabric, with low ring foot and plain rim; the glaze is light yellow to cream. The outside is occasionally unslipped and unglazed except for a narrow band around the rim; a more common form of outer decoration, however, is a pair of sgraffito lines bordering an undulating one, the lines followed roughly by one or two colors of glaze, usually green and yellow (Figs. 9, 10, 18). Bowls of this type are found also in Groups 2 and 5. Another, from no significant context, is illustrated in Figure 36. The significance of the inscription remains obscure, though one suggestion is that it may have been the name of the potter. These bowls will be referred to as "bird

² Spon and Wheler, *Voyage d'Italie de Dalmatie de Grèce et du Levant, fait aux années 1675 et 1676*, Lyon, 1678, II, p. 331.

bowls" since by far the commonest design on the inside is a long-necked, flaring-tailed bird. The two inferior examples in Group 2 are the only distinctive pieces in this group.

The presence of blue and white painted ware is the unifying feature of Groups 3, 4, and 5 (Figs. 12-19). One Turkish coin was found in Group 3, identified as before the eighteenth century. Groups 3 and 4 have also in common bowls of identical shape, with flaring sides sharply angled near the base, and moulded rim (Figs. 15, 17). In both Group 4 and Group 5 are the flat-bottomed, low-sided plates characteristic of blue and white painted ware, and Group 5 has a bird bowl, without any interior decoration. All these features suggest that the three groups are not far apart in date and, on the basis of the blue and white ware, may perhaps be assigned to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

The other groups have none of the characteristics of the first five. Several new types make their appearance and occur in two or more instances. A general indication of date is given by the occurrence in two groups (9 and 10) of Kioutakia ware, and by the comparison of their contents with the extremely fragmentary contents of another well. The pottery from this well was washed after the end of the season of 1940 and no pieces were catalogued or photographed. Notes were made, however, of the characteristic pieces and the one coin proved to be of 1773 A.D. Most of the types found in the later five groups can be paralleled in these uncatalogued fragments, which therefore provide a convenient anchorage. Of the new types two have long been recognized: marbled ware³ and Kioutakia. Hobson⁴ has identified the true Kioutakia, as opposed to the earlier wares which have gone by the same name, as a thin sandy fabric decorated in blue, green, yellow, dark manganese purple, and red. The decoration is usually outlined in black and potters' marks are frequent. Hobson regards the most characteristic feature of the color scheme as the prominence of yellow, and puts the manufacture of the ware in the eighteenth century. In all these respects, as well as in general appearance, the Kioutakia pieces from the Agora deposits correspond closely (Figs. 25, 35).

The marbled ware follows the examples published by Rice.⁵ The most common shape is a wide shallow bowl with a narrow projecting rim, slightly concave; the inside is genuinely marbled, the outside sometimes marbled, sometimes speckled, and occasionally covered with plain glaze. Other shapes, such as the small bowl in Group 6 (Fig. 20) are rare. An offshoot, apparently, of marbled ware is a slip-painted fabric in which the slip runs down from the rim to the centre in streaks; this variation will be referred to as "drip-painted ware." It seems to occur chiefly in open bowls with flaring sides and slightly overhanging rim (Figs. 22, 23).

³ D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery*, Oxford, 1930, p. 48.

⁴ R. L. Hobson, *A Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Near East*, London, 1932, p. 92.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pl. XVa.

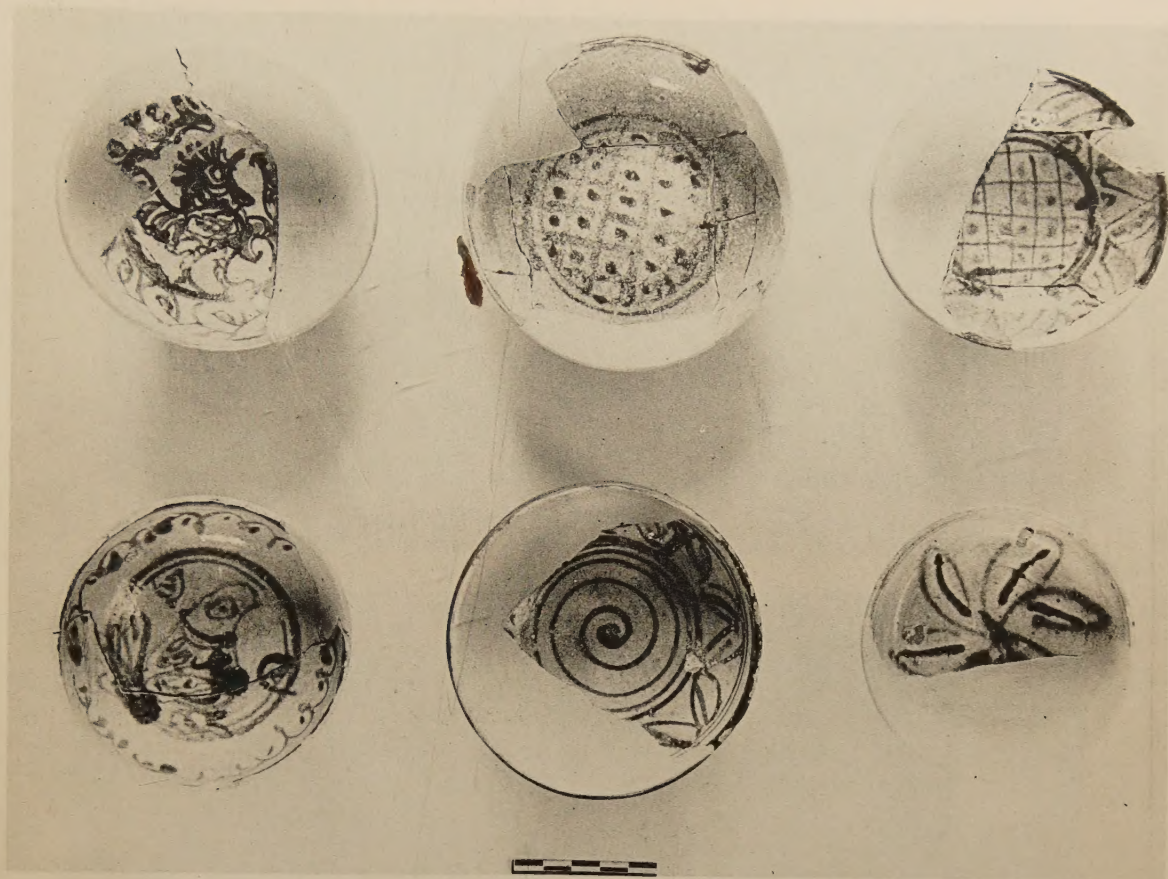


Fig. 1. Blue and White Painted Ware

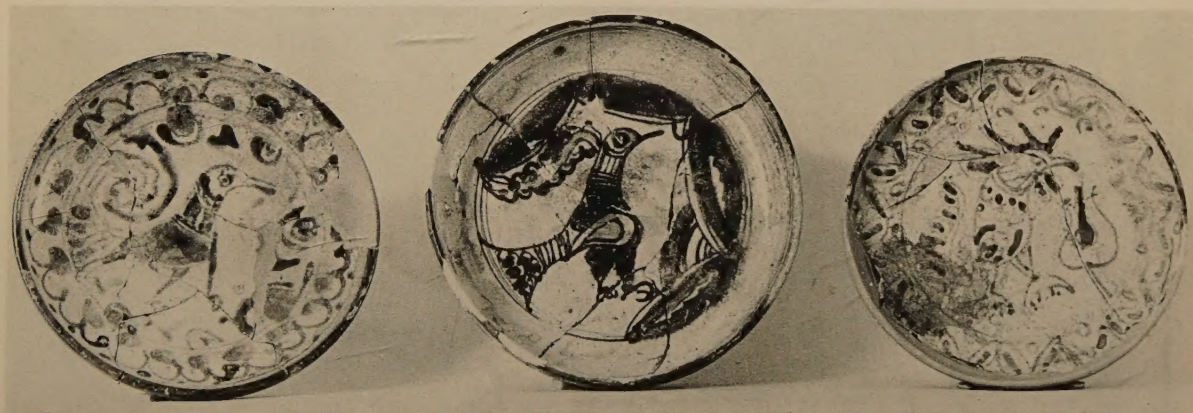


Fig. 2. Blue and White Painted Ware



Fig. 3. Blue and White Painted Ware



Fig. 4. Blue and White Painted Ware



Fig. 5. Blue and White Painted Ware

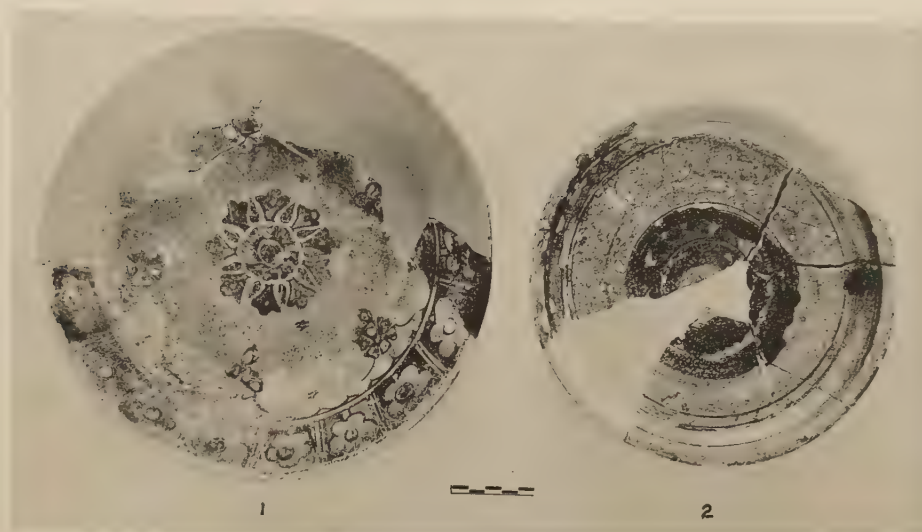


Fig. 6. Group 1



Fig. 7. Group 1



Fig. 8. Group 1



Fig. 9. Group 1

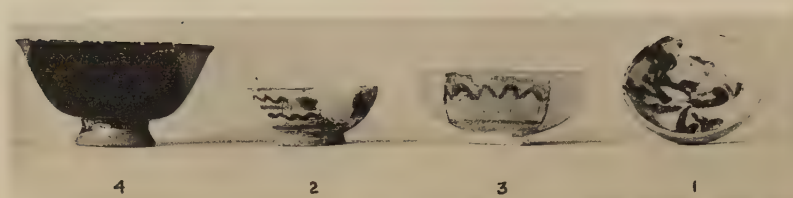


Fig. 10. Group 2



Fig. 11. Group 2



Fig. 12. Group 3



Fig. 13. Group 3



Fig. 14. Group 3



Fig. 15. Group 3

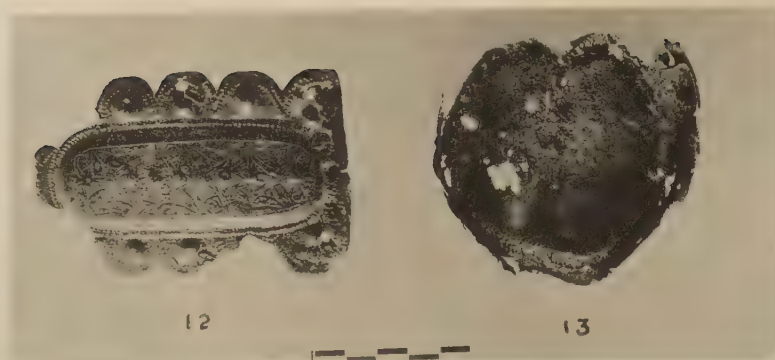


Fig. 16. Group 3

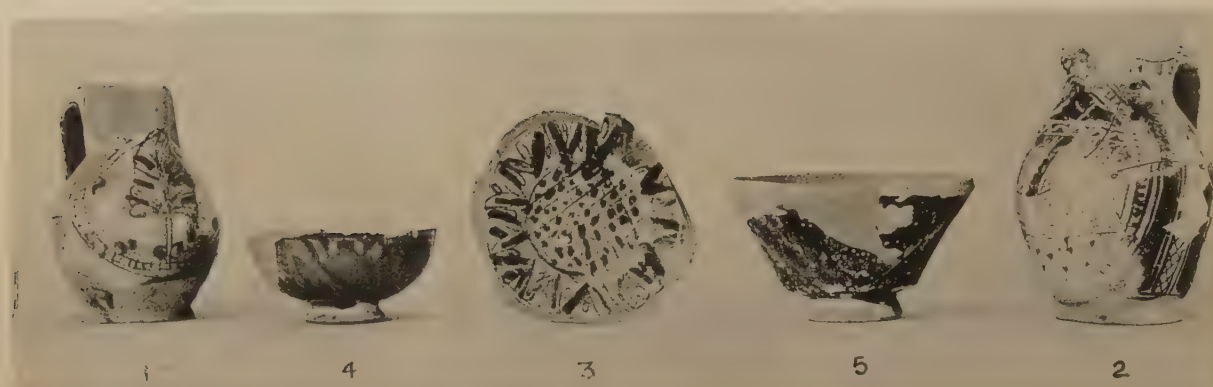


Fig. 17. Group 4

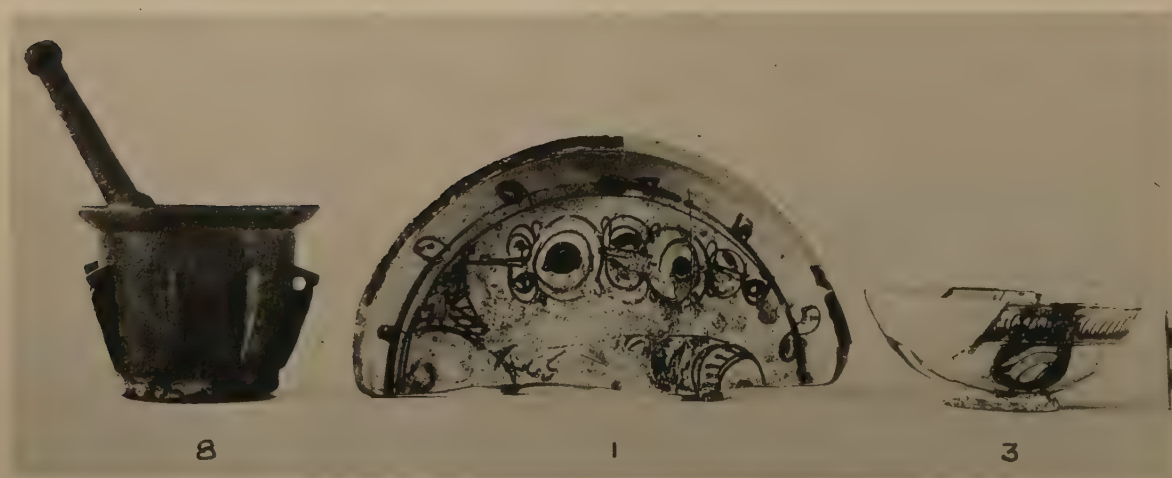


Fig. 18. Group 5



Fig. 19. Group 5



Fig. 20. Group 6

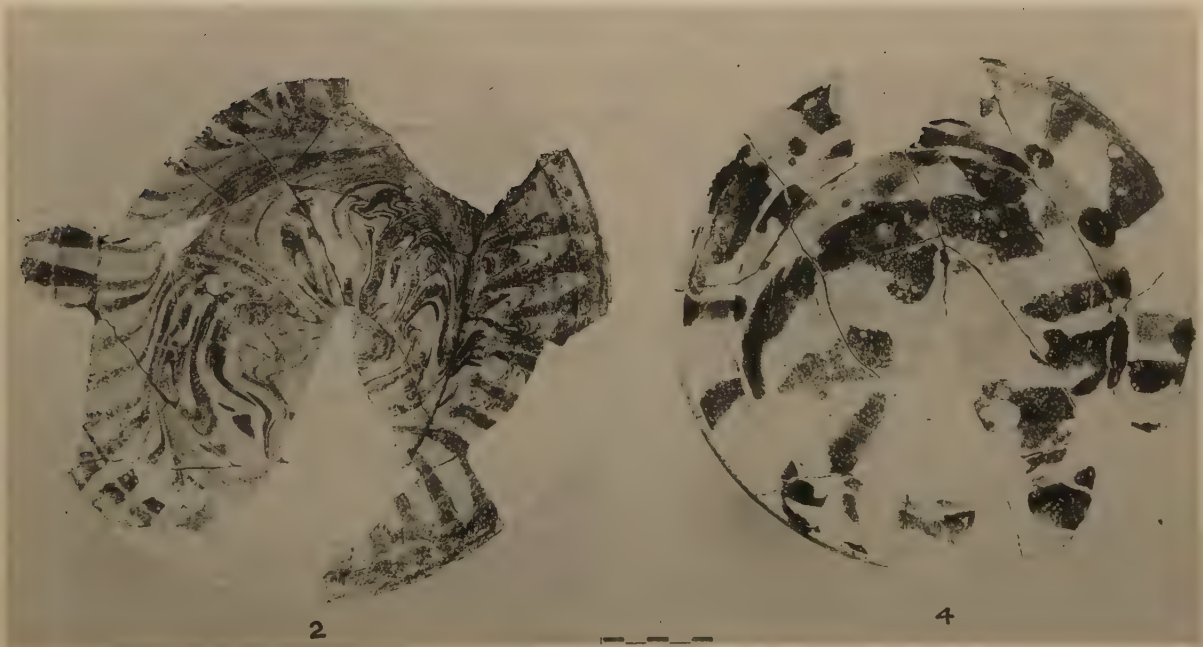


Fig. 21. Group 6



Fig. 22. Group 7

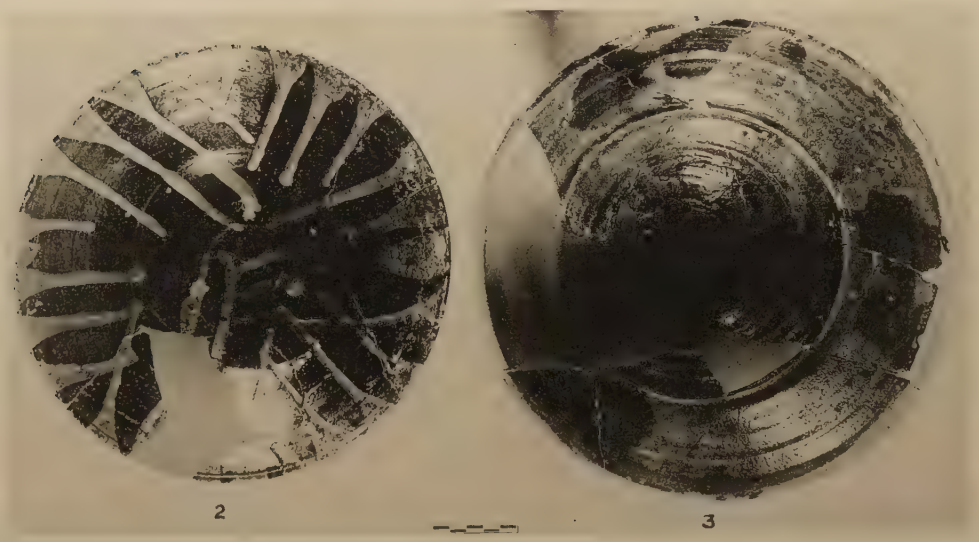


Fig. 23. Group 7

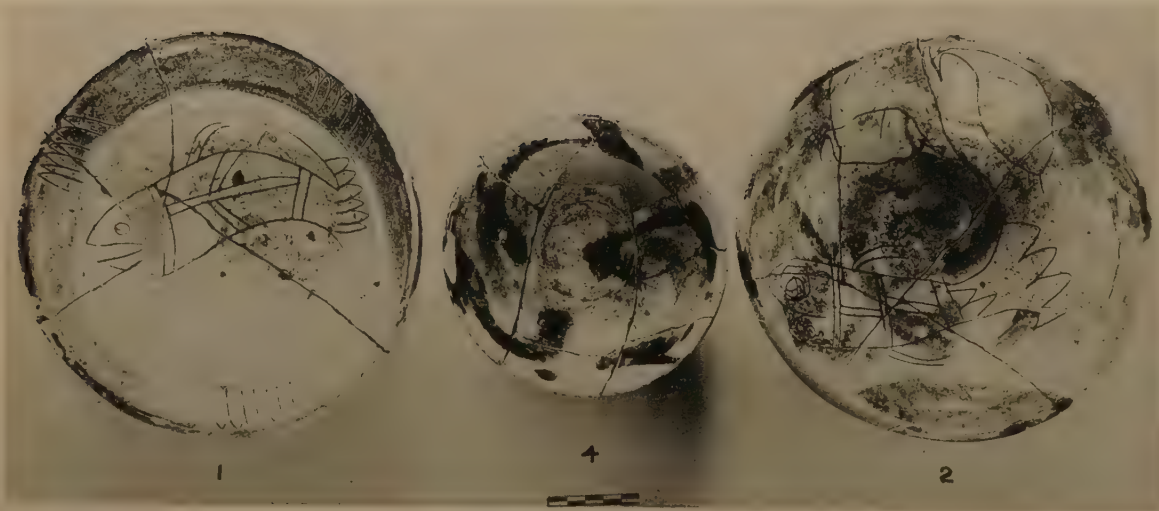


Fig. 24. Group 8



Fig. 25. Group 8

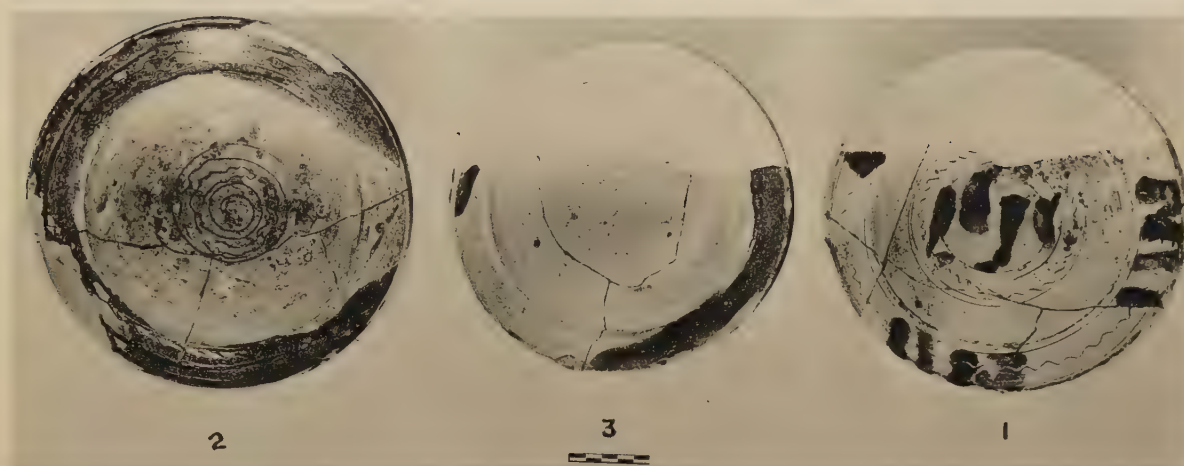


Fig. 26. Group 9



Fig. 27. Group 9

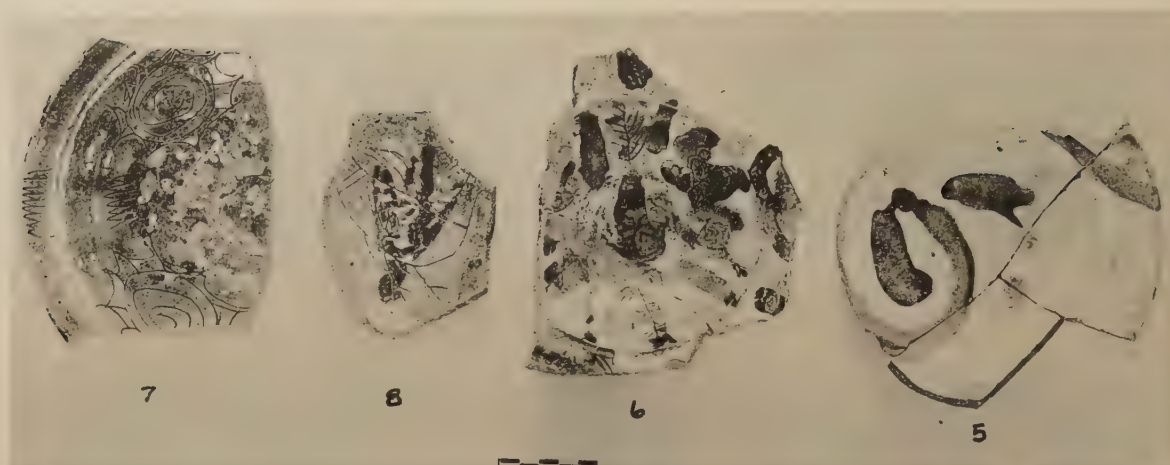


Fig. 28. Group 9

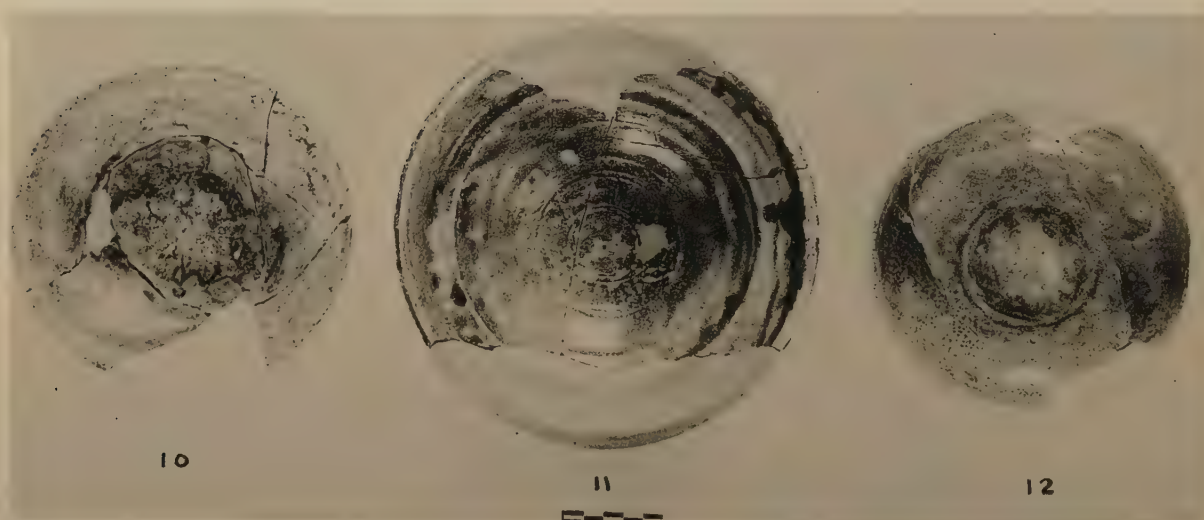


Fig. 29. Group 9



Fig. 30. Group 9

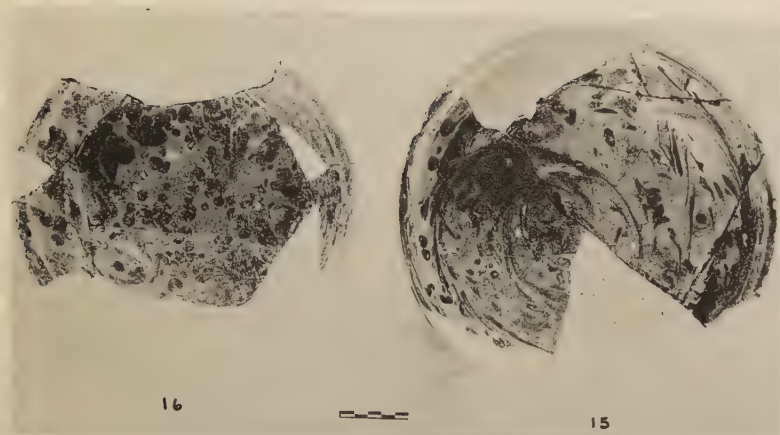


Fig. 31. Group 9



Fig. 32. Group 9



Fig. 33. Group 9



Fig. 34. Group 9



Fig. 35. Group 10

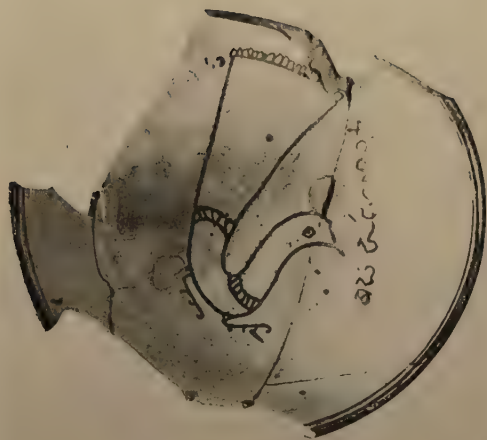


Fig. 36. Inscribed Bird Bowl



Fig. 37. Bowl with Doge

The foregoing summary of the Turkish pottery found in the Agora is necessarily superficial. The groups illustrated do not represent a continuous chronological development, or at least, the sequence cannot be established in detail; what seems to be clear is that Groups 1 to 5 are related to each other in date and content and probably date from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, and that Groups 6 to 10 are likewise interrelated, with the existing evidence for their date pointing to the eighteenth century. Since this classification depends on the occurrence of the same ware in different groups, a chart has been printed (p. 4) to show the incidence of the different types. It will be seen that the only one which appears both in what have been called the early and the late groups is Asia Minor ware. Considering the fact that this is an imported ware, it is perhaps reasonable to suppose that the one late example was preserved as an heirloom, just as similar pieces are preserved today.

Of all the pieces published here, only one, perhaps, deserves to stand on its own merit, apart from its context. This is a bowl with a portrait of a doge seated between two columns (Fig. 37).⁶ The background is cut away and is unglazed. The details are done in sgraffito and are glazed in yellow, green, blue, and colorless glaze. Mr. Arthur Lane of the Victoria and Albert Museum has kindly examined a photograph and pronounces the bowl a North Italian work, probably from one of the factories which existed at Padua, and dating from about the middle of the sixteenth century.

CATALOGUE

GROUP 1

Section Ξ, Bothros-well at 71/ΞΣΤ

1. Painted plate: Asia Minor ware (?). Fig. 6. Inv. No. P 4922. Height, 0.055 m.; diameter, 0.255 m.

More than half preserved. A deep plate with projecting rim and wide, medium ring foot. In the centre, a double rosette; rosettes in the field. On the rim rosettes separated by vertical lines. The whole badly stained but the glaze was probably colorless over the white slip, the rosettes painted dark blue, bright blue, and green. The paint in the petals is in places so thick that it gives the effect of relief. The outside slipped and glazed, with small scattered ornaments.

2. Green glazed plate. Fig. 6. Inv. No. P 5034. Height, 0.031 m.; diameter, 0.215 m.

Part of rim and floor missing. A flat-bottomed plate with outward sloping rim, thickened at the top. No foot. Around the centre a thick band, first of brown then of dark green glaze, over a band of sgraffito zigzags. Sgraffito lines bordering zigzags, around junction of rim and floor, and below upper edge of rim. Buff clay covered all over with a heavy white slip and grayish green glaze, black on the under side.

⁶ Inv. No. P 5673. Height, 0.075 m.; diameter, *ca.* 0.22 m. An open bowl with medium ring foot and plain rim. Pinkish buff clay. The outside slipped and covered with brown glaze to within an inch of the foot.

3. Sgraffito bowl: painted. Figs. 7 and 9. Inv. No. P 4919. Height, 0.052 m.; diameter, 0.124 m.

Part of rim and wall missing. A small flaring bowl with slightly offset lip and low ring foot. On the inside a warrior with long moustaches, wearing baggy trousers and carrying a sword in his left hand; a large buckle (?) at his waist; a spiral and a flower in the field. A band of debased spirals around the rim. Splotches of glaze, alternately yellow and green, around the rim and in the centre. On the outside, an irregular band of white slip around the upper part, with an undulating line of thick green glaze over it. Three incised lines around the upper edge of the rim. Fine, light orange clay.

4. Sgraffito plate: painted. Fig. 7. Inv. No. P 4921. Preserved height, 0.047 m.; diameter, 0.17 m.

The foot and a small piece of rim and floor missing. A deep saucer-like plate with a flat rim, thickened at the top; the outer edge of the rim slightly pie-crust. The plate probably originally stood on a stemmed foot, the start of the narrow stem only preserved. On the inside an elongated fish nearly encircles the plate, surrounding a plant (?). Very light green glaze with splotches of darker green and yellow; the outside glazed darker green. Coarse, pinkish buff clay.

5. Sgraffito bird bowl. Fig. 7. Inv. No. P 5030. Height, 0.037 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.09 m.

About one third, including the whole foot, preserved. A small, shallow bowl with medium ring foot and plain rim. A long-necked bird with flaring tail (?). Almost colorless glaze, bothros-stained white slip and the same glaze on upper half of outside. Fairly fine, reddish clay.

Similar bowls are Inv. Nos. P 509, P 1417, P 1420, P 1919, as yet unpublished.

6. Green glazed bowl. Fig. 9. Inv. No. P 5032. Height, 0.08 m.; diameter, 0.13 m.

The foot and about half the bowl preserved. High flaring foot; slightly outturned lip, with a single groove incised around the outside. Dark green glaze over all except on under side of foot and a little of its outside. Marks of kiln tripod on floor. Coarse buff clay.

7. Green glazed bowl. Fig. 8. Inv. No. P 5033. Height, 0.065 m.; diameter, 0.17 m.

Fragment of rim and side missing. A shallow bowl with plain rim; medium ring foot. Mottled light green glaze, worn away in centre, with a few streaks of darker green. A shallow groove runs around the middle of the wall inside. Outside unglazed except for a few splotches. Buff clay, bothros-stained.

8. Green glazed bowl. Fig. 8. Inv. No. P 5035. Height, 0.072 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.13 m.

A large part of rim and wall, and a small piece of foot missing. A deep bowl with medium ring foot; plain rim with a wheel-run groove outside. Buff clay, bothros-stained. Yellowish green glaze over irregular buff slip inside and outside, except on foot.

9. Green glazed bowl. Fig. 8. Inv. No. P 5036. Height, 0.058 m.; diameter, 0.184 m.

Much of rim missing. A shallow bowl with broad projecting rim; medium ring foot. Dark green glaze on the inside, and on the outside of the rim; much chipped inside. Coarse buff clay.

10. Green glazed bowl. Fig. 8. Inv. No. P 5037. Height, 0.076 m.; diameter, 0.167 m.

Fragments of rim missing. Plain, slightly inturned rim; medium ring foot. Profile of wall angular on outside, a continuous curve inside. Olive green glaze on inside with splashes on outside of rim. Buff clay, bothros-stained.

11. Green glazed bowl. Fig. 8. Inv. No. P 5038. Height, 0.056 m.; diameter, 0.181 m.

About half preserved. A very shallow bowl with broad projecting rim on which is a crude leaf (?) sgraffito; a sgraffito line around outer edge of rim and at junction of rim and wall. Mottled green glaze on inside, on upper part of rim outside, and a thick streak across the wall outside, to which are stuck two pieces of a kiln support. Grayish buff clay.

12. Fragmentary jug. Fig. 9. Inv. No. P 5039. Diameter of base, 0.102 m.

Two non-joining fragments of an oval-bodied jug, one preserving the flat base complete, the other, part of the body and the start of the neck. No trace of handle. Decorated with green and yellow spirals and stripes over a cream colored slip. Colorless glaze. Buff clay.

13. Unglazed two-handled jug. Fig. 9. Inv. No. P 4920. Estimated height, *ca.* 0.147 m.; diameter, 0.09 m.

Two non-joining fragments; profile can be restored. Tall, flaring lip; raised flat base; a flattened band in two degrees around the middle of the body; this band, the neck and the shoulder decorated with incised lines, broken and continuous. Fairly fine, light grey clay.

14. Unglazed two-handled jug. Fig. 9. Inv. No. P 5031. Height, 0.152 m.; diameter, 0.127 m.

Handles and most of neck missing; lower handle attachments preserved. Plump body, drawn in above flat base; several ridges at the bottom of the narrow neck; a band of wheel-run grooves above the handle attachments; groups of curved incised lines on the shoulder. Greyish buff clay; slip of the same color (?).

GROUP 2

Section Σ, Pit at 18/KA-KE

1. Painted bowl. Fig. 10. Inv. No. P 7624. Height, 0.05 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.10 m.

About three quarters of rim and walls missing. A shallow bowl with medium ring foot, the under side hollowed deeply out of the thick floor. Plain rim. On the inside, colorless glaze with crude decoration of dark green and brown streaks; light yellow glaze on outside. Clay grey to buff.

2. Sgraffito bird bowl. Fig. 10. Inv. No. P 7625. Height, 0.045 m.; diameter, 0.11 m.

Parts of rim and wall missing. A small shallow bowl with light ring foot and plain rim. Inside, a bird (?) crudely drawn, and a sgraffito line around the inner edge of the rim. Outside, elongated loops, sgraffito, running vertically through a quadruple band of glaze: straight green lines alternating with wavy brown. Cream colored glaze inside and out. Reddish clay; fairly fine fabric.

3. Sgraffito bowl. Fig. 10. Inv. No. P 7620. Height, 0.053 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.125 m.

A fragment preserving the full profile. A small shallow bowl with low ring foot and plain rim. On the inside, the remains of an uncertain design from rim to centre; outside, an undulating sgraffito line between two bands of thick green glaze, the upper one undulating, the lower straight. Very poor yellow glaze, much bubbled and discolored, over thick cream slip inside and out. Pinkish buff clay.

4. Glazed bowl. Fig. 10. Inv. No. P 7619. Height, 0.08 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.15 m.

About one third preserved, including the whole foot. Fairly high ring foot; outturned rim; flaring sides. Very dark brown glaze over white slip all over, except on foot. Three tripod marks on the floor. Fairly fine pinkish buff clay.

5. Glazed bowl. Fig. 11. Inv. No. P 7626. Height, 0.117 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.20 m.

A large part of rim and wall missing. Fairly high, flaring, heavy ring foot; incurving rim. Brownish yellow glaze inside and out. Pinkish buff clay. Two tripod marks on floor.

6. Glazed bowl. Fig. 11. Inv. No. P 7627. Height, 0.082 m.; diameter, 0.16 m.

Parts of rim and wall missing. Fairly high ring foot; incurving rim; the foot lower and the sides slightly less steep than P 7626. Green glaze, buff slip, inside and out. Clay grey to buff. Three tripod marks on floor.

7. Glazed bowl. Fig. 11. Inv. No. P 7618. Height, 0.081 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.15 m.

A fragment preserving the full profile. Medium ring foot; slightly incurving rim; sides slightly angular on outside a little above foot; the clay very roughly finished on the inside. Uneven green glaze, applied directly over the clay inside and outside, except for the foot and a little of the lower outside wall.

8. Unglazed two-handled jug. Fig. 11. Inv. No. P 7621. Height, 0.13 m.; diameter, 0.12 m.

One handle and most of neck and rim missing. Squat body drawn in above flat base; high wide neck. Incised lines around neck and shoulder. Grey-buff clay.

GROUP 3

Section Z, Square well at 66/B

1. Blue and white painted pitcher. Fig. 12. Inv. No. P 1902. Height, 0.242 m.; diameter, 0.18 m.

Complete except for a small fragment from the rim and one from the neck. Swelling body, drawn in above flat base; trefoil lip; ribbon handle. In an oval frame with transverse bars between double lines is a lion marchant right, with uplifted curling tail and bristling mane; his mouth is open and shows two rows of teeth. From behind issues a fanciful curving design perhaps intended to represent a vine tendril; below the ground line, two wavy lines may represent water; other loops and triangles hang in the field from the frame; outside the frame, tufts and spirals. All the outlines in blue; the scales and spots on the lion are alternately green and purplish brown, as are the leaves (?) of the vine tendril. Almost colorless glaze on outside, except on base and on inside of rim. The glaze, without the slip, also covers the whole of the interior. Pinkish buff clay.

2. Blue and white painted pitcher. Fig. 12. Inv. No. P 1937. Height, 0.165 m.; diameter, 0.145 m.

Complete except for most of trefoil lip, and a small piece of the bottom. Plump body drawn in above flat base; ribbon handle. A simplified and crude version of P 1902 (No. 1). Within a round frame of transverse bars connecting a double line, an animal, perhaps intended to be a lion, running right; bristling mane, a large eye, open jaws with two rows of teeth, and tongue sticking out. A scalloped design hangs from the frame as in P 1902, and there are tufts and spirals outside the frame. The outlines in blue; green and purplish brown dots on the scalloped pattern and a large green circle on the lion's haunch. Almost colorless glaze, peeled in spots, on outside except on bottom, and on the inside of the lip. Pinkish buff clay.

3. Blue and white painted bowl. Fig. 12. Inv. No. P 2177. Height, 0.127 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.24 m.

A deep bowl with medium, fairly heavy ring foot and sharply projecting rim. Much missing from sides and rim. Light yellow-green glaze over all, decorated on the outside with triangles and rosettes in blue with green and brown spots, and on the inside of the rim with a zigzag leaf border; the inside of the bowl plain-glazed. Light pinkish buff clay.

4. Small blue and white painted bowl. Fig. 13. Inv. No. P 2179. Height, 0.046 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.095 m.

Considerable parts of rim and sides missing. Medium ring foot with continuous curve on under side; sides curving sharply upward; plain rim. The inside decorated with a band of leaf ornament (compare inside of rim of P 2177 [No. 3]), the leaves alternately green and reddish brown, and outlined in blue; a blue spiral around the centre. Very light green glaze on inside; dark green on outside and around inner edge of rim; the slip on the outside is irregular and covers the under side of the foot; traces of two kiln supports on inside. Pinkish buff clay.

5. Fragmentary sgraffito bowl. Fig. 13. Inv. No. P 2176. Height, 0.095 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.20 m.

About one third preserved. Medium, fairly heavy ring foot; sides curving sharply upward; plain rim. On inside, sgraffito, crude spirals alternating with triangles pendant from a band of three lines just below rim; a blob of yellow glaze on the spirals, of dark green on the triangles. Very light green glaze on inside; an irregular band of thick white slip and darker green glaze around the outside of the rim. Light pinkish buff clay.

6. Glazed bowl. Fig. 14. Inv. No. P 2178. Height, 0.088 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.175 m.

Several non-joining fragments preserving about one half, including the profile, of bowl with medium ring foot and sides curving sharply upward; plain rim. Light green glaze on inside, granular light and dark brown glaze on outside. Pinkish buff clay.

7. Glazed bowl. Fig. 14. Inv. No. P 2180. Height, 0.086 m.; diameter, 0.17 m.

Considerable parts of rim and sides missing. Medium ring foot; sides curving sharply upward; plain rim. A triple sgraffito line just inside the rim. Light green glaze inside, purplish brown outside. Pinkish buff clay.

8. Glazed bowl. Fig. 14. Inv. No. P 2181. Height, 0.089 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.175 m.

About one quarter preserved. Medium ring foot; sides curving sharply upward; plain rim. Light greenish yellow glaze on inside, darker green on outside and around inner edge of rim. Pinkish buff clay.

9. Glazed bowl. Fig. 15. Inv. No. P 2183. Height, 0.064 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.14 m.

About one third, including the whole foot, preserved. A shallow bowl with medium ring foot; the floor slopes gently upward to the low vertical sides, drawn in a little below the plain rim. Colorless glaze inside and out. Pinkish buff clay.

10. Glazed bowl. Fig. 15. Inv. No. P 2182. Height, 0.123 m.; diameter, 0.205 m.

A few pieces of rim and sides missing. A deep bowl with fairly high ring foot; almost straight flaring sides, sharply angled on the outside just above the base; slightly inset rim. Almost colorless glaze on inside; dark green on outside and around inner edge of rim. Three traces of kiln support on floor. Pinkish buff clay.

11. Small unglazed jug. Fig. 15. Inv. No. P 2184. Height, 0.117 m.; diameter, 0.092 m.

Complete except for handle. Flat bottom; squat body; tall neck set off from body by a wheel-run groove; round mouth. Light grey clay.

12. Bronze buckle. Fig. 16. Inv. No. B 91. Height, 0.064 m.; width, 0.101 m.

A few pieces of the edge missing. One half of a buckle consisting of an elongated oval, raised, surrounded by a broad scalloped border; small repoussé dots surround the oval in a single row, the scallops in a double row; a large repoussé boss in the centre of each scallop and a row of smaller ones down the centre of the oval. Engraved on the oval a conventional flower and spiral pattern divided into three zones by bands of zigzags.

13. Bronze lamp or saucer. Fig. 16. Inv. No. B 92. Height, 0.023 m.; diameter, *ca.* 0.08 m.

Pieces of the side and floor missing; the shape distorted. A shallow round saucer with flat bottom and vertical sides. A small hole punched in the side near the bottom, and near the broken edge a flat piece of bronze, one side broken away, is nailed to the inside, its upper edge flush with the rim.

GROUP 4

Section H, Refuse pit at 66/Z

1. Blue and white painted pitcher. Fig. 17. Inv. No. P 2089. Height, 0.192 m.; diameter, 0.138 m.

Most of the rim missing. Rounded body drawn in above flat bottom; slightly flaring trefoil mouth; strap handle. In front, enclosed in a double circle with cross bars, a conventionalized tree; outside the circle, a horizontal line around the centre of the pot. Main drawing in blue; details of the tree in brown and green splotches. White slip and almost colorless glaze to a little above bottom. Pinkish buff clay.

2. Blue and white painted pitcher. Fig. 17. Inv. No. P 2124. Height, 0.23 m.; diameter, 0.16 m.

A few pieces missing from body and rim. Trefoil lip; gently swelling sides drawn in above flat bottom; strap handle. In front, an oval cross-barred frame surrounding a horizontal band of diagonals, alternately solid and cross-hatched, bounded above and below by a zigzag band; the spaces above and below filled with solid and linear ornament; outside the frame, vertical cross-hatched and solid bands on either side, framing elongated ovals filled with a red stripe; around neck, a row of red dots between blue bands; all drawing in blue except for a few red details. Colorless glaze all over inside and on outside to just above bottom; the inside unslipped except around inner edge of rim. Pinkish buff clay.

3. Blue and white painted plate. Fig. 17. Inv. No. P 2090. Preserved height, 0.045 m.; maximum dimension, 0.193 m.

All of the rim broken away, but a trace of a groove at the highest preserved point indicates that there was little more. Fairly high ring foot; almost flat floor and low upcurving sides. In the centre, a cross-hatched circle, blue lines, with brown dots in the squares; outside, a broad zigzag leaf border; the enclosing lines and all the outlines are in blue; the large leaves filled with brown, the small filling leaves left in outline. Light green glaze inside; darker green outside. Pinkish buff clay.

4. Glazed bowl. Fig. 17. Inv. No. P 2236. Height, 0.077 m.; diameter, 0.158 m.

Much of rim and sides missing. Medium, flaring ring foot; sides curving sharply upward; plain rim. Light green glaze on inside; darker green on outside and around inner edge of rim. Pinkish buff clay. Tripod marks on floor.

5. Glazed bowl. Fig. 17. Inv. No. P 2237. Height, 0.115 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.20 m.

Much of rim and walls missing. A deep bowl with fairly high, slightly flaring ring foot; almost straight flaring sides, sharply angled on the outside just above the foot; slightly inset rim. Almost colorless glaze on the inside; dark brown on the outside and around inner edge of rim; traces of kiln tripod on floor. Pinkish buff clay.

Almost identical in shape with P 2182 (Group 3, No. 10).

GROUP 5

Section Φ , Well at 71/K Θ

1. Blue and white painted plate. Fig. 18. Inv. No. P 9333. Height, 0.055 m.; diameter, 0.245 m.

About one half preserved. Medium ring foot; flat floor; low vertical rim, flattened and slightly thickened at top. A bird (?), right, upper part only preserved; scroll (?) ornament in field; main drawing blue, with details of reddish brown. Very light green glaze on inside; dark brown on outside and on top of rim. Pinkish buff clay.

2. Blue and white painted amphora. Fig. 19. Inv. No. P 9337. Height, 0.111 m.; diameter, 0.08 m.

The handles missing, otherwise intact. A small amphora with round body, irregularly made, drawn in above flat bottom; lip projects slightly. Around body, uncertain scroll (?) or rinceau (?) design; around neck within double lines, a zigzag leaf border. Main drawing blue; some details, including leaves of border, filled in with light reddish brown. Colorless glaze inside and out except on under side of foot. Light grey clay.

3. Sgraffito bowl: bird bowl type. Fig. 18. Inv. No. P 9334. Height, 0.055 m.; diameter, 0.135 m.

Considerable parts of rim and wall missing. A small shallow bowl with low ring foot and plain rim. On the inside, plain colorless glaze; kiln tripod marks; outside, a wavy line, sgraffito, between straight lines; below, four spirals; a yellow and green stripe around the upper band and around spirals; colorless glaze over all, except under side of foot. Along the major breaks, both inside and out, the glaze has darkened, indicating breakage in kiln (?). Fine pinkish buff clay.

4. Glazed bowl. Fig. 19. Inv. No. P 9335. Height, 0.043 m.; diameter, 0.094 m.

A small part of rim and wall missing. A small shallow bowl on slightly flaring ring foot; upcurving sides; plain rim. Almost colorless glaze inside and out; tripod marks on floor. Pinkish buff clay.

5. Glazed mug. Fig. 19. Inv. No. P 9336. Height, 0.073 m.; diameter, 0.06 m.

Intact save for minor chips. A small mug with one handle, vertical sides, flat bottom, plain rim with a low ridge just below it. White slip all over outside except bottom, and dripping irregularly down the inside; green glaze all over inside, and on most of outside, but leaving some of the slip unglazed; much peeled. Pinkish buff clay.

6. Glazed jug. Fig. 19. Inv. No. P 9338. Height, 0.115 m.; diameter, 0.08 m.

Intact. A small jug with fairly squat body drawn in slightly above flat bottom; trefoil mouth; strap handle. Dark green glaze on outside to just above bottom, very badly stained. Light grey-buff clay.

7. Glazed spouted jug. Fig. 19. Inv. No. P 9339. Height, 0.12 m.; diameter, 0.075 m.

Much of lip and end of spout broken away. A small jug with round body, narrow neck, strap handle and overhanging rim; flat bottom. Green glaze to just above bottom. Buff clay.

8. Bronze mortar and pestle. Fig. 18. Inv. No. B 407. Height of mortar, 0.095 m.; diameter of mortar, 0.125 m. Length of pestle, 0.19 m.

Surface corroded; otherwise intact. Eight vertical lugs on outside of mortar; flat bottom set in a little from sides; flaring rim. Two of the lugs, on opposite sides of the mortar, are pierced at the upper end. The mortar is flattened out at the bottom and has a knob at the top and in the middle.

GROUP 6

Section N, Cistern at 17-18/KΣT-KZ

1. Fragments of Asia Minor ware pitcher. Fig. 20. Inv. No. P 6669. Height as restored, 0.208 m.; diameter as restored, 0.162 m.

One fragment each from the rim, body and handle. Probably from a jug with squat body, tall neck, slightly flaring toward rim; vertical handle, round in section. The shape restored on the analogy of a jug in the British Museum (Hobson, *Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Near East*, p. 84, fig. 95), but is not squat enough for the model. Decoration on neck and body of flowers and long leaves in blue, turquoise and red, outlined in black; horizontal blue bars between stripes on handle. Sandy white clay.

2. Marbled ware bowl. Figs. 20, 21. Inv. No. P 6667. Height, 0.051 m.; diameter, 0.254 m.

Fragments of rim and walls missing. A shallow bowl with projecting ridged rim and low ring foot. Marbling in green and brown on a white slip: on the inside, fairly regular stripes dripping from rim; swirls in the middle; on the outside, spots and a garland-like design. Fairly fine, pinkish buff clay. Light green glaze. Three tripod marks on the floor.

3. Marbled ware bowl. Fig. 20. Inv. No. P 6666. Height, 0.05 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.095 m.

Almost half preserved. A small bowl with low concave foot; flaring sides and plain rim. The whole bowl seems to have been covered with a dark slip, over which the marbling was done in green, brown and white. Muddy glaze on the inside, and on the outside to just above the foot. Hard red clay.

4. Painted bowl. Figs. 20, 21. Inv. No. P 6668. Height, 0.081 m.; diameter, 0.22 m.

A few fragments missing from rim and walls. Medium ring foot; rim sharply offset on inside, moulded and overhanging slightly at outer edge (for the shape compare P 2159 [Group 9, No. 11]). The inside decorated with splotches of green and brown glaze; the inside covered with very light green glaze; the outside unglazed except for upper edge of rim. Buff clay.

GROUP 7

Section K, Pit A

1. Slip-painted bowl. Fig. 22. Inv. No. P 5511. Height, 0.08 m.; diameter, 0.235 m.

Complete save for two small pieces of the side. Low ring foot; flaring sides; overhanging rim. Drips of thick white slip running from rim to centre; dirty yellow glaze on inside and around outer edge of rim; a few splashes of slip on the outside. Pinkish buff clay.

2. Slip-painted bowl. Fig. 23. Inv. No. P 6598. Height, 0.073 m.; diameter, 0.24 m.

A piece missing from rim and wall. Low ring foot; shallow flaring sides; overhanging rim. Drips of thick white slip running from rim to centre; light green glaze on inside and around outer edge of rim; a few splashes of slip on the outside. Pinkish buff clay.

3. Painted bowl. Fig. 23. Inv. No. P 6600. Height, 0.11 m.; diameter, 0.25 m.

Pieces missing from rim, side and foot. Low ring foot; flaring sides: rim moulded on outside, deep and offset by a ridge inside. Dirty yellow-green glaze inside, with splotches of dark green; outside unglazed, except where the glaze has run over in one place. Greyish buff clay.

4. Glazed bowl. Fig. 22. Inv. No. P 6599. Height, 0.075 m.; diameter, 0.195 m.

A few pieces missing from rim. Low ring foot; flaring sides; rim moulded on outside, offset and concave on inside. Brownish yellow glaze on inside, over a dark slip (?), traces of which are seen on the outside. Buff clay.

5. Glazed bowl. Fig. 22. Inv. No. P 6601. Height, 0.053 m.; diameter, 0.17 m.

Small pieces missing from rim and bottom. Low ring foot; shallow flaring sides; plain rim. Light green glaze on inside and around outer edge of rim; the thick white slip has run down over a considerable part of the outside. Pinkish buff clay.

GROUP 8

Section Φ, Pit at 78/KB

1. Sgraffito bowl. Fig. 24. Inv. No. P 9022. Height, 0.08 m.; diameter, 0.22 m.

Complete save for a small piece of the wall. Low ring foot; flaring sides; sharply offset rim

turned in a little at the edge. Identical in shape with P 2154 (Group 9, No. 4). On the inside, crudely drawn, a fish, sgraffito; on the rim, three short sections of sharply vertical undulating line. Colorless glaze over all inside, with an irregular band of yellow-brown on most of rim; both colorless glaze and yellow-brown irregularly around outer edge of rim. Pinkish buff clay.

2. Sgraffito bowl. Fig. 24. Inv. No. P 9023. Height, 0.08 m.; diameter, 0.215 m.

Complete save for a small piece of the rim. Medium ring foot; shallow flaring sides; rim slightly thickened and flattened on top. Inside a fish and two birds (?) very crudely drawn. Colorless glaze on inside with crude bands and a spiral of green and dark yellow; outside unglazed except for upper edge of rim. Pinkish buff clay.

3. Sgraffito bowl. Fig. 25. Inv. No. P 9024. Height, 0.102 m.; diameter, 0.23 m.

Fragments of rim and body missing. A fairly deep bowl with offset flaring rim; medium ring foot. A sgraffito line around body just below rim, and another around edge of rim; crude spirals around rim. Dull green glaze on inside and around outer edge of rim; three splotches of darker green on inside of rim. Pinkish buff clay.

4. Painted bowl. Figs. 24, 25. Inv. No. P 9025. Height, 0.06 m.; diameter, 0.15 m.

A small piece of body missing. A small shallow bowl with medium ring foot and plain rim. On the bottom two concentric ridged circles. Very light yellow-green glaze on inside and around outer edge of rim, with splashes of green and darker yellow. Pinkish buff clay.

5. Impressed ware bowl. Fig. 25. Inv. No. P 9026. Height, 0.07 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.15 m.

About one half, including the whole foot, preserved. Medium ring foot; shallow sides; slightly incurving rim. On the bottom, in very low relief, a six-petalled rosette within two concentric circles. Light green glaze inside and around outer edge of rim. Pinkish buff to pink clay.

6. Glazed bowl. Fig. 25. Inv. No. P 9027. Height, 0.06 m.; diameter, 0.175 m.

Small fragments of rim and body missing. A shallow bowl with medium ring foot and rim slightly thickened and flattened on top. Dull green glaze, much bubbled, on inside and around outer edge of rim. Pinkish buff clay.

7. Small Kioutakia bowl. Fig. 25. Inv. No. P 9028. Height, 0.036 m.; diameter, 0.102 m.

Fragments of rim and body missing. A shallow bowl with small ring foot and plain rim. Decorated inside and out with leaves and flowers in blue, turquoise, yellow, red, and black. On the floor a six-pointed star, turquoise, surrounding a raised boss. Sandy clay, light buff. Colorless glaze over all. On the under side of the foot an eight-pointed star, identical with that on P 5516 (Group 10, No. 1).

8. Stemmed Kioutakia cup. Fig. 25. Inv. No. P 9029. Height, 0.065 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.06 m.

The whole foot and part of the bowl preserved. A small egg-cup shaped pot with short stem and flaring foot; upcurving sides and plain rim; on the outside the wall inset a little from the floor; undefined on the inside. Conventional floral ornament inside and out in blue, turquoise, yellow, red and black. Sandy light buff clay. Colorless glaze over all.

GROUP 9

Section Z, Pit at 44/KA

1. Sgraffito bowl. Fig. 26. Inv. No. P 2165. Height, 0.076 m.; diameter, 0.213 m.

Part of rim and wall missing. Similar in shape to P 2154 (No. 4). Around the centre and around the rim, a wavy sgraffito line within straight lines; alternating blobs of green and brown in groups of four around rim and in centre. Dull colorless glaze on inside. Buff clay.

2. Sgraffito bowl. Fig. 26. Inv. No. P 2170. Height, 0.082 m.; diameter, 0.223 m.

Two small pieces missing from rim. Similar in shape to P 2154 (No. 4). In the centre, two wavy lines within a crude spiral; around the rim, two wavy lines within straight lines. Most of the rim glazed yellow brown, the rest of the inside colorless; outside unglazed except around edge of rim. Pinkish buff clay.

3. Glazed bowl. Fig. 26. Inv. No. P 2167. Height, 0.071 m.; diameter, 0.207 m.

A large piece of rim and wall missing. Similar in shape to P 2154 (No. 4). Colorless glaze on inside, with a streak of brown part way around rim; outside unglazed except around outer edge of rim. Buff clay.

4. Glazed bowl. Fig. 27. Inv. No. P 2154. Height, 0.077; diameter, 0.215 m.

Broken but complete. Low ring foot; flaring sides; sharply offset rim turned in a little at the edge. Uneven greenish yellow glaze on inside and outer edge of rim. Buff clay.

5. Painted bowl. Fig. 28. Inv. No. P 2171. Height, 0.075 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.21 m.

About one quarter, including the whole foot, preserved. Similar in shape to P 2154 (No. 4), but the rim rather less sharply offset. On the inside, on a thick white slip, occasional blobs and streaks of green and brownish yellow glaze; no all-over glaze; outside unglazed; a narrow band of slip around the outer edge of the rim. Pinkish buff clay.

6. Sgraffito bowl. Fig. 28. Inv. No. P 2166. Height, 0.078 m.; maximum dimension, 0.17 m.

None of the edge preserved but the shape was probably similar to that of P 2154 (No. 4). An elaborate but crude design of trees (?) in the bowl proper; on the rim, groups of trees seem to alternate with a large rosette in a circle. Blobs of green and brown glaze, but no all-over glaze. Outside unglazed. Buff clay.

7. Sgraffito bowl. Fig. 28. Inv. No. P 2150. Height, 0.064 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.22 m.

A single fragment preserving rather less than half the bowl. A very shallow bowl with low ring foot and projecting, slightly concave rim. On the inside, crude spirals separated by zigzags; groups of zigzags (one group only preserved) on rim. Green glaze, somewhat peeled, over splotchy white slip on inside and on outer edge of rim; the slip extends about half way down the outside. Buff clay.

8. Fragment of sgraffito bowl. Fig. 28. Inv. No. P 2149. Diameter of foot, 0.089 m.; maximum dimension, 0.12 m.

A fragment preserving the low, broad ring foot and a small part of the sides. In the centre, a bird, right, roughly drawn, the top of the head and the end of the tail missing. Dull yellow-green glaze with splotches of darker yellow and green; the outside, as preserved, unglazed. Pinkish buff clay.

9. Impressed bowl. Fig. 27. Inv. No. P 2160. Height, 0.08 m.; diameter, 0.205 m.

Part of the rim missing. Identical in shape with P 2159 (No. 11). In the centre, in very low relief, a rosette within two pairs of concentric circles. Brownish yellow glaze. Buff clay.

10. Impressed bowl. Fig. 29. Inv. No. P 2151. Height, 0.051 m.; diameter, 0.159 m.

A small piece of the rim and wall missing. A shallow bowl with low ring foot and flaring sides; plain rim. In the centre a raised boss with an impressed rosette. Very light greenish yellow glaze, much discolored, inside and out. Three pieces of a kiln tripod stick to the floor. Reddish clay.

11. Impressed bowl. Fig. 29. Inv. No. P 2159. Height, 0.071-0.08 m.; diameter, 0.204 m.

Parts of rim missing. Medium ring foot; rim sharply offset on inside and moulded and overhanging slightly at upper edge. In the centre, in very low relief, an impressed rosette surrounded by a banded border of transverse bars. Olive green glaze on inside and around outer edge of rim. Pinkish buff clay.

12. Impressed bowl. Fig. 29. Inv. No. P 2155. Height, 0.064 m.; diameter, 0.155 m.

Fragments of rim missing. A shallow bowl with medium ring foot and upcurving sides; very slightly outturned rim. In the centre, a raised boss with an impressed rosette, set off by a ridge and an uncertain impressed border. Pinkish slip; mottled yellow-brown glaze on inside and upper two thirds of outside. Pinkish buff clay.

13. Marbled ware bowl. Fig. 27. Inv. No. P 2156. Height, 0.044 m.; diameter, 0.188 m.

A very shallow bowl with low ring foot and narrow, slightly concave, projecting rim. Bright yellow-green glaze inside and out, spotted on inside only with reddish brown. Pink clay.

14. Marbled ware bowl. Fig. 30. Inv. No. P 2163. Height, 0.09 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.23 m.

Most of rim and walls missing. Low ring foot; slightly flaring sides; plain rim. Bright greenish yellow glaze mottled and streaked with dark green and reddish brown inside and out, more sparsely inside. Reddish clay.

15. Marbled ware bowl. Figs. 30, 31. Inv. No. P 2158. Height, 0.077 m.; diameter, 0.272 m.

Parts of rim and sides missing. A very shallow bowl with low ring foot and narrow, concave, projecting rim. Similar in shape to P 2156 (No. 13). On the inside, light green glaze with streaks of darker green and brown so applied as to give the effect of a loose floral pattern. Outside, brown dots only under the glaze. Pinkish buff clay.

16. Marbled ware bowl. Fig. 31. Inv. No. P 2164. Height, 0.061 m.; diameter, 0.24 m.

A considerable part of rim and walls missing. Similar in shape to P 2158 (No. 15). Yellow-green glaze over all, mottled on the inside only with darker green and reddish brown. Pinkish buff clay.

17. Glazed bowl. Fig. 30. Inv. No. P 2162. Height, 0.05 m.; diameter, 0.228 m.

Small fragments of rim missing. Similar in shape to P 2158 (No. 15), but the rim is ridged at the outer edge and is not concave. A ridged circle around centre. Bright yellow glaze on inside and on upper part of outside, where it extends below the slip. Pink clay.

18. Small glazed bowl. Fig. 32. Inv. No. P 2152. Height, 0.051 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.11 m.

Part of the rim and wall missing. Medium ring foot; plain rim. Pinkish slip; dull colorless glaze on inside and outer edge of rim. Buff clay.

19. Small glazed bowl. Fig. 32. Inv. No. P 2161. Height, 0.051 m.; diameter, 0.116 m.

A little missing from rim and wall. Medium, slightly projecting ring foot; outturned rim. In the centre, possibly accidental, some lines in low relief vaguely resembling a penguin. Poor yellow glaze on inside and around outer edge of rim. Buff clay.

20. Glazed censer (?). Fig. 32. Inv. No. P 2169. Height, 0.084 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.08 m.

Part of the body and rim missing. A one-handled cup with plump body, incurving rim, short, thick stem and flat, solid foot. The body pierced by two horizontal rows of holes. Yellow glaze on outside from rim to lower handle attachment; on inside, unevenly around upper part. Buff clay.

21. Sgraffito pitcher. Fig. 32. Inv. No. P 2157. Height, 0.165 m.; diameter, 0.135 m.

Neck, handle and fragments of body missing. Swelling body drawn in a little above flat base. On upper part of body in front, three rosettes surrounded by circular banded borders of zigzags; yellow-brown glaze over decorated part; white slip over all, except just above base. Buff clay.

22. Pseudo-majolica pitcher. Figs. 32, 33. Inv. No. P 2168. Height, 0.197 m.; diameter of body, *ca.* 0.12 m.

Most of neck and mouth and large pieces of body missing, but profile complete. Round body; short hollow stem; flat foot slightly concave beneath; widely flaring mouth; double reeded handle ending in plastic decoration at lower attachment. On body and neck, ornament in blue, black, yellow,

and orange: a long-necked bird, right, head and neck only preserved, between floral ornaments (?). Grey glaze inside and out. Buff clay. On the under side of the foot a signature painted in black glaze.

23. Painted bowl. Fig. 34. Inv. No. P 2153. Height, 0.124 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.17 m.

A fragment preserving the profile. Fairly low ring foot; sides almost vertical, sloping inward very gently toward the top; plain rim. Cream-colored glaze (discolored) on inside; on outside, a broad band of ornament consisting of reddish brown rosettes alternating with blue floral designs, enclosed within a banded border of a double row of reddish brown dots. The glaze the same as on the inside. Pinkish buff clay.

24. Small painted cup. Fig. 34. Inv. No. P 2148. Height, 0.037 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.055 m.

A little less than half preserved. A small cup or bowl of the Kioutakia coffee cup type. Small ring foot; sides curving sharply upward; plain rim. Colorless glaze on the inside; on the outside a broad red band bordered on either side by a row of purple dots between light blue lines. Hard white clay. Fine fabric.

25. Painted plate. Fig. 34. Inv. No. P 2147. Height, 0.023 m.; diameter, 0.218 m.

One piece missing from the rim. No foot; broad projecting rim set off from the floor on the inside but forming a continuous curve with the rest of the plate on the under side. Decoration in greyish blue: a double line around the inner edge of the rim, from which hang groups of dots on stems; in the centre, a floral pattern. Opaque, greyish white glaze, inside and out; three tripod marks on under side. Buff clay.

GROUP 10

Section N, Pit at 12/NZ

1. Kioutakia bowl. Fig. 35. Inv. No. P 5516. Height, 0.04 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.11 m.

Much of rim and wall missing; foot complete. A small shallow bowl with low ring foot and plain rim; a boss in the centre of the floor. Inside, single sprays of flowers in grey-blue, turquoise blue, yellow, and red around the central boss; a simple debased guilloche between blue lines below rim; outside, sprays of flowers in grey-blue and turquoise blue separated by long slender yellow leaves with red berries; double blue line around rim and foot. Hard sandy white clay. Colorless, slightly lustrous glaze. On under side of foot an eight-pointed star, as on P 9028 (Group 8, No. 7).

2. Kioutakia coffee cup. Fig. 35. Inv. No. P 5517. Height, 0.04 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.07 m.

Less than half preserved. A small, handleless (?) cup with light ring foot and outturned rim. Inside, on the middle of the floor, a small grey-blue leaf; outside, flowers and tendrils in grey-blue, yellow, and red. Clay, glaze, and signature as in P 5516 (No. 1).

3. Kioutakia coffee cup. Fig. 35. Inv. No. P 5518. Height, 0.045 m.; estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.07 m.

About half preserved. Small ring foot; plain rim. Inside, a small green and yellow flower in the middle of the floor; double blue line around rim; outside, flowers and leaves in yellow and green with large light red dots in thick paint; a row of similar dots between blue lines around rim and just above foot. White sandy clay; colorless glaze.

4. Pseudo-majolica pitcher. Fig. 35. Inv. No. P 5519. Height, 0.156 m.; maximum diameter, *ca.* 0.145 m.

Much missing but the shape can be restored. A squat pitcher with flat base, plump body, wide trefoil mouth and concave strap handle. Uncertain painted decoration in grey-blue, light yellow, light and dark orange and black; traces of a signature in black under the handle. Yellow-buff clay; thick light grey glaze.

ALISON FRANTZ

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS¹

In the first century B.C. there were many Italians in Athens. As we know from Cicero,² these Roman citizens of Italian origin accepted the grant of Athenian citizenship and began actively to exercise the rights and perform the duties of Athenian citizens. Theoretically they should thereby have lost their Roman citizenship, but from Cicero's indignant words it is quite clear that they still regarded themselves as Romans and were in fact so regarded by others. A revolution in the old concept of citizenship was taking place, and out of this change developed the concept of dual citizenship whereby a man could exercise simultaneously both a local (e. g. Athenian) and an imperial (Roman) citizenship.

In the catalogues of the first century B.C. many Roman names appear. These are the names of Italians whose participation in the Athenian government of the period is attested by Cicero. There were practically no native Athenians who at this time possessed the Roman citizenship. In the first century after Christ, however, the situation changed fundamentally, for the Italian *negotiatores* disappeared from the East, and from the time of Claudius and Nero prominent Greeks acquired the Roman citizenship in large numbers, while under the Flavii, under Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, the extension of Roman citizenship to Greeks in general rose virtually to a flood.³ Thus the Roman names in the catalogues of the second century after Christ are those of men very different from the Roman citizens of the earlier catalogues. Almost all the Romans in the public life of Hadrianic Athens were native Athenians.

From the reign of the emperor Claudius, who enacted stringent regulations on the use of the *tria nomina*, down to the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in A.D. 212, the names of Athenians with Roman citizenship were carefully distinguished from those of non-Romans in all official catalogues at Athens. The non-Romans were recorded by name and patronymic or by name and surname. The Roman citizens were recorded

¹ Through the generous assistance of the Council for Research in the Social Sciences at Columbia University and through the coöperation of the authorities of Barnard College, the writer was enabled to go to Athens for the academic year 1939-1940 and to prepare for publication the late inscriptions, of which the third installment is here presented.

² Cicero, *Pro Balbo*, 12, 30: Itaque in Graecis civitatibus videmus Atheni<ense>s, Rhodios, Lacedaemonios, ceteros undique ascribi multarumque esse eosdem homines civitatum. Quo errore ductos vidi egomet nonnullos imperitos homines, nostros cives, Athenis in numero iudicum atque Areopagitarum, certa tribu, certo numero, cum ignorarent, si illam civitatem essent adepti, hanc se perdidisse nisi postliminio reciperassent.

³ A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford, 1939), chapters VIII-X.

by nomen and cognomen.⁴ The praenomen, which now tended to become hereditary for all sons, had lost its identifying character and had gone out of general use. In the catalogues, therefore, it received attention only rarely. The nomen, being well known and distinct from the personal name, which was the cognomen, generally appears in abbreviation.

Thus the student can trace the gradual growth of Roman citizenship at Athens by an examination of the catalogues, among which the prytany lists are by far the most reliable index. Such a review of the pertinent material contained in these and other Athenian catalogues, documents which the serious student of the Roman empire will find of surprising and quite unusual interest, is to be presented on a later occasion.

The most important group, the prytany lists, are documents consisting of (1) a preamble, (2) the catalogue proper, and (3) a list of the contemporary *aisiti*, who because of their special importance to the city received their board at the public expense together with the prytanes. In the catalogue proper the names are grouped according to demes. The preamble as a rule contains the essential facts, (1) the date by eponymous archon, hoplite general, or reigning emperor, (2) the tribe and ordinal of the prytany, (3) the name of the secretary who kept the records, (4) the name of the patron who paid the bills. The two latter were not always recorded. If the taxes sufficed to meet expenses, no patron (*ἐπώνυμος*)⁵ even existed. If the taxes did not suffice, some rich patriot rescued his fellow tribesmen, or, in the last resort, the state took the money from the treasury of Athena Polias, who was then dubiously repaid with recognition as *ἐπώνυμος* of the prytanizing tribe.⁶ The eponymate of a deity whose temple funds temporarily defrayed the cost of city government was a common occurrence in the Greek world,⁷ but in such cases outside of Athens the deity received recognition as the eponymous magistrate of the whole city, whereas Athens in a bad year could do without an eponymous archon altogether, as in the year of the inscription No. 19, below.

⁴ Whoever lacked either nomen or cognomen like Πομπόνιος Ζωστήρης (*infra* No. 13) was not a Roman citizen. As Apollonius (Philostratus, *Epistles of Apollonius of Tyana*, LXXI) complained, the Greeks commonly named their children Lucullus, Fabricius, etc., instead of giving them the old names of famous Greeks. This was done sometimes out of admiration for certain Romans and at other times to evince loyalty and to elicit a grant of Roman citizenship.

⁵ The cardinal document which reveals what the term "eponymus of a corporation" means is *I.G.*, XII, 8, suppl., no. 365, originally published by H. Seyrig, *B.C.H.*, LI, 1927, pp. 219-233. A man pays an amount to the pertinent corporation, and in return he receives at the functions of the corporation special honors unaccompanied by corresponding duties, and he has the pleasure of seeing his name at the head of all official documents of the corporation. For the eponymus of the Gerusia see J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia* (1941), p. 3. If correct, the reconstruction of line 4 in No. 11, below, lays forever the old theory that the eponymus of an Athenian tribe was always identical with the priest of the eponymous hero of the tribe. There never was any real evidence for this improbable theory.

⁶ Athena Polias appears as tribal eponymus in *I.G.*, II², 1817, 1824-26.

⁷ L. Robert, *Istros*, II, 1936, pp. 1-10.

PRYTANY DEDICATION

1. Two fragments of Pentelic marble, found in 1937 in late fills of Sections N and P. They join as one piece, broken away at the back, below, and at either side. The lower part is beveled.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.146 m.; thickness, 0.063 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.011 m. and 0.007 m.

Inv. Nos. I 4446 and 4586.

A.D. 169/70 or somewhat later

[Οἱ] πρυτά[ναι]ς τῇ[s ----]
 [ἀνέ]γραψαν [ὑ]ὑ Ἐπ[ώνυμος]
 [Ἰού]λιος Θεμισω[ν]
 [γραμματεὺς βουλ]ῆς ὑπογραμ[ματεὺς]
 5 [καὶ δῆμου] Μύρων Λ[αμπρεὺς]
 [-----]

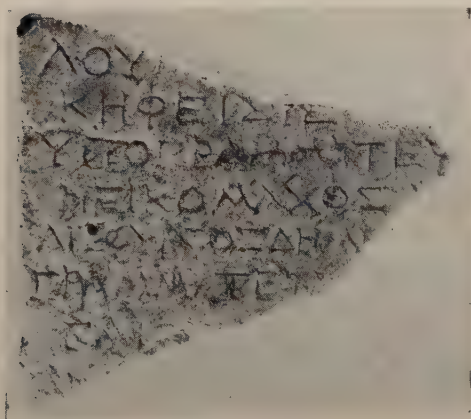


No. 1

Myron, whose name figures in several catalogues of *aisiti*, first appears in A.D. 169/70 (*I.G.*, II², 1776). Julius Themison appears in a catalogue of Areopagites of A.D. 161/2 (*I.G.*, II², 2339).

LISTS OF AISITI

2. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken away above, below, and at the right, but preserving part of the left side and of the rough-picked back, found on February 20, 1934 in Section Γ.



No. 2

Height, 0.207 m.; width, 0.224 m.; thickness, 0.053 m.

Height of letters, 0.016 m.

Inv. No. I 1361.

The title *λειτουργός* (ἐπὶ τὴν Σκιάδα) belongs to the first century.

End of the First Century after Christ

[-----]
 Λούκ[ιος -----]
 Κηφεισιε[ύς]
 ὑπογραμματεὺ[ς]
 5 Νεικόμαχος [----]

λιτουνργὸς Δημή[τριος --]
 γραμματεὺς [-----]
 Γάιος [-----]
 ἀν[τιγραφεὺς]
 10 [-----]

3. Two fragments of Pentelic marble, broken away at the back and on all sides, found in 1933 in Section Z. They join as one piece.



No. 3

Height, 0.12 m.; width, 0.095 m.;
 thickness, 0.06 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. Nos. I 853 and 1045.

A.D. 150-200

[-----]
 [-----]ιελος)
 [---- Π]ατροκλῆς)
 [---- 'Ι]ούν(ιος) Θεμιστοκλῆς
 5 [-----] γραμματ[ε]ὺς
 [-----] ἀντι[γραφεὺς]
 [----]σanos Πα[ι] (or Πα[λ])

The names and titles are those of aisiti who are customarily recorded after the prytanes. Junius Themistocles may well be the father of Junia Themistoclia, described in *I.G.*, II², 3679 as ἡ ἀπὸ δαδούχων καὶ γένους ἀπὸ Περικλέους καὶ Κόνωνος, κατὰ δὲ Μακεδόνες ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδου (*sic*). He may also be identical

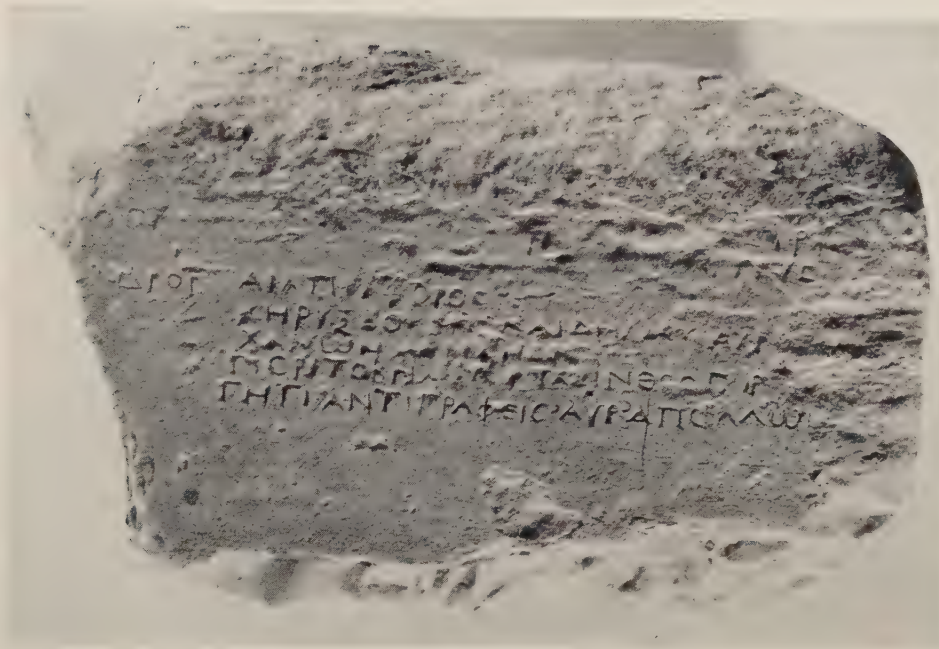
with the ephebe Ἰούν· Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἀλαιεύ[ς] recorded in *I.G.*, II², 2075, a catalogue from the middle of the second century.

4. Part of a block of Hymettian marble, found on April 27, 1937 in a late fill of Section Σ. The right side, top, and bottom are partially preserved, but the block is broken away at the left and at the back.

Height, 0.201 m.; width, 0.305 m.; thickness, 0.227 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 4822.



No. 4

End of the Second Century after Christ

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| ----- | [-----]ειρη[---] |
| [-----]λάον | ! [-----]γγευσ |
| <i>vacat</i> | |
| [-----]νδρον | Αἴλ(ιος) Πυρφόρος |
| 5 ----- | κῆρυξ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Ἐ[πιτυν] |
| | χάνων Μενάνδρου |
| | π<ε>ρὶ τὸ βῆμα Αὐ() Ἰάκινθος Γ ° IP |
| 10 ----- | γητι(---), ἀντιγραφε<ν>ς Ἀὐρ ° Ἀπολλων[---] |

Line 9 π<ε>ρί, stone ΠCPI; the reading at the end of the line is obscure. Line 10 ἀντιγραφε<ν>ς, stone ANTIGPAPHEIC.

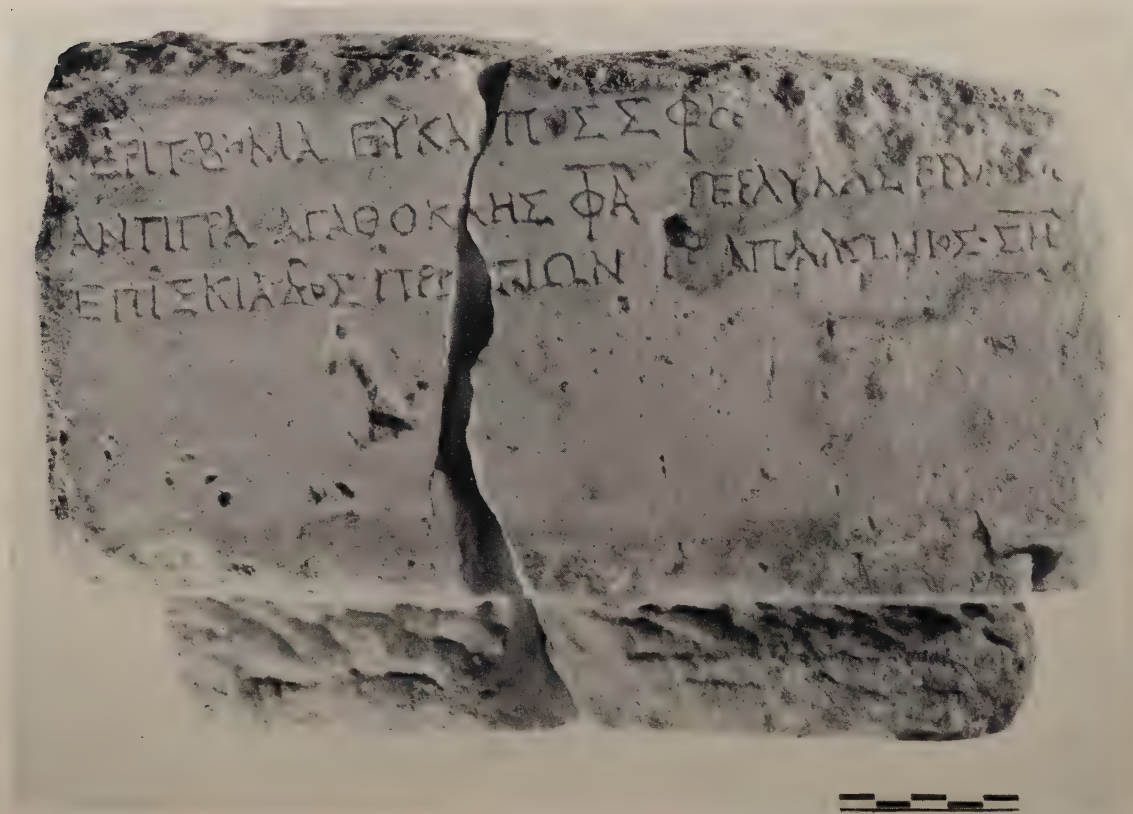
Aelius Pyrrhorus was a public benefactor, a distinguished man already known from the prytany catalogues *I.G.*, II², 1801-1803 (A.D. 180-190). Epitynchanon was probably the son or some other relative of Μένανδρος Ἐπιτυγχάνοντος Ἀχερδούσιος recorded as gymnasiarch in *I.G.*, II², 2086 (A.D. 163/4). In line 9 resolve Αὐ(ίδιος) or Αὐ(ήνιος) rather than Αὐ(λος).

5. Two fragments of a block of Pentelic marble which join as one piece preserving the bottom, the two sides, and part of the back, but broken away above. They came from modern walls in Section P, where one fragment was found on December 20, 1935 and the other on April 3, 1936.

Maximum height, 0.203 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.22 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. Nos. I 3218 and 3945.



No. 5

A.D. 190-200

[-----]
 [π]ερὶ τὸ βῆμα ὕ Εὐκαρπος Σφή(ττιος) ὕὕ Ἀ[ἱλ(ιος) Πυρφόρος]
 ἀντιγρα(φεὺς) ὕ Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὕ Φα ὕὕ ἱερ<α>ύλης Ἑρμ[ό]δ[ωρος]
 ἐπὶ Σκιάδος Πρωτίων ὕὕ ρ ὕ Ἀπολλώνιος Ση

Line 3 ἱερ<α>ύλης, stone ΙΕΡΑΥΛΗΣ.

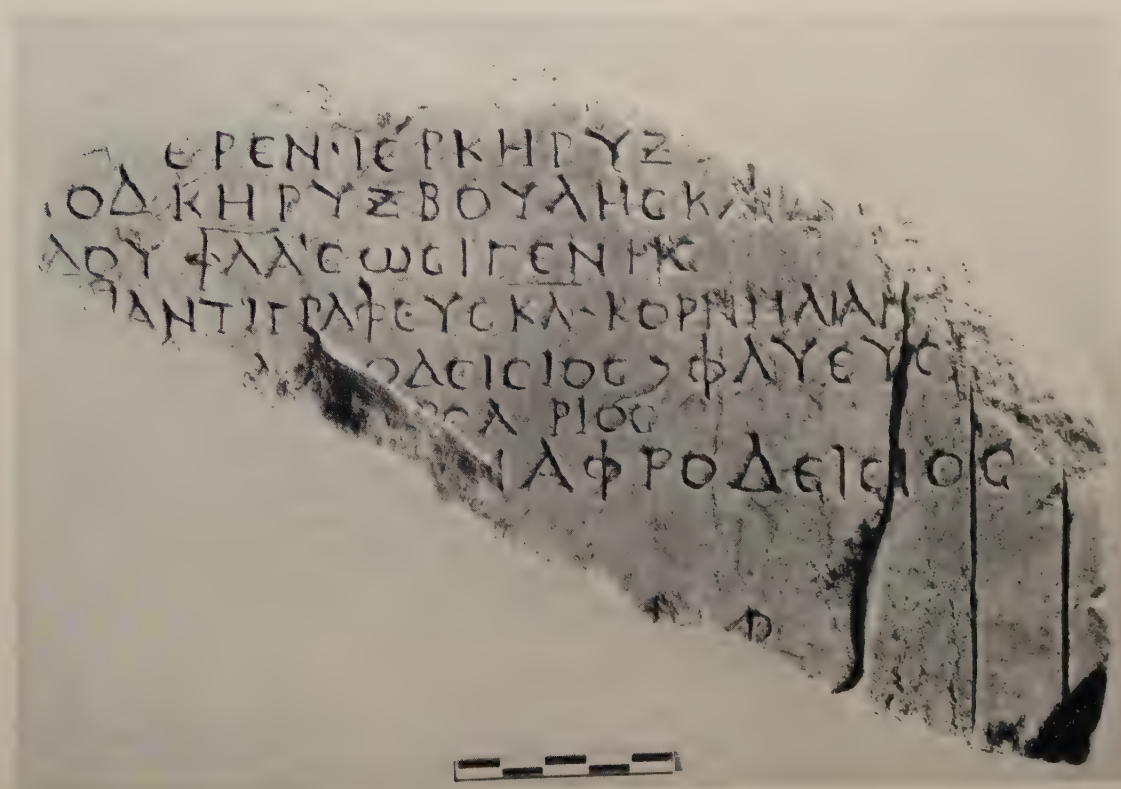
The symbol in line 4 ought properly to be resolved as γρ(αμματεύς). At the end of line 2, where there is no room for the insertion of the name and title of another officer, I have restored the name of a public benefactor, Aelius Pyrphorus, who appears among the aisiti in the roughly contemporary list *supra*, No. 4 (and in *I.G.*, II², 1796). Hermodorus appears as sacred herald in *I.G.*, II², 1806, 1806*a*, and probably in 1797, where I restore [ἱεραύλης] Ἑρμόδωρος Θερμ[—]. Protion appears as the ἐπὶ Σκιάδος in *I.G.*, II², 1806, 1806*a*, and 1790 (where I read Π[ρω]τ[ί]ων). The Protion named below in another capacity (No. 34, line 10) may possibly be the same man.

6. Two fragments of a plaque of Pentelic marble, found on May 26, 1933 in the wall of a late pit in Section Z. They join as one piece, broken away at the left, above, and below, but preserving part of the back and part of the right side.

Height, 0.14 m.; width, 0.135 m.; thickness, 0.045 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.-0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 871.



No. 6

ca. A.D. 200

['Αίσε] ι [τ] οι

[-- 'Ιεροφάντης] ^{vv} 'Ερέν · 'Ιερ<ο>κῆρυξ *vacat*
 [-----] ιοδ(--) · κῆρυξ βουλῆς καὶ δῆ[μου]
 [-----] ρ^p βου] λ(ῆς καὶ) δ(ῆμ) ου Φλα' Σωσιγένης *vacat*
 5 [περὶ τὸ βῆμα --] ρ^p · ἀντιγραφεὺς Κλ · Κορνηλιανὸ[s]
 [Στειριεύς · ἀντικῆρυξ] 'Α[φρ] οδείσιος) Φλυεύς
 [ἐπὶ Σκιάδος 'Αριστείδης Φ] ρε<άρ>ριος *vacat*
 [ἱεραύλης Π · 'Αφρόδιτος ὁ κα] ἰ 'Αφροδείσιος
 [-----] *vacat*
 10 [-----] *vacat*
 [ὑπογραμματεὺς -----] ρ *vacat*

The inscription contains part of a list of aisiti perhaps from the end of a prytany catalogue. There is a liberal use of shorthand abbreviations. The symbol ρ^p before the word ἀντιγραφεὺς in line 5 is not entirely preserved. I have conjectured there the vertical stroke to the left, and I read a combination of pi, rho backwards, and epsilon to be resolved *περ(σβύτερος)* and to be interpreted as the end of the name of the official recorded just before the ἀντιγραφεὺς.

We have arrived at the restoration through the following considerations. In all lists of aisiti the name follows the title except in the case of the hierophant, priest at the altar, daduchus and sacred herald. In the normal order the secretary of the Council and Demos is recorded immediately after the herald of the Council and Demos,⁸ and especially because of the repetition the latter part of the title can easily be abbreviated as in the catalogues *I.G.*, II², 1776 and 1779. In the normal order the official *περὶ τὸ βῆμα*, when present, is recorded immediately after the secretary of the Council and Demos,⁹ and his name is followed in turn by that of the ἀντιγραφεὺς.¹⁰ We can restore the title of the Aphrodisius recorded in line 6 as ἀντικῆρυξ on the analogy of *I.G.*, II², 1077, where he reappears in A.D. 209. The lacuna at the beginning of line 6 can then be satisfactorily filled if we insert also the demotic of the ἀντιγραφεὺς, who may probably be identified with the ephebe from Steiria mentioned in line 192 of the list *I.G.*, II², 2119 (A.D. 180/1-191/2) and who may be recognized as a relative of the Cl. Claudianus that appears among the prytanes of the deme Steiria in the catalogue *I.G.*, II², 1773 (A.D. 166/7). The vertical hasta visible in line 8 just before the name 'Αφροδείσιος suggests the restoration [ἱεραύλης Π · 'Αφρόδιτος ὁ κα] ἰ 'Αφροδείσιος on the analogy of *Hesperia*, IV, no. 11. In *I.G.*,

⁸ See *I.G.*, II², 1773, 1774, 1775, 1776, 1779, 1781, 1794, 1795, 1798, 1799, 1806, and *Hesperia*, IV, no. 11.

⁹ See *I.G.*, II², 1077, 1773, 1781, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1806. In only one list, *I.G.*, II², 1795, does the name of the ἀντιγραφεὺς intervene.

¹⁰ See *I.G.*, II², 1077, 1773, 1781, 1794, 1795, 1796, 1806; *Hesperia*, III, no. 40; IV, no. 11.

II², 1796 is listed an ἐπὶ Σκιάδος Ἀριστεῖ[δης ---]ους Φρεάρρι[ος] who may be the official recorded here in line 7, but there are other possibilities. The name of Aristides occurs also in the list *I.G.*, II², 1077 (A.D. 209) and in No. 23, below.

An approximate date for the document may be deduced from the names of the sacred herald and the ἀντικῆρυξ that reappear in *I.G.*, II², 1077 of A.D. 209, where, however, the sacred flutist Aphrodisius has been replaced by Athenaeus son of Aphrodisius. Our inscription, therefore, must have been erected somewhat before A.D. 209/10.

Flavius Sosigenes, whose name appears in line 4 and whose undated archonship is mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 2128, 2129, 2291*a*, was known from *I.G.*, II², 2103 to have been ephebe in 172/3 or shortly afterwards. He probably was the eponymus of the prytanes in *I.G.*, II², 1805 (A.D. 190-200).

PRYTANY CATALOGUE

7. Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on April 28, 1936 during the demolition of a modern wall in Section N. The back is preserved, but the stone is broken away at the sides, above, and below.

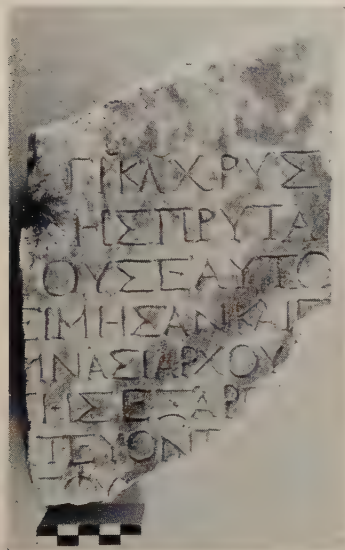
Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.047 m.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 4087.

Middle of the First Century after Christ

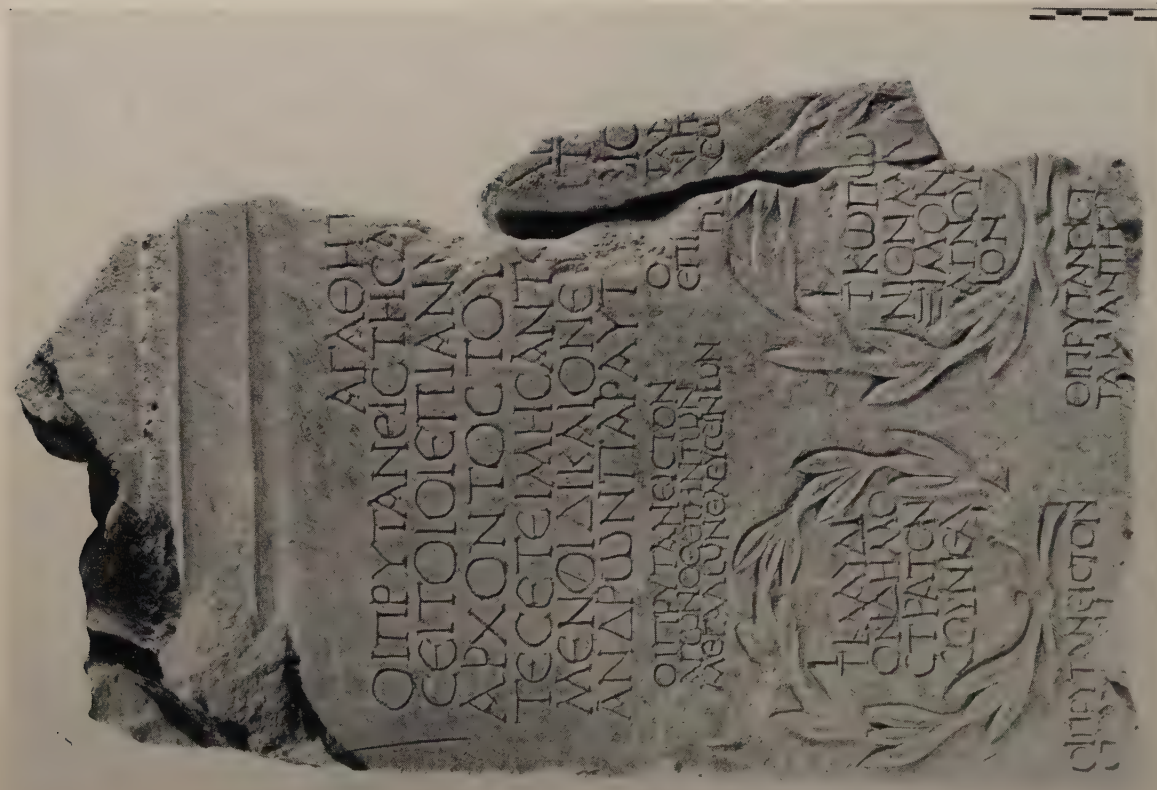
[Ἐπὶ] Τί^ν Κλ^ν Χρυσί[ππου ἄρχοντος -----]
 [---]ης πρυταν[είας οἱ πρυτάνεις καὶ οἱ αἰσείτ]
 [οι] τοὺς ἐαυτῶ[ν εἶναι ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς οἰόμενοι]
 [ἐτ]είμησαν καὶ ἐ[στεφάνωσαν καὶ ἀνέγραψαν]
 5 [γυ]μνασιαρχοῦν[τος -----, κηρυκεύοντ]
 [ος] τῆς ἐξ Ἀρε[ίου Πάγου βουλῆς -----, ἰ]
 [ερ]ατεύοντο[ς τοῦ ἐπωνύμου ἥρωος τῆς -----]
 [δο]ς φυλ[ῆς -----]
 |-----|



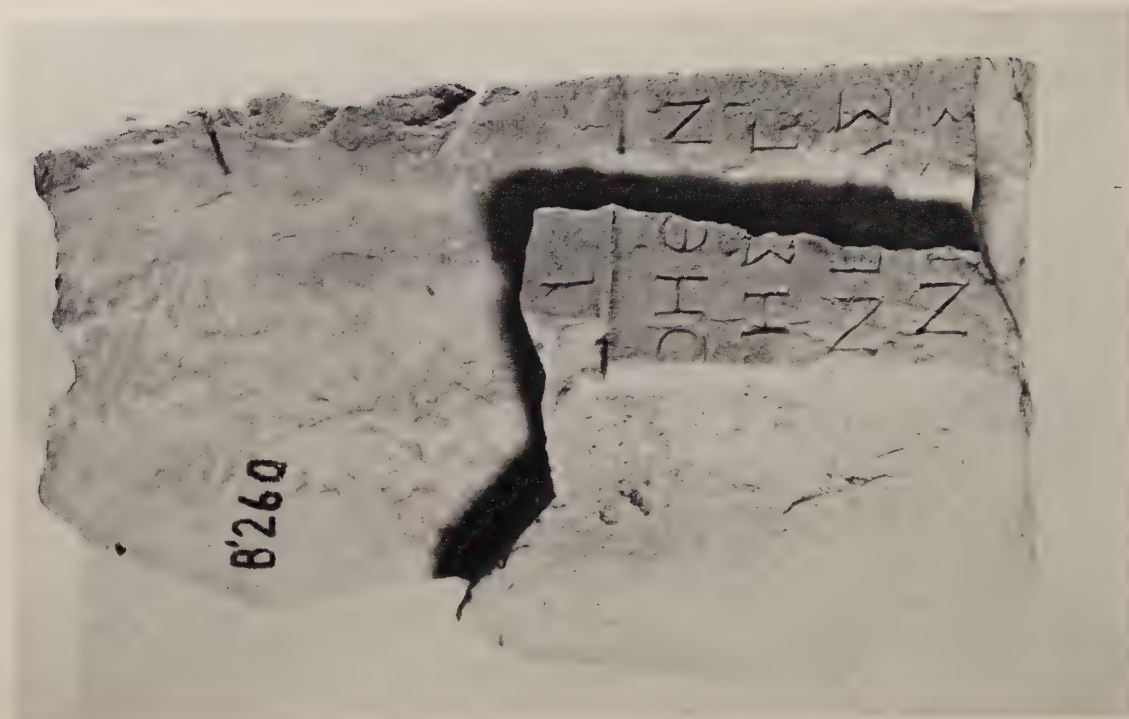
No. 7

The inscription preserves part of the heading above a prytany catalogue. With the restoration in line 3 compare No. 8, below. The tenor of ordinary prytany decrees suggests for line 4 the restoration ἐ[στεφάνωσαν].

8. Two fragments of Hymettian marble, found on February 19, 1935 in a late fill in Section B. They join as one piece, broken away at one side, above, and below, and inscribed on front and back. The inscription on the obverse is here published as No. 8, that on the reverse as No. 9.



No. 8. Obverse of Inv. No. I 2445



No. 9. Reverse of Inv. No. I 2445

Height, 0.44 m.; width, 0.275 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.

Height of letters (obverse face): in lines 1-7, 0.017 m.-0.02 m.; in lines 8-10 and 15-17, 0.007 m.-0.009 m.; in the wreaths, 0.01 m.-0.012 m.; below the wreaths, 0.008 m.-0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 2445.

End of the First or Beginning of the Second Century after Christ

Ἀγαθῇ Τ[ύχῃ]

Οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἀτ[ταλίδος καὶ οἱ αἰ]

σειτοι οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀνν[ίον -----]

ἄρχοντος τοῦ[ς ἐ]α[ντων στεφανοῦν]

5 τες ἐτείμησάν τε [κ]αὶ ἀ[νέγραψαν οἰό]

μενοι δίκαιον εἶ[ναι] το[ύς ἀγαθοὺς]

ἀνδρῶν παρ' αὐτῶ[ν] εἰς[γράφεσθαι]

οἱ πρυτάνεις τὸν

ἀγωνοθέτην τῶν

10 μεγάλων Ἐλευσινίων

15 οἱ π[ρυ]τάν[εις τὸν]

ἐπιμ[ε]λητ[ήν τῆς]

πόλεω[ς]

[οἱ πρυτάνεις τὸν]

[-----]

25 [-----]

In wreath

Τι Κλαύδι

ον Δημό

στρατον

Σουνιέα

In wreath

Τι Κωπώ

νιον Μά

20 ξιμον

Ἀγνούσ

ιον

[In wreath]

[-----]

[-----]

[-----]

[-----]

30 οἱ πρυτάνεις τὸν

στρατ[η]γὸν

[ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα]

οἱ πρυτάνεις τὸ[ν]

ταμίαν τῆς βο[υλής]

35 [οἱ πρυτάνεις τὸν]

[-----]

[-----]

[Wreath with name]

[Wreath with name]

[Wreath with name]

The inscription contains part of the heading above a prytany catalogue. Exact parallels for the formula of lines 4-5 do not exist, but No. 9, below, presents certain similarities.

Coponius Maximus is mentioned as epimelete at the Asclepieum in the inscriptions *I.G.*, II², 4481 (A.D. 85/6-94/5) and *I.G.*, II², 3187 (at the beginning of the second century). Coponius Maximus *ἱεροκῆρυξ* appears as epimelete in A.D. 119/20

(*I.G.*, II², 3798) and another [Copo]nius Maximus was epimelete at the time the Sarapion monument was erected *ca.* A.D. 220.¹¹

9. This inscription is engraved on the back of the monument which carries No. 8.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 2445.

End of the First or Beginning of the Second Century after Christ

[Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ]	5	[καὶ οἱ αἰσέτοι στεφανοῦ]ν[τε]ς >
[Ἐπὶ -----] Ὁῆθ[ε]ν		[τοὺς ἐαυτῶν ἐτείμησαν καὶ ἀνέ]
[ἄρχοντος οἱ πρυτάνεις] τῆς [Ἀ]τ		[γραψαν]
[ταλίδος ----- πρυτα]νε[ί]ας		

Compare Nos. 7 and 8.

PRYTANY CATALOGUE (?)

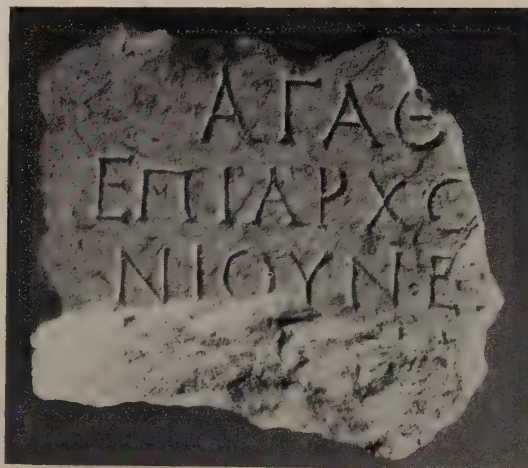
10. Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on May 1, 1934 in Section B. The stone preserves part of the left side, but it is broken away at the right, above, and below.

Height, 0.092 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.037 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.-0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 1417.

Ἀγαθ[ῇ Τύχῃ]
 Ἐπὶ ἄρχο[ντος -----]
 νίου νεω[τέρου -----]
 [- ^{ca.} 5 -] ἰ Ἀ [- -----]



No. 10

PRYTANY CATALOGUE OF ANTIOCHIS

11. Four fragments of an opisthographic stele of Pentelic marble, which join together, and one non-contiguous fragment. Parts of the right side and bottom are preserved. The main fragment (Inv. No. I 932) was found on June 3, 1933 in a well in Section Z. The three small fragments now attached to it (Inv. Nos. I 141

¹¹ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 95. Epimeletae τῆς πόλεως are recorded in *I.G.*, II², 1103, 1990, 3185, 3449, 3546, 3580, and 3548 + 4342. The officer, called at the Asclepieum the epimelete, is surely in the present case and possibly in all cases identifiable with the epimelete of the city.

and 203) were found during the previous campaign in Sections Δ and Δ'. The non-contiguous fragment (Inv. No. I 141b) was discovered in November of 1934 in Section B. It is broken on all sides but preserves the original thickness. The inscription published below as No. 12 was engraved on the reverse face of the stele.

Composite height of the fragments that join, 0.91 m.; width, 0.41 m.; thickness, 0.075 m. Height of the separate fragment, 0.11 m.; width, 0.14 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m. in lines 1-5, 14, 23-26; 0.009 m.-0.018 m. in other lines.

First Half of the Second Century after Christ

		[Οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος φυλῆς οἱ ἐ[πὶ]
		[----- πρυτανεία]ς [τειμήσαντες]
		[ἐαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς αἰσίου]ς ἀνέγ[ραψα]ν [vacat]
		[Ἐπώνυμος -----]νεύ[ς]
	5	[Ἀν]αφλύστιοι
		[----]ης Ἐπικτήτου
		[Ἀσκληπι]ιάδης Δημοχάρους
		[---- Ἀ]μύντου
		[----]
	10	[Ἀγάθων Ἀσκ]ληπιάδου
		[Ἀθήναι]ος Διοδότου
		[Πυρφόρος] Μέμνονος
		[----]
		[Ἀλ]ωπεκῆθεν
	15	[----]ωρος)
		[Ἰσιγέν]ης Ἡσύχου
		[-----]άτης
		[----] Ἀγαθόποδος
		[---- Ἀ]γαθόποδος
	20	[Ἀντίπατ]ρος Μουσαίου
		[----]ς Εἰσιγένους
		[] vacat
		[Ἀ]ίσιοι
		[ἱερεὺς Ἐ]πωνύμου
	25	[Ἀσκληπ]ιάδης Ὑγείνου
		[Ἀνα]φλύστιος
		[γραμματεὺς] βουλῆς καὶ δήμου
		[-----]ων Δημ[η]τρίου Γαργήτιος
		[πε]ρὶ τὸ βῆμα
	30	[-----]ς Εὐδήμου Γαργήτιος
		[ἀ]ντιγραφὲς

first
column
missing

first
column
missing

first	[---]λιος Ἀφροδισίου Φυλάσιο[ς]
column	[γόνωι] δὲ Μηνοδώρου Μαραθώνιος
missing	[ἱεραύλ]ης Ἐλευσίνιος
35	[ἐπὶ Σ]κιάδος Ἐλευσίνιος

The inscription contains part of a prytany catalogue for the tribe Antiochis. Asclepiades son of Demochares (7), Agathon son of Asclepiades (10), Athenaeus son of Diodotus (11), Pyrphorus son of Memnon (12) and Asclepiades son of Hyginus (24-26) reappear in *I.G.*, II², 1764, a prytany catalogue of A.D. 138/9. Aphrodisius the Phylasian, the legal father of the ἀντιγραφεύς mentioned in line 32, may be the father of an ephebe recorded in *I.G.*, II², 2049 and 3740 of A.D. 142/3. Isigenes son of Hesychus (16) appears as an instructor in the ephebic catalogue *I.G.*, II², 2024 (A.D. 112/3). The restoration [Ἀντίπατ]ρος (20), which fits the space, was suggested by the name Μουσαῖος Ἀντιπάτρου Ἀλωπεκῆθεν in *I.G.*, II², 5568.

PRYTANY CATALOGUE OF ACAMANTIS

12. This inscription was cut upon the reverse of the stele which carries on its obverse the text of No. 11. Part of a relief appears at the top of the reverse, but the small fragment (Inv. No. I 141b) which preserves the figure of a bird belonging to this relief is not here illustrated. The left edge and bottom of the reverse face are preserved. For inventory numbers and dimensions see No. 11.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.015 m. in lines 1-4, *ca.* 0.009 m. in lines 5 ff.

A.D. 146-165

	Ἀγαθῇ	[Τύχη]
	[Ἐπ]ὶ ἄρχοντ[ο]ς Κλ Δημ[οστράτου Μελιτέως -- πρυτανεί]		
	ας οἱ πρυτάνε[ις τῇ]ς Ἀ[καμαντίδος φυλῆς τιμήσαντες]		
	ἐαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς αἰσὶ[τους ἀνέγραψαν]		
5	Ἐπώνυμος Μέμ· ἐπὶ βωμῷ	Θορ[ίκιος]	
	Σφήττιοι	[Θορίκιοι]	[-----]
	Αὐρ' Δημοσθένης	Μέμ· [ἐπὶ βωμῷ]	
	Ἰούλ' Φέρμος	30 Κόρι[νθος ---]	third
	Εὐμένης)	Δείφι[λος ---]	column
10	Ἀπολλώνιος)	[Χολαργεῖς]	missing
	Λυσιμαχίδης)	Μέν[ανδρος Δημητρίου]	
	Θάλλος Διονυσοδώρου	Νόστ[ιμος ---]	
	Ἀσκληπιάδης Προσοκίμου	35 Ἐρέν[Φίλητος]	
	Σάτυρος)	Ἀρτεμ[---]	
15	Νικίας Ζωσίμου	Ἀφρο[δι-----]	

	'Οπτᾶτος Αὔλον		'Επισ[-----]	
	Θρασυκλῆς)		Πωλ[λι-----]	
	Ζωσιμianὸς Νηρέως	40	[-----]	third
	<i>vacat</i>		'Ακυ[λ-----]	column
20	Κεφαλῆθεν		[-----]	missing
	Φιλουμηνὸς Ἑρωτος		'Αφ[-----]	
	Ἑλιξ)		[Ἑρεσίδαι]	
	Μοσχianὸς Ἀττικοῦ	45	'Αγα[θήμερος Ἀσκληπιάδου]	
	'Αθηνόδωρος Διογένους		Μο[-----]	
25	<i>vacat</i>		Μη[-----]	
	Κικυννέως		Τρυφ[-----]	
	'Αθηνίων)		Πει[-----]	

Aur. Demosthenes (7), Julius Firmus (8), Eumenes (9), Apollonius (10), Lysimachides (11), Thallus (12), Asclepiades (13) and Memmius (29) reappear in a prytany catalogue *I.G.*, II², 1775 erected by the Philumenus of line 19 in A.D. 168/9. The name of Philumenus, moreover, occurs in a catalogue of A.D. 167/8, namely, *I.G.*, II², 1774, a comparison with which suggests the restorations in lines 32, 33, 35, 44 and 45. Nicias (15) reappears in a later prytany catalogue, *I.G.*, II², 1820. Helix (22) was an ephebe in 145/6 (*I.G.*, II², 2052, line 67).

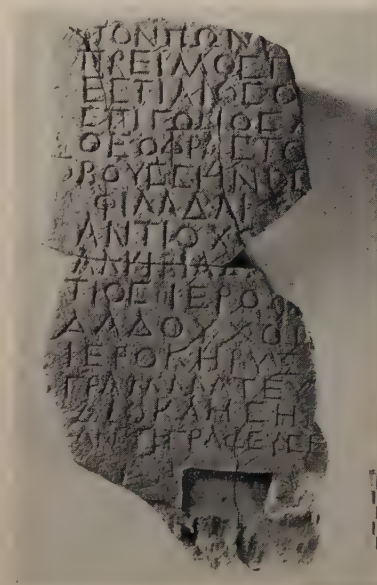
PRYTANY CATALOGUES OF AEGEIS

13. Two contiguous fragments of Pentelic marble, found in May of 1933 in a late pit in Section Z. They are broken away above, below, and at the right, but preserve part of the left side and of the back.

Height, 0.35 m.; width, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.045 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 875.



No. 13

A.D. 130-150

[-----]
 Πονιώνι[ος Ζωστῆρος]
 Πρεῖμος Π[ροτείμου]
 Ἑστιαῖος Ο[-----]
 5 Ἐπίγονος Ἀ[-----]
 Θεόφραστος Ποπλίου
 Γ^ο Βουσσηνός [-----]
 Φιλάδαι
 Ἀντίοχος[ς -----]
 10 Ἀλκιβιάδης[ς -----]
 τιος^ο Ἱεροφά[ντης]
 Δαδούχος [-----]
 Ἱεροκῆρυξ [-----]
 γραμματεὺς [βουλῆς καὶ δήμου]
 15 Διοκλῆς Ἡρ[-----]
 ἀντιγραφεὺς Ε[-----]

The fragment belongs to a prytany catalogue for the tribe Aegeis. Lines 1-7 contain the names of Gargettians, for Pomponius (2), Primus (3), and Theophrastus (6) reappear in *I.G.*, II², 1765, a prytany catalogue of A.D. 138/9, and Volusenus,¹² as Dittenberger tentatively renders the name Βουσσηνός in the index of *I.G.*, III, seems to be the father of the ephebes Γ^ο Βουσσηνός Διονύσιος Γαρ(γῆπιος) and Γ^ο Βουσσηνός Τυχικός [Γα]ρ(γῆπιος) recorded in lines 75 and 76 of the catalogue *I.G.*, II², 2068 (A.D. 155/6). Pomponius was ephebe in A.D. 125/6 (*I.G.*, II², 2037, line 25).

14. Fragment of Pentelic marble, preserving part of the back, but broken away above, below, and at either side, found on March 15, 1934 in a disturbed fill in Section Γ.

Height, 0.315 m.; width, 0.175 m.; thickness, 0.071 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.025 m. in lines 1-5, *ca.* 0.01 m. in lines 6-17.

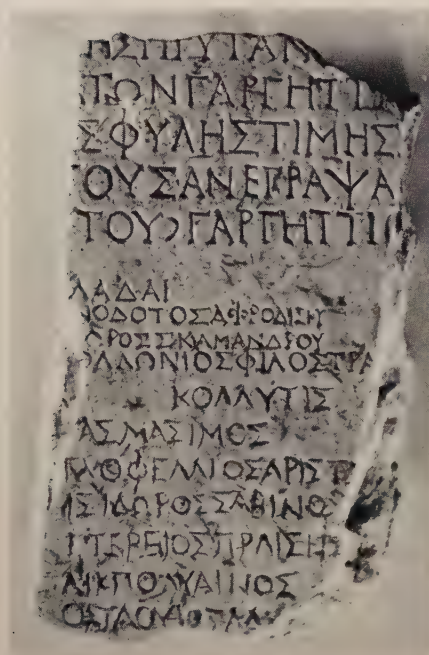
Inv. No. I 1593.

¹² The name Οὔλοισσηνός occurs as that of a prominent Spartan family, who may have received it from an unrecorded governor of Achaia. On this compare E. Groag, "Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian," *Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abt.*, IX, 1939, p. 48. The name C. Volusenus appears also on terra sigillata ware as a stamp found as yet only in Egypt and at Corinth: *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, VI, 1936, p. 47 and IX, 1939, p. 41.

The inscription contains a fragment of a prytany catalogue for the tribe Aegeis. Diodorus (10) reappears in a prytany list of A.D. 138/9 (*I.G.*, II², 1765, line 43). Licinius Polyaeus (17) appears in *I.G.*, II², 2037 (A.D. 125/6) as the ephebe in line 16 rather than as the instructor of line 71.

For Ἐτερεῖος (16) read Ἐταιρεῖος. Πρ<α>ίσης (16) is the Roman name Praesens.

Middle of the Second Century after Christ



No. 14

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος -----]
 [-----]ης πρυταν[είας]
 [ἡ ἐγραμμάτευεν -----]άτων Γαργήτι[ος]
 [οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Αἰγείδος φυλῆς τιμήσ[αν]
 5 [τες ἐαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς αἰσὶ]τους ἀνέγραψα[ν]
 [Ἐπώνυμος ----- ο]ν τοῦ Γαργήτιο[ς]
 vacat

[Φ]ιλάδαι
 [Ζη]νόδοτος Ἀφροδισίου
 10 [Διό]δωρος Σκαμάνδρον
 [Ἀπ]ολλώνιος Φιλοστρά[του]
 Κολλυτῆς
 Κάσ(ιος) Μά<ξ>ιμος
 Γά(ιος) Ὀφέλλιος Ἀρίστω[ν]
 15 Ἰσίδωρος Σαβίνου
 Ἐτερεῖος Πρ<α>ίσης
 Λικ(ίνιος) Πολύαινος
 Ὀκτάוניος Λαμ[----]
 [-----]

One
column
missing

Line 13: Μά<ξ>ιμος, stone ΜαΣιμος. Line 16: Πρ<α>ίσης, stone ΠρΛισης.

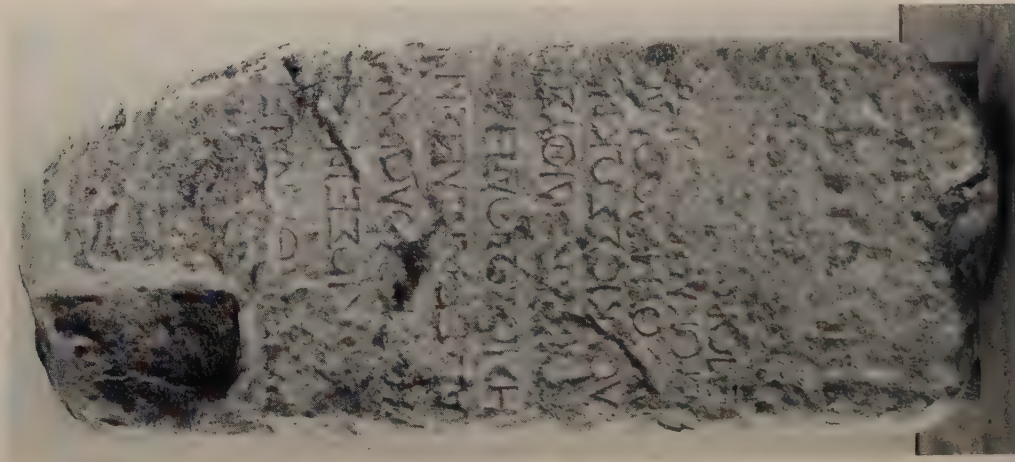
PRYTANY CATALOGUES OF PANDIONIS

15. A herm of Pentelic marble, inscribed on three sides, found on May 29, 1936 in the demolition of a modern wall in Section Σ. The head and phallus are missing, and the stone is broken away below. The inscription here published was engraved on the left face of the herm; No. 16 was engraved on the obverse, and No. 17 on the right face.

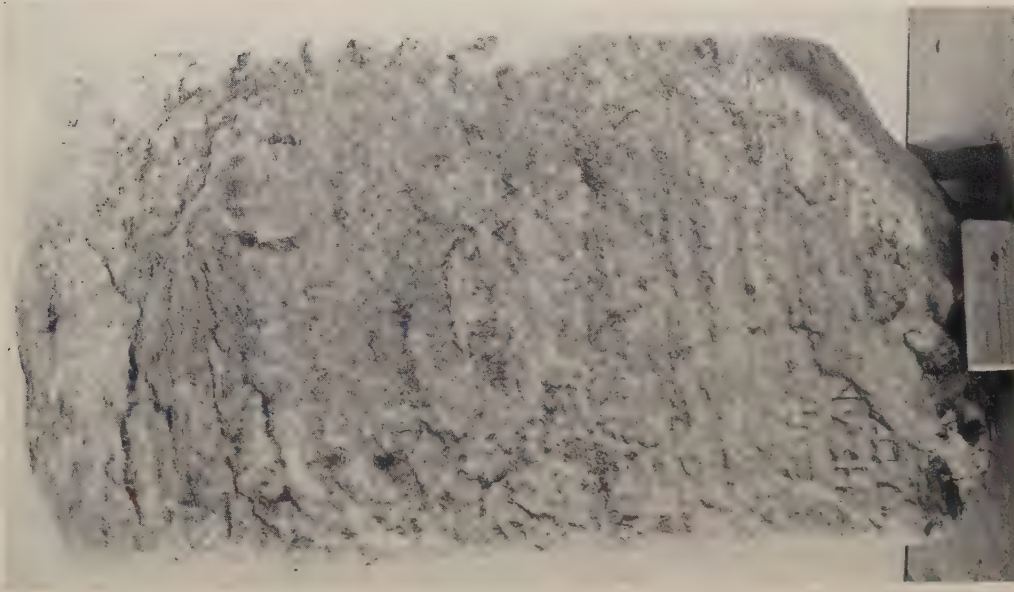
Height, 0.61 m.; width, 0.315 m.; thickness, 0.23 m.

Height of letters, 0.018 m.

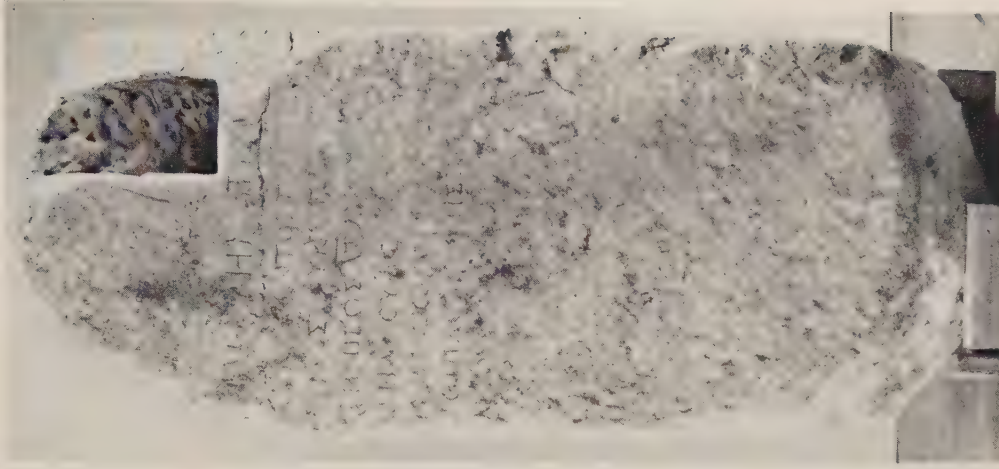
Inv. No. I 4216.



No. 15. Left Face of Inv. No. I 4216



No. 16. Obverse Face of Inv. No. I 4216



No. 17. Right Face of Inv. No. I 4216

ca. A.D. 160

	[Κυδ]αθηναίει[ς]	Λούκιος Σωκράτης[ς]
	[Ἀθήν]αιος Εἰρην[αίου]	Δασούμειος Θαλή[ς]
	Ἀ[ρισ]τ[ό]βο[υ]λος Ἰρ[η]να[ί](ον)	[Ἰ]εροκλέ[ιδ]ης Μητροδ(ώνον)
	Ἀ[ρτ]έ[μ]ων Ἐλευσιν(ίου)	10 Σπύρο[ς]] <i>vacat</i>
5	Ἡλιοδωρος Ἀρτέμω(νος)	[-----]
	Σωκράτης Διονυσίου[ς]	

The inscription, remarkable for its rather un-Attic profusion of ligatures, contains part of a prytany catalogue for the tribe Pandionis, to which the deme mentioned in line 1 belongs. The full name of the man mentioned in line 8 is given in *I.G.*, II², 4212 as Quintus Fabius Dasumius Thales. He appears also as prytanis in the catalogue *I.G.*, II², 1773 (A.D. 166/7), and Hieroclides (9) appears in the catalogue *I.G.*, II², 1776 (A.D. 169/70). Heliodorus (5) appears in both these later catalogues, as well as in the prytany list *I.G.*, II², 2478, where Artemon son of Eleusinius (4) and perhaps Sporus (10) may also be recognized. Sporus may have been the father of the ephēbe mentioned in line 116 of *I.G.*, II², 2130 (A.D. 192/3). If in line 3 an upsilon was once engraved within the omicron, we can interpret the traces as of the name Ἀριστόβουλος, and presume that the bearer was a relative of that Ἀριστόβουλος Εἰρηναίου Κυδαθηναίεὺς recorded in the catalogue *I.G.*, II², 2017 from the beginning of the century.

With the name in line 5 compare Ἀρτέμων Ἡλιοδώρον Κν in the catalogue *I.G.*, II², 1077.

16. For a description of the monument see No. 15. The inscription here published was engraved on the obverse face of the herm.

Height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 4216.

A.D. 159/60 or Slightly Earlier

[- - πρυτανείας οἱ]	5 [κ]αὶ τ[οὺς αἰσίτους]
[πρυτάνεις τῆς Παν]	[ἀνέγραψαν]
[διο]νίδ[ος φυλῆς τι]	[-----]
[μ]ήσαν[τες ἑαυτοὺς]	

The fragment is part of the heading of a prytany catalogue for the tribe Pandionis, not Hadrianis, which would be a restoration not conforming with the requirement for syllabic division at the ends of lines.

The date must be one or more years earlier than the date of the inscription on the right side of the herm (No. 17). The three catalogues on the three inscribed faces, since they concern the same tribe, must be assigned to three different years.

17. For a description of the monument see No. 15. The inscription here published was engraved on the right face of the herm.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 4216.

A.D. 160/1

Ἀγαθῇ^{vv} Τύχῃ[ηι]
 [Ἐ]πὶ ἄρχ[ο]ντος Π· Ἀ[ι]λ[ίου] Ἑλ[λην]
 ληνος [το]ῦ καὶ Πλ[-----]
 Ἀζηνιέως (ἔτους) λζ ἀπὸ [τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ]
 5 Ἀδρια[ν]οῦ ἡ ἐπ[ιδ]η[μίας] -- πρ[υ]
 τανείας οἱ προ[υτάνεις] τῆς Παν
 διονίδος φυλῆς τ[ιμήσαντες]
 [ἐ]αντοὺς κ[αὶ] τοὺς ἀισ[ίτ]ου[ς] ἀνέ[μ]
 [Ἐπ]ώρυμ[ο]ς [γ]ρα[ψαν]
 10 *vacat*
 [...] Ἀδριανό[ς] [-----]
 [-----]

The inscription contains the beginning of a prytany catalogue for the tribe Pandionis. With the name Π· Ἀ[ι]λ[ίου] Ἑλ[λην]ληνος compare the name [.....]ς Ἑλλην (Παιανιεύς) in the prytany catalogue *I.G.*, II², 1773 (A.D. 166/7). The difference in demotic indicates that they are not identical. The date according to the Hadrianic era establishes the year 160/1 for the previously unknown archon Hellen and thus probably establishes the year 159/60 for the archon P. Aelius Alexander (II).¹³

The name of the eponymus, i.e., of the patron who probably assisted in the expenses of the prytany out of his own pocket, is omitted as on a few other inscriptions of the same type. The first prytanis in the catalogue had a not uncommon name like Αὐρ. Ἀδριανός. One must not restore [θεός] Ἀδριανό[ς] as in other catalogues, among other reasons because Pandionis would be the wrong tribe.

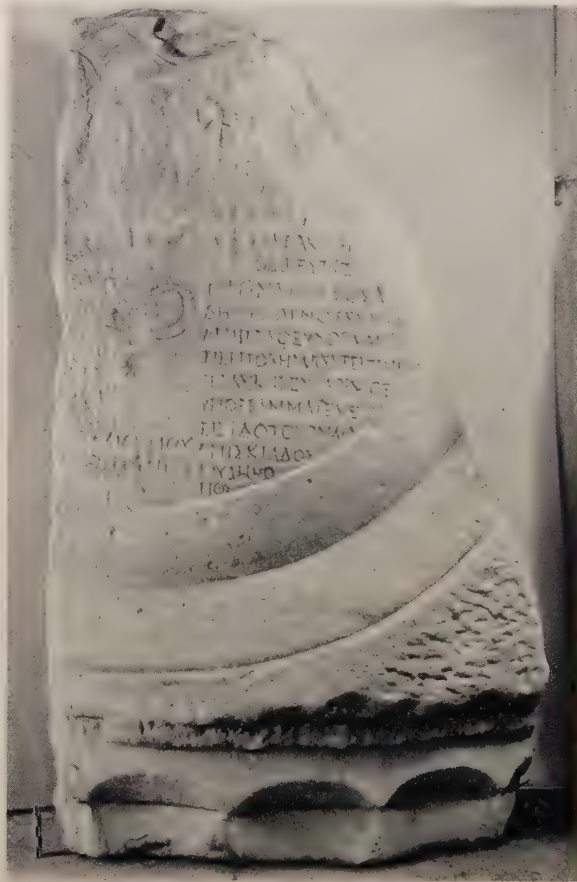
¹³ See Kirchner's commentary on *I.G.*, II², 2047.

- κῆρυξ [βο]υλῆς κ[αὶ δῆμ]ον | Π|άπιος Ἀττικὸς Βησαιεὺς
 γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ δήμου Ἄγνος Συμφόρου Ἀκ[υαιεὺς]
 45 ἀντιγραφεὺς Σω[φῆ] Ἀλ]κίμαχος Λαμπτρεὺς
 περὶ τὸ βῆμα ὧς Σ[.....] Ταμιακός
 ἱεραύλης Ἐπίγ[ονος Π]ρόκ[λ]ου
 ὑπογραμ<μ>ατεὺς [Ε]ἰσιδοτος)
 ἐπὶ [Σκιά]δος Ζ[ώσιμ]ος?

In view of the new list we must restore *I.G.*, II², 1775, line 45 ἀντιγραφεὺς Ὡ[ρά,¹⁴ line 46 Σ[κρεῖβ], and line 49 Ζ[ηνόβι]ος. The annual magistrates are the same in the two lists, so the two inscriptions were erected in the same year. *I.G.*, II², 1775, a prytany catalogue of the tribe Acamantis, is dated in the archonship of Tineius Ponticus (A.D. 168/9), to which we therefore assign also this catalogue of the tribe Ptolemais. The prytany of Ptolemais may have preceded the eighth prytany, that of Acamantis, because the new list exhibits the same ἱεραύλης as *I.G.*, II², 1774 of the previous year, whereas *I.G.*, II², 1775 does not. The under-secretary Isidotus (21) also appears in *I.G.*, II², 1774. The prytanis Arrius Zeuxis (14), for whom alone the heading Τειτακίδαι is meant, was ephebe in A.D. 154/5 (*I.G.*, II², 2067, line 63).

The name Σκρι· Τ[α]μ[ια]κός, furthermore, must now be restored among the Ἀλαιεῖς in the prytany catalogue, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 44 (= No. 21, below); and the name [Σκριβ]ών[ιος] Ταμιακός) should be restored in line 10 of the ephebic catalogue *I.G.*, II², 2054 (ca. A.D. 145/6). Horarius Alcimachus (17) received a grant of Delphian citizenship (*Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, 100).

¹⁴ The supposed sigma at the beginning of the name does not appear on the stone. The name Horarius is abbreviated ὩΡΑ in *I.G.*, II², 2128, line 149.



No. 18

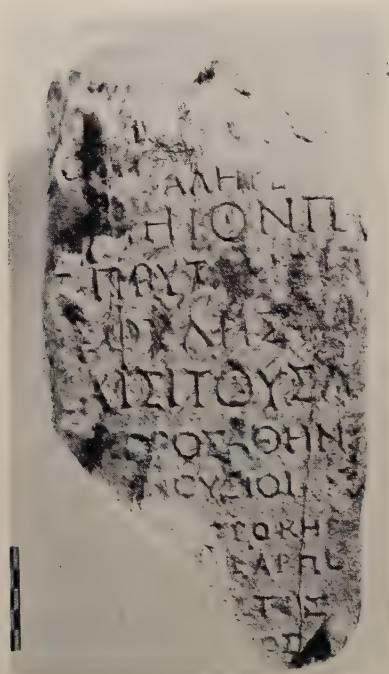
PRYTANY CATALOGUE OF ATTALIS

19. Part of a large columnar monument of Pentelic marble, found on February 25, 1936 in Section N. The fragment is broken away at the back, above, and below.

Height, 0.38 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.232 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m. and 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 3621.



No. 19

A.D. 169/70

- [-----]
- [-----] Φαληρέ[α -----]
- [Ἐπὶ τοῦ μετὰ Τι]γήιον Π[οντικὸν ἄρχον]
- [τα ἐνιαυτοῦ] γ πρυτ[ανείας οἱ πρυτάνεις]
- 5 [τῆς Ἀτταλίδ]ος φυλῆς [τιμήσαντες ἐάν]
- [τοὺς καὶ τοῦ]ς αἰσίτους ἀ[νέγραψαν]
- [Ἐπώνυμος Εὐπ]ορος Ἀθηναί[ου Ἀθμονεύς]
- [Ἀγ]νούσιοι
- [-----]ροκης [---]
- 10 [-----]καρπο[ς ---]
- [-----]στος [---]
- [-----]ος [---]

The inscription preserves part of a prytany catalogue for the tribe Attalis, to which the deme mentioned in line 8 belongs. For the type of citation in the first two or three lines of the document parallels exist at the top of the catalogues *I.G.*, II², 1763, 1791, and 1817. Εὐπορος Ἀθηναίου Ἀθμονεύς appears as eponymus of the tribe Attalis in the inscriptions *I.G.*, II², 1791 (A.D. 180/1 or 181/2) and 1794 (ca. A.D. 180).

PRYTANY CATALOGUE OF PANDIONIS

20. Two fragments of a columnar monument of Pentelic marble, with similar characteristic decoration framing the inscription. Fragment *a* was found on March 10, 1937 in Section P. It is broken on all sides and at the back, and has no point of contact with fragment *b*.

Height, 0.567 m.; width, 0.325 m.; thickness, 0.175 m.

Height of letters, ca. 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 4611a.

Fragment *b* was found on May 17 in Section H. It is broken on all sides and at the back.

Height, 0.446 m.; width, 0.327 m.; thickness, 0.268 m.

Height of letters, 0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 4611*b*.



No. 20. Fragment *a*



No. 20. Fragment *b*

ca. A.D. 168

a -----
 A[-----]
 Θ[-----]
 [.]ε[-----]
 5 K[-----]

 Δ[-----]
 Εῖ[-----]
 10 Σ[-----]
 K[-----]
 Η[-----]

T[-----]

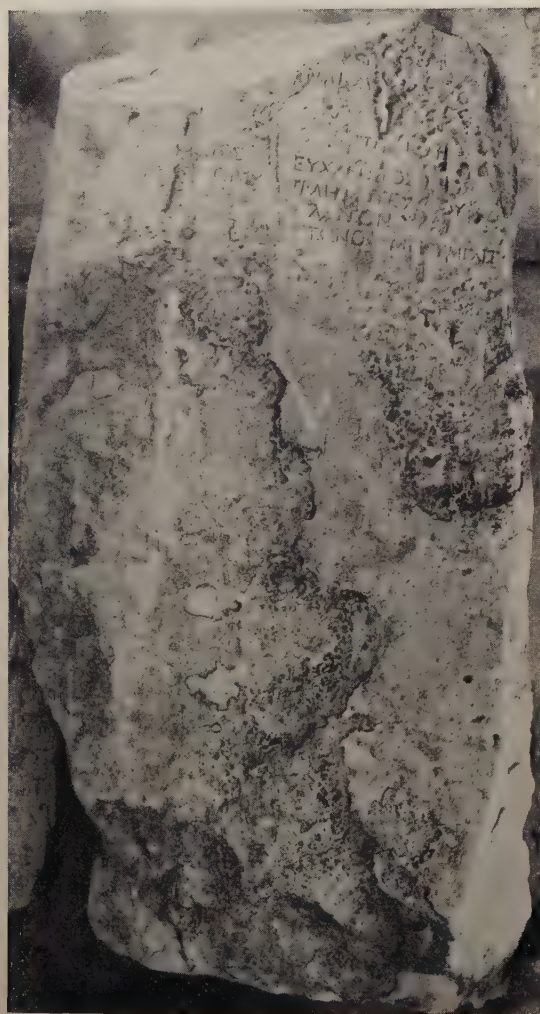
 15 -----

 M[-----]
 E[-----]

 20 Γ[-----]
 T[-----]

lacuna

b Ἰσιδοτο[ς . .]π[--]
 Ζώπυρος Ἰσιδ[ότου]
 25 Ζώσιμος Ἰσ[ιδότου]
 Μηνόδωρο[ς ----]
 Φιλήμων Σ[----]
 Αὐρ· Ἰσιδω[ρος]
 Ἰσιδοτ[ος ----]
 30 Ἐπίγο[νος -- --]
vacat
 γρ(αμματεὺς) β[ουλευτῶν --]



No. 21

This monument is of architectural as well as epigraphical interest. It appears to have been originally a close parallel in decoration and probably in size for the well preserved columnar monument E[pigraphical] M[useum] 10316, on which *I.G.*, II², 1773-6 are engraved. On E. M. 10316 we have a prytany catalogue of Pandionis for A.D. 166/7, one of Acamantis for A.D. 167/8, one of Acamantis for A.D. 168/9, and one of Pandionis for A.D. 169/70. I presume that this inscription was erected in the same locality at about the same time, for the name Ζώπυρος Εἰσιδότης (cf. line 24) appears among the Κυδαθηναίεις in *I.G.*, II², 1773 and 1776, and the name of Ζώσιμος Ἰσιδότου (cf. line 25), who had been ephebe in the 'fifties (*I.G.*, II², 2066), appears among the Κυδαθηναίεις in *I.G.*, II², 1776.

PRYTANY CATALOGUE OF CECROPIS

21. Part of a badly weathered block of Pentelic marble, broken away at the right, above, and at the back, but preserving the bottom and part of the left side, found on July 21, 1936 in a modern wall beside Eponymon Street.

Height, 0.90 m.; width, 0.48 m.; thickness, 0.33 m.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 4335.

This fragment is part of *I.G.*, II², 1788, which was copied by Jacob Spon in 1676 and which later disappeared. Another piece (Inv. No. I 572) was found earlier in the American excavations and was published, together with a tracing of Spon's copy and with a photograph, in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 43-46. The whole inscription is re-edited here. The letters underlined are those which have disappeared since Spon's copy.

The new fragment, with lines 44-51, reveals that a whole column has been almost entirely lost to the left and that Spon's division of letters between lines is correct for this section, whereas it was not correct for the section represented by the older fragment. His readings, however, were most inaccurate.

For the name in line 34 see above on p. 51. The man mentioned in line 48 was a relative of the [*ιεραύλης* Ε]ὐχάρισ[τ]ος Π[αρ]αμόνου Ἐ[πι]κεικίδ[ης] named in the catalogue *I.G.*, II², 1790, in line 31.

ca. A.D. 174/5

[Ἀγ]αθῇ Τύχῃ

[Ἐπὶ ἄρχοντο]ς Μ· Μουνατίου Μαξιμιανού Οὐοπίσκου

[Ἀζηνιέως -] πρυτανείας οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Κεκρο[πί]

[δος φυλῆς] τιμήσαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς αἰσίτους

ἀνέγραψαν

5

[-----]

30 Ἀλαιεῖς

Ἀίσιτοι

[-----]

Ἀννίου Πιστοκράτης

Ἰούλ· Ἱερο

[-----]

ἱερεὺς Δημήτριος

φάντης

[-----]

Δημήτριος [---]

55 Αἴλ· Δαδοῦ

10 [-----]

Σκρι· Τ[α]μ[ια]κός

χος

[-----]

35 Νίκων [. . .] δώρου

Ἐρέννιος Ἱε

[-----]

Αἰξ<ω>νεῖς

ροκῆρνξ

[-----]

Στεφεμφόρο<ς>>

Μέμ· ἐπὶ βω

[-----]

Ἀγνος Στεφεμφόρου

60 μ<ω>ι

15 [-----]

Ὀνήσιμος Στεφε

	[-----]	40	<u>φόρον</u>
	[-----]		<u>Ἑρμείας</u> [---]
	[-----]		<u>Ἑρμείας</u> [---]
	[-----]		<u>Ἑρμογένης Ἑρμείου</u>
20	[-----]		<u>Πιθεῖς</u>
	[-----]	45	<u>Ἡλιοδώρ</u> [ο]ς Διο
	[-----]		<u>δώρον</u>
	[-----]		<u>Ἐπικί</u> [δ]αι
	[-----]ιος		Εὐχάριστος)
25	[-----]δώρον		γραμματεὺς βου
	[-----]	50	λεντῶν Στρά
	[-----]		των Ὀλύμπου Μελιτεὺς
	[----]ο[----]		
	[----]οσι[----]		

PRYTANY CATALOGUE OF PANDIONIS

22. Two fragments of Pentelic marble, found in the Spring of 1933 in the demolition of late walls. They join as one piece, broken away on all sides and at the back.

Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. Nos. I 685 + 868.

A.D. 150-190



No. 22

	[Σ]τ[ειριεῖς]
	[Φ]λ Νικ[όμαχος]
	Αὐρήλι[ος ----]
	Μουσα[ῖος ----]
5	Ῥόδων Δ[----]
	Ἀφροδίσι[ος --]
--αι	Ἀπολλώνιο[ς --]
	Ἀθ[ή]ναιος Ἀ[φροδισίου]
	Θεόδωρος [----]
10	Δέκμος [----]
	[Μυ]ρρινούσι[οι]
	[Αὐ]ῖδος Κοδράτ[ος]
	[Αὐ]ῖδος Φαρν[άκης]
	[----]ος Εὐ[----]
15	[----]ο[----]

Athenaeus (8) appears among the Στειριεῖς in the prytany catalogue *I.G.*, II², 1773 of A.D. 166/7, while Flavius Nicomachus (2) and Theodorus (9) appear among the Στειριεῖς in the prytany catalogue *I.G.*, II², 1776 of A.D. 169/70. Avidius Pharnaces (13) is recorded as prytanis also in *I.G.*, II², 1776. Rhodon (5) may be identical with a certain Ῥόδων Στειριεύς, who was epebe in A.D. 169/70 (*I.G.*, II², 2097), and he is probably the father of the priestess Ζωσάριον Ῥόδωνος ἐξ Στειριέων mentioned in lines 64-65 of the catalogue *I.G.*, II², 2361 from the beginning of the third century. Aphrodisius (6) may be the prytanis mentioned in the catalogue *I.G.*, II², 1772, in line 19.

PRYTANY CATALOGUES

23. Part of a columnar monument of Pentelic marble, broken away at the back and on all sides, found on April 18, 1939 in a late wall in Section I.

Height, 0.315 m.; width, 0.238 m.;
thickness, *ca.* 0.175 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.-0.011 m.

Inv. No. I 5785.

End of the Second Century after Christ

[ἀντιγραφεὺς ----]

Ζ[ή]νωνος Φ[--]

[γ]ραμματεὺς κα[τὰ πρυ]

5 τανε[ί]αν Εἰσίδοτ[ος]

ἱερ[εὺς] Φωσφόρ[ων]

Ἀρισ[τί]δης Θεογ[ένους]

ἱεραύλης Σπέν[δων]

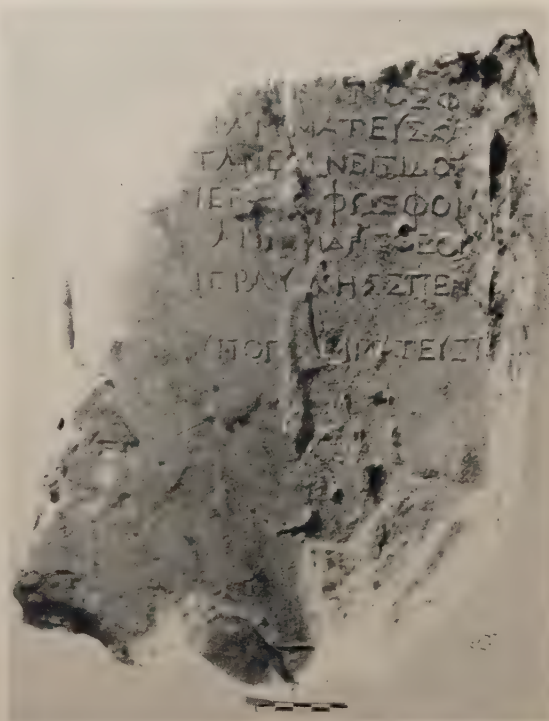
vacat

10 ὑπογ[ρα]μματεὺς Π[ρωτογένης]

vacat

[----]

1 [----]ου πρ(εσβύτερος)



No. 23

The names of the antigraphheus, prytany secretary, and priest of the Phosphori recur in No. 24, which must be dated in the same year. Aristides is already known from other lists, *I.G.*, II², 1077 and 1796 and No. 6, above. His patronymic [Θεογέν]ους may now be restored in line 39 of *I.G.*, II², 1796. Spondon is known from *I.G.*, II², 1798. The initial letter of the name in the last line is either pi or gamma;

the restoration is based on the last name in the list of *I.G.*, II², 1797: [----
Πρ]ωτογένης. On the Φωσφόροι (6) see H. A. Thompson, *The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors*, 1940, pp. 137-141.

The prytany secretary is to be identified with a councillor of Pandionis whose complete name is given in *I.G.*, II², 1773, line 52, and *I.G.*, II², 1776, line 52, as Εἰσίδοτος Φήλικος Ἀγγεληθεν. These inscriptions date from A.D. 166/7 and 169/70 respectively. The restorations proposed here in lines 4-5 and in No. 24, lines 1-3, are made with reference to these two prytany lists. See No. 24.

The prytany secretary is not usually recorded with his full formal title among the aisiti. His more usual designation is περὶ τὸ βῆμα (cf. Ferguson, *Athenian Secretaries*, p. 65). He does, however, appear with full title in the list *I.G.*, II², 1789 and in a list twice published in the *Corpus* (*I.G.*, II², 1059 and 1758) but now correctly read in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 105. I note in passing that the title περὶ τὸ [βῆμα] appears in *I.G.*, II², 1815, where the enigmatic characters of lines 11 and 12 should probably be read as ϙ β κ and ϙ β Δ and expanded as γρ(αμματεὺς) βο(υλῆς) κ[αὶ δῆμον] and γρ(αμματεὺς) βο(υλευτῶν) Δ[--- nomen ---].

24. Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken at the back and on all sides, found on March 28, 1934 in a late fill in Section B.

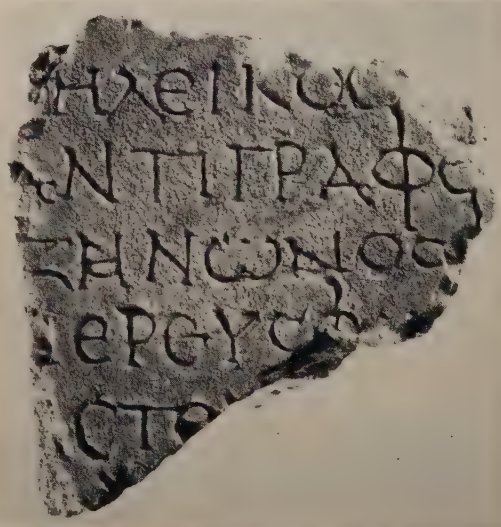
Height, 0.115 m.; width, 0.112 m.;
thickness, 0.059 m.

Height of letters, 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 1711.

End of the Second Century after Christ

[γραμματεὺς κατὰ]
[πρυτανείαν Εἰσίδοτος]
[Φ]ήλικος Ἀ[γγεληθεν]
ἀντιγραφε[ὺς ---]
5 Ζήνωνος Φ[----]
ἱερεὺς Φ[ωσφόρων]
[Ἀρι]στεί[δης Θεογένους]
[Φρε]ά[ρριος]
[ὑπογραμματεὺς ---]



No. 24

For the restorations and date see No. 23. The name of the prytany secretary and the relationship of the two catalogues were recognized by B. D. Meritt.

PRYTANY CATALOGUE OF PTOLEMAIS

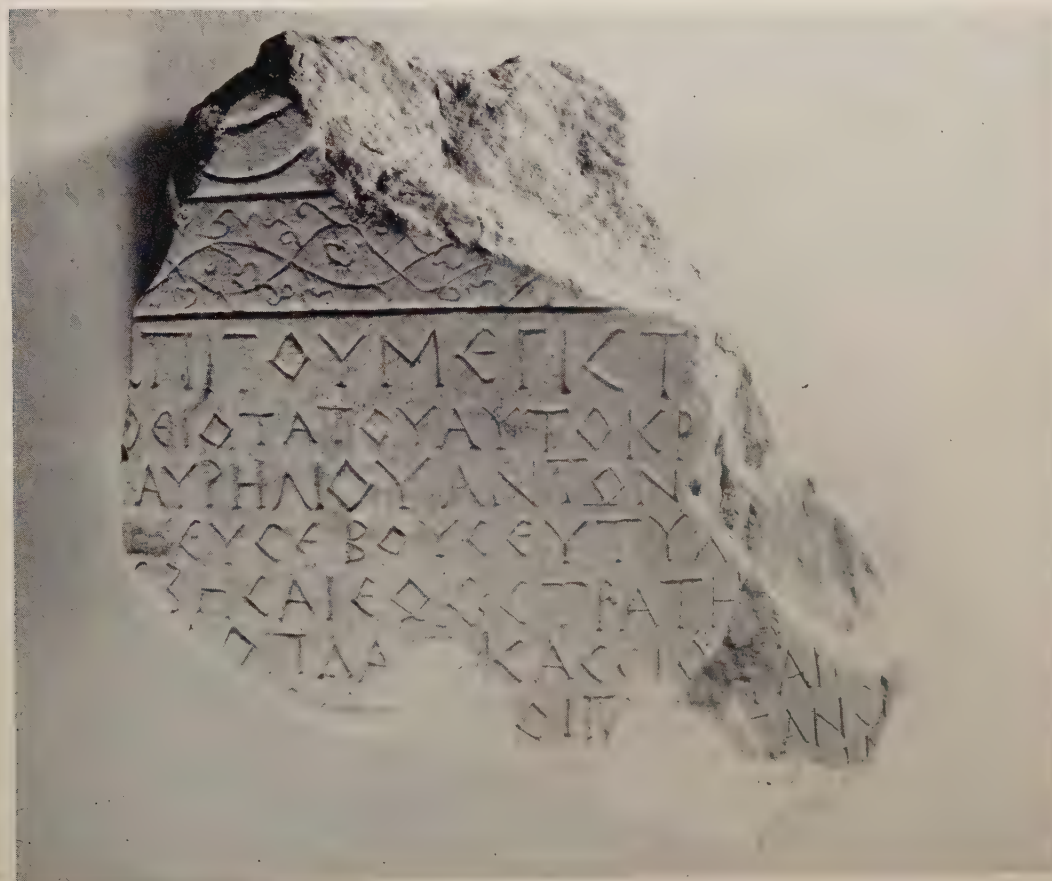
25. Four fragments of a columnar monument of Pentelic marble, found in 1934, 1935, and 1936 at Byzantine or modern levels of Sections OE, B, T, and MM.

The upper two fragments (*a* and *b*), from the heading of the catalogue, join as one piece, broken away on all sides.

Height, 0.39 m.; width, 0.44 m.; thickness, 0.18 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m.-0.03 m.

Inv. Nos. I 3122 *a* and *b*.



No. 25. Fragments *a* and *b*

The lower two fragments (*c* and *d*), from the list of names, also join as one piece, broken away on all sides, but they have no point of contact with fragments *a* and *b*.

Height, 0.30 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.17 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.-0.013 m.

Inv. Nos. I 1362 + 1694.

The heading ought to be compared with that of the prytany catalogue *I.G.*, II², 1792, edited as follows:

[Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ]
 [Νείκῃ]ς τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος [Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου]
 Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου Σ[εβαστοῦ ἐπ' ἄρχοντος --]
 χους Βησαιέως, πανηγυριαρ[χοῦντος καὶ ἐπιμελητεύοντος? τῆς]
 5 πόλεως Ἰο^{vv} Ἱεροφάντου, σ[τρατηγοῦντος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλείτας]
 Αἰολίωνος [Φλυέως, Β]σηδρομι[ῶνος ---- οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς]
 Ἀντιοχίδος [φυλῆς] τιμῇ[σαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς]
 [ἀ]ισίτους ἀνέ[γραψαν]

In the latter inscription the length of the original line may be obtained from the certain restoration of line 7, and therefore it appears that too much of a lacuna has been assumed at the end of lines 3, 4, 5, and 6. Furthermore, an iota is discernible before the first letter of line 2. By comparing *I.G.*, II², 1792 with our inscription we can rid the archon list of the embarrassing archon ---χης Βησαιεύς,¹⁸ and re-edit the heading as follows:

[Ἐπὶ τοῦ θειοτάτου]
 [καὶ μεγ]ίστου Αὐτοκράτορος [Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου]
 Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου Σ[εβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυ]
 χοῦς Βησαιέως, πανηγυριαρ[χοῦντος ---- τῆς]
 5 πόλεως Ἰο^v Ἰο^{vv} Ἱεροφάντου< σ[τρατηγοῦντος ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα]
 Αἰολίωνος [Φλυέως, Β]σηδρομι[ῶνος -, οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς]
 Ἀντιοχίδος [φυλῆς] τιμῇ[σαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς]
 [ἀ]ισίτους ἀνέ[γραψαν]

A somewhat similar heading occurs in another prytany catalogue below (No. 26).

PRYTANY CATALOGUES

26. Two contiguous fragments of a columnar monument of Pentelic marble, found in 1931 in modern walls of Section A.

Height, 0.47 m.; width, 0.153 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.-0.015 m.

Inv. Nos. I 5 + 57.

¹⁸ P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'empire* (1922), no. 145: "184/5? En tout cas, entre 180/1 and 191/2."

No. 27. Fragment *b*

Height, 0.37 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.088 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 865.

ca. A.D. 150-200

Ἐπὶ ᾧ > [-----]
 Ἀναφ[λυστίου ἄρχοντος οἱ πρυτά-
 νεις [τῆς ----- ἰδος φυλῆς ..]
 δε[κάτης πρυτανείας τειμήσαν]
 5 τ[ες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς αἰσίτους]
 [ἀνέγραψαν]

The archon is otherwise unknown.

[Βησαιέως, στρατηγοῦν]τος
 [ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας --] Κᾶσ
 [----- Στειριέως οἱ π]ρυτά
 [νεις τῆς ---- φυλῆς -] πρυ
 10 [τανείας κτλ. -----]

In the erasure in line 4 traces of the two final letters of the name Κομμόδου can still be discerned. For this type of preamble cf. Nos. 25 and 26.

28. Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, found on May 25, 1934 in the demolition of a late wall in Section Z. For this document the engraver used the back of an old stele with an inscription from the fourth century B.C. The stone is broken away at the right and below.



No. 28

PRYTANY CATALOGUE OF ERECHTHEIS

29. Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on March 4, 1936 in Section T. It is possible that part of the left edge is preserved, but the stone is broken away above, below, at the right side, and at the back.

Height, 0.28 m.; width, 0.24 m.; thickness, 0.155 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 3709.

ca. A.D. 220

- [---]λ[-----]
 [-]αγρ[-----]
 Ζώ[πυ]ρος [-----]
 Λαμπτ[ρείς]
 5 Ἐπίκτητος [-----]
 Γηρόσυνος Α[-----]
 Β[ε]ιτάλιος Διον[υσίου]
 Κλᾶρος Ὀνησί[μον]
 Ἰλαρος Ἰλάρο[υ]
 10 Αὐρ Ἀλ[κα]μέν[ης]
 Αὐρ Ἀλ[κ]αμέ[νης νε(ώτερος)]
 Τειμοκλή[ς] [-----]
 Ὀνασος Α[-----]
 Ἀττικὸς [-----]
 15 Παιδέρ[ως] [-----]
 [-----]



No. 29

The inscription contains part of a prytany catalogue for the tribe Erechtheis to which the deme mentioned in line 4 belongs. Alcamenes the father (10) and Alcamenes junior (11) reappear in *I.G.*, II², 2191 (ca. A.D. 200), and the father served as hoplite general in 209/10 (*I.G.*, II², 1077). An Αὐρ. Βειτάλιος Λαμπ appears as *σωφρονιστής* in *I.G.*, II², 2208 (212/3 *aut paullo post*). The difficult name in line 6 might be read in various ways: the first letter is either tau or gamma, and the third letter either iota or rho.

PRYTANY CATALOGUES OF OENEIS

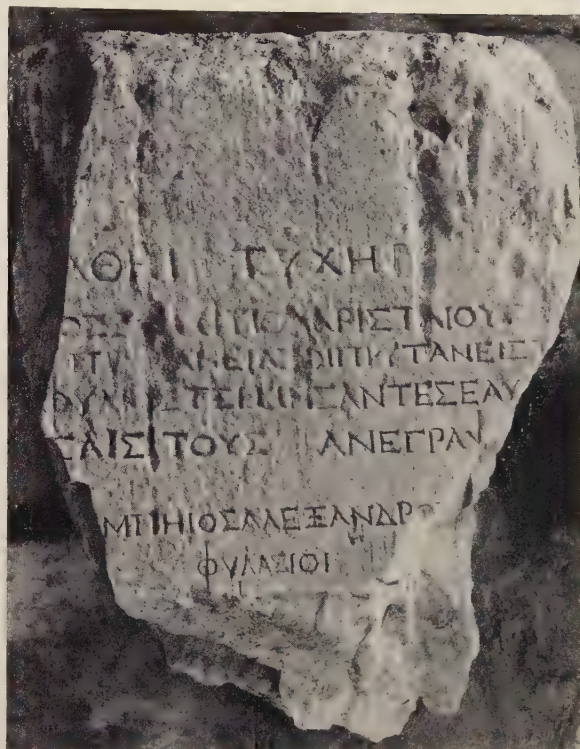
30. Part of a large block of Pentelic marble, found on May 2, 1933 in the demolition of a modern wall in Section H. Parts of the back, of the top, and of the right side are preserved; the stone is broken away at the left and at the bottom. There is a narrow lewis cutting in the top next to the break at the left.

Height, 0.67 m.; width, 0.44 m.; thickness, 0.32 m.

Height of letters, 0.025 m. in line 1, 0.015 m.-0.018 m. in lines 2-7.

Inv. No. I 769.

Another fragment (E.M. 4040), preserving part of the left side and the beginning of lines 2-5, was published by Graindor, *B.C.H.*, XXXVIII, 1914, pp. 374-375 (with a photograph of a squeeze), and by J. Kirchner, *I.G.*, II², 1812. This fragment is not illustrated here. The new piece contributes the name of the archon, who is otherwise unknown. As Graindor recognized, the stone contains the preamble of a prytany catalogue, which he dated on the basis of the lettering at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century after Christ. Pompeius Alexander, who as eponymus of the tribe appears at the head of the list, is recorded as archon in *I.G.*, II², 3815.¹⁹



No. 30. Agora Fragment

ca. A.D. 200

[Ἀγ]αθῆι^{vv} Τύχηι
 Ἐπὶ ἄρχ[οντ]ος Δ[ο]μιτίου^v Ἀρισταίου Π[αι]
 ονίδου [-] πρ[υτ]ανείας οἱ πρυτάνεις τ[ῆς]
 Οἰνηΐδ[ος] φυλῆς τειμήσαντες ἑαυτ[οὺς]
 5 καὶ [τοῦ]ς αἰσίτους^{vv} ἀνέγραψ[αν]
 vacat
 [Ἐπώνυμος Πο]μπήιος Ἀλέξανδρος [---]
 [-----] Φυλάσιοι
 [-----] [-]φ[-----]

31. Four fragments of Pentelic marble, which combine as two pieces, broken away at the back and on all sides, discovered in March of 1934 in a late fill in Section B.

¹⁹ Omitted from the archon list in the *Corpus* (*I.G.*, II², part 2, fasc. 2, pp. 792-795). See, however, P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'empire* (1922), p. 278.

Fragment *a*: height, 0.055 m.; width, 0.135 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.

Fragment *b*: height, 0.14 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.044 m.

Height of letters, 0.014 m.-0.021 m.

Inv. Nos. I 1430 + 1451.



No. 31

Late Second or Third Century after Christ

[Ἐ]πὶ [ἄρχο]ντο[s - - - - -]
 Ἱερο[κ]ήρυκος Φ[----- οἱ πρυτάνεις]
 τῆς Οἰνηΐδος φ[υλῆς τιμήσαντες ἑαυτοὺς]
 [καὶ το]ὺς αἰσιτο[υς ἀνέγραψαν]
 5 [Ἀχ]αρνεῖς
 [-----]

The archon is otherwise unknown. The ligatures indicate a late date.

PRYTANY CATALOGUE OF PTOLEMAIS

32. Part of a herm of Pentelic marble, broken away at the back, above, below, and at the right, found on February 24, 1934 in Section Λ.

Height, 0.47 m.; width, 0.29 m.; thickness, 0.128 m.

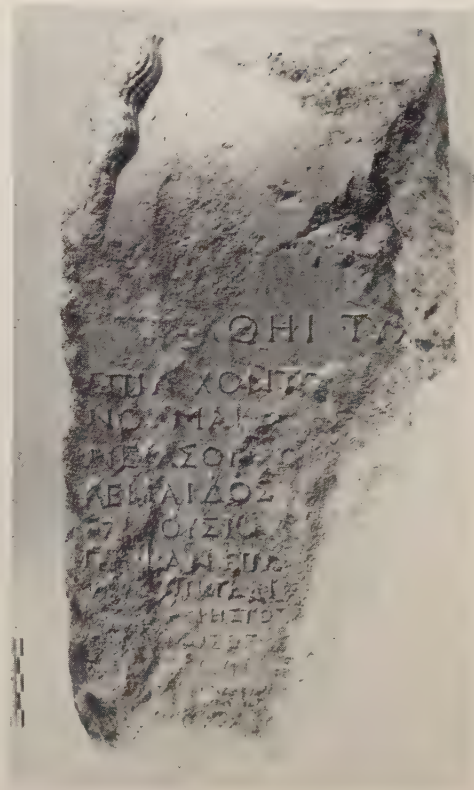
Height of letters, 0.015 m. in line 1, 0.012 m. in lines 2-8, 0.008 m. in lines 9-11.

Inv. No. I 1393.

ca. A.D. 210

- [Ἀγ]αθῆι ὁ Τύχ[ηι]
 Ἐπὶ ἄ[ρ]χοντο[ς Δομιτίου Ἀραβία]
 νοῦ Μαρ[αθωνίου] ----- πρυτα]
 νείας οἱ [πρυτάνεις τῆς Πτο]
 5 λεμαῖδος [φυλῆς τιμήσαντες]
 ἑα[ντ]οὺς κα[ὶ τοὺς αἰσιτίους ἀνέ]
 γ[ρα]ψαν· Ἐπὶ[νυμος] -----]
 [Βερ]νικίδαι
 |-----]χρηστος
 10 [--- Δη]μοσθέ[νης]
 [--- Σε]κοῦν[δος]
 [-----]

Secundus, who is named in line 11, may be the same as the boy of line 132 in the ephobic list *I.G.*, II², 2130 (A.D. 192/3): Σεκ[οῦ]νδος Ῥητορικοῦ Βερ(νικίδης).



No. 32

PRYTANY CATALOGUES OF CECROPIS

33. Part of a herm of Pentelic marble, found on January 2, 1935 in Section II. The stone is broken away above and below, and the back has been cut down in a later re-use.

Height 0.245 m.; width, 0.31 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

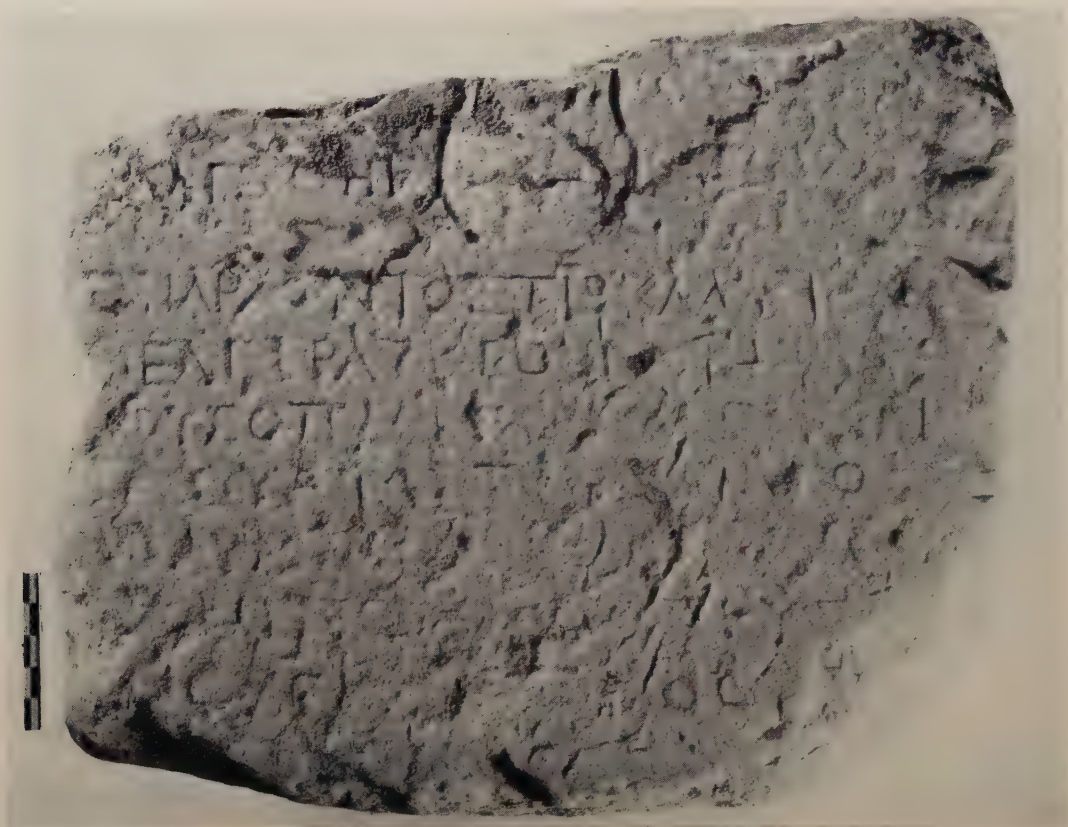
Height of letters, 0.011 m.-0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 2276.

ca. A.D. 200-230

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------|---------------------------------|
| Ἀγαθῆι | [Τύχηι] | [Ὀ]λυμ[πία Τιβ Κλ Πα]τρό[κλου] |
| [Ἐ]πὶ ἄρχοντος Τιβ Κλ Λ[---] | | [Λα]μπτ[ρέως, οἱ] πρυτ[άν<ε>ις] |
| Μελ(ιτέως), στρατ[η]γοῦν[τος δὲ ἐπὶ] | | [τ]ῆς [Κ]εκ[ροπί]δος φ[υλῆς] |
| [τ]οὺς ὀπλείτας [ἱερ]έω[ς κ]αὶ | | [τειμήσαντ]ες ἐ[αυτοὺς καὶ] |
| 5 [φαι]δν[ν]τοῦ τ[οῦ Διὸς τ]ο[ῦ ἐν] | 10 | [τοὺς αἰσιτίους ἀνέγραψαν] |

For the hoplite general see *I.G.*, II², 1828 (ca. A.D. 210): [ἐπὶ] ἄρχοντος φεδυν-
[τοῦ] Διὸς ἐν Ὀλυνπία Τιβε[ρίου] Κλαυδίου Πατρόκλου [Λαμ]πτρέως. For the title
φαιδυντής P. Graindor²⁰ cites Pausanias, V, 14, 5: οἱ ἀπόγονοι Φειδίου, καλούμενοι δὲ



No. 33. Obverse Face of Herm

φαιδρυνταί, γέρας παρὰ Ἡλείων εἰληφότες τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀπὸ τῶν προσιζανόντων
καθαίρειν. This identification with Patroclus and the list of Aurelii on the right
side, a list which cannot long postdate the inscription on the front, prevent us from
restoring the name of the familiar archon Τιβ. Κλ. Λυσιάρχης (II) Μελιτεύς. It was
another member of the same family, possibly Τιβ. Κλ. Λυσιάρχης (III). See the family
tree presented by Kirchner in the commentary to *I.G.*, II², 3609.

²⁰ *Byzantion*, IV, 1927/8, p. 473.

34. This inscription appears on the left side of the herm published as No. 33.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 2276.

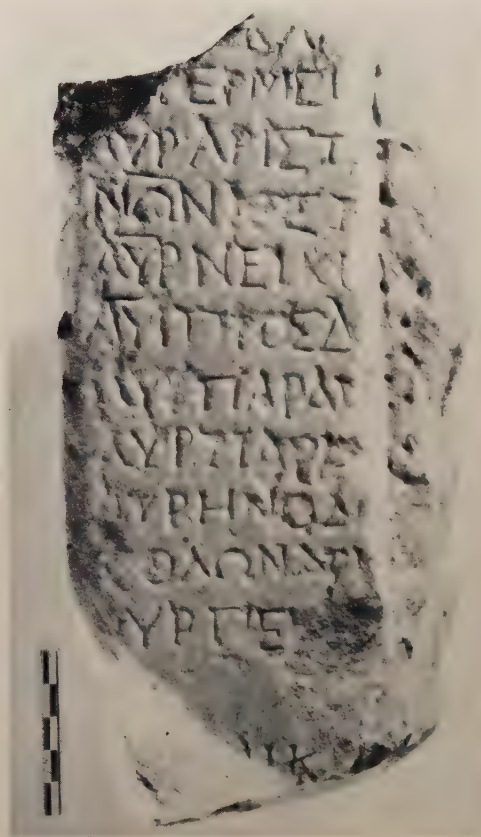
ca. A.D. 200-230

[-----]
 [----- ο]υ
 [-----]
 [-----]
 5 [----- ε]πιστάτης

[-----]
 [-----]
 [-----]
 [-----]ωνος
 10 [-----]



No. 34. Left Face of Herm



No. 35. Right Face of Herm

35. This inscription appears on the right side of the herm published as No. 33.

Height of letters, 0.011 m.-0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 2276.

ca. A.D. 200-230

[-----]
 [... 'Α]σκλη[πι ---]
 [Αύ]ρ 'Ερμεί[ας]
 Αύρ 'Αριστ[είδης]
 5 Νώνιος Γ[-----]
 Αύρ Νεικί[ας]
 Αύρ Προσδό[κιμος]
 Αύρ Παράμ[ονος]

Αύρ Παρα[-----]
 10 Αύρ 'Ηλιόδω[ρος]
 [Σ]όλων 'Αρι[-----]
 Αύρ Περ[-----]
 /[-----]
 [-----]αικε[-----]
 15 [-----]

LIST OF AISITI

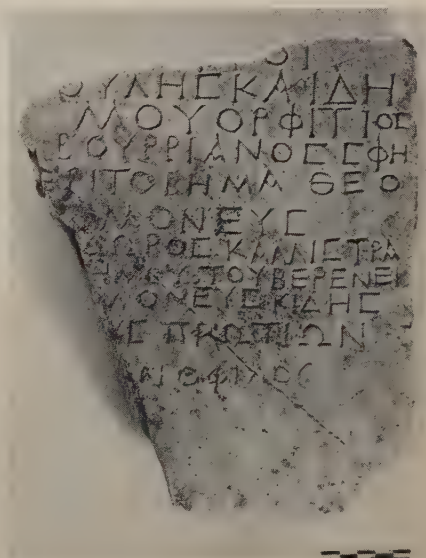
36. Two contiguous fragments of Pentelic marble, found on May 7, 1937 in the foundations of a late Roman house in Section Z. As joined, they preserve part of the bottom, the back, and the right side, but are broken away above and at the left.

Height, 0.275 m.; width, 0.23 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.

Height of letters, ca. 0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 4785.

The title prominently engraved in line 2 is more likely to be that of the herald of the Council and Demos than that of the secretary. In line 14 the title *ιερεὺς Φωσφόρων καὶ ἐπὶ Σκιάδος* can hardly be associated with Protion, though it is well known with that name. It is sometimes abbreviated as *ιερεὺς Φωσφόρων* or as *ἐπὶ Σκιάδος*, but at least hitherto not as *ιερεὺς*. Menophilus (15) appears in the catalogues *I.G.*, II², 1077 (A.D. 209) and 1799.



No. 36

Beginning of the Third Century after Christ

['Αίσε] ι τοι
 [κ ἦ ρ υ ξ] β ο υ λ ῆ ς καὶ δ ῆ
 7 [--- 'Ιεροφάντης] μ ο υ 'Ορφίτιος
 [--- Δαδοῦχος] Βουρριανὸς Σφή
 [--- 'Ιεροκῆρυξ] 5 [τιος > π] ἐρὶ τὸ βῆμα Θεο
 10 [--- ἐπὶ βωμῶ] [--- 'Αθ]μονεύς

- [γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν --]δωρος Καλλιστράτου Βερενικίδης
 [γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ δ]ήμου
 [-----] 'Αθ]μονεύς
 [ἱεραύλης -----, ἀντιγραφε]ὺς Πρωτίων
 15 [ἐπὶ Σκιαδὸς -----, ὑπογρ Μ]ηνόφιλος

EPHEBIC CATALOGUE

37. Ten fragments of Hymettian marble, which join as a single stele, broken away below and with a piece missing from each side of the original stone. The back is smooth. An incised pediment and columns frame the inscription. The upper eight fragments, found in 1932 in Section Δ, were published by the writer in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 505-511. The new fragments were found on May 29, 1937 in a well in Section II.

Height, 1.11 m.; width, 0.608 m.; thickness, 0.036 m.-0.051 m.

Height of letters, 0.023 m. in line 1, 0.013 m. in lines 2-11, 0.005 m.-0.008 m. in remaining lines.

Inv. No. I 231.

Latter Part of the Third Century after Christ

- 'Αγαθῇ ^{vvv} Τύχηι
- 'Επὶ ἄρχοντος τὸ β' τοῦ κρα' [ἱερέως 'Αθηνᾶς]
 Πολιάδος καὶ ἱερέως τῆς 'Ο[μονοίας τῶν]
 'Ελλήνων Τίτ' Φλ' Μόνδων[ς -----]
 5 τοῦ Φιλείνου Φλυέως, ὁ κ[οσμητῆ]ς τῶν
 ἐφήβων Ἀνρ' 'Αφροδείσιος ὁ καὶ Νείκων 'Α ρ'
 φροδεσίου Σφήττιος, ἱππεὺς 'Ρωμαίων,
 τοὺς τε συνάρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐφή
 βους ἀνέγραψεν, παιδοτριβοῦντος διὰ βίου
 10 [Α]νρ' Σωκράτους τοῦ 'Αρτεμιδώρου 'Ελευσεινίου
 [ἔτος] ε' (ογ γ'), ἀντικοσμητεύοντος Ἀνρ' Θαλήτος.
- Οἱ διὰ βίου
- [-----]
 [-----]
 [-----]
 15 [-----]
 [-----]
 'Επίκτητος
- προστάτης Ζωσᾶς δ, διδάσκαλος 'Ονησικράτης
 ὀπλομάχος Νυμφόδοτος ε, ἡγεμὼν ἱερεὺς Σωτήριχος
 45 ὑποπαιδοτρίβης Ἀνρ' 'Αλέξανδρος ε
 ζάκορος Πολυδεύκης
 ὑποζάκορος Εὐτυχᾶς
 ἱατρὸς 'Ιουλιανός
- 'Ακαμαντίδος
 Καλόπους

- Ἀγαθόπους
 Ἑρωτίων
 20 Ἀφροδείσιος
 Ἰακχος
 Ἀδριανός
 Θρεπτίων

 συνστρεμματάρχαι
 25 Ἐπίκτητος
 Καλόπους
 Ἐπίγονος
 Πιστικός
 Ῥόδων
 30 Θεολόγος
 Πρωτογένης
 Τρύφων
 Ἀσκληπιάδης
 Σωτήριχος

 35 γυμνασάρχαι
 κοσμητής
 Στεφανᾶ [ς]
 Ἐπαφρίων
 [Ἄ]ντυλλος
- γραμματεὺς Ἀλκιβιάδης
 50 ὑποῖπλομάχος Ὀλύμπιος
 ὑπογραμματεὺς Ἀλκιβιάδης
 ἐπὶ Διογενείου Νείκων
 κεστροφύλα<ξ> Φιλάδελφος
 λεντιάριος Ζώσιμος

 55 Ἐρεχθείδος
 Αὐρ' Πελάγιος
 Ἐλπιδιανός
 Τρύφων
 Μαρκιανός
 60 Ἡλι<ξ>

 Αἰγείδος
 Στεφανᾶς
 Εὐσέβης
 Ἐπίγονος
 65 Ἐπίκτητος
 Πιστικός
 Εὐκαρπος
 Ἀρτέμων

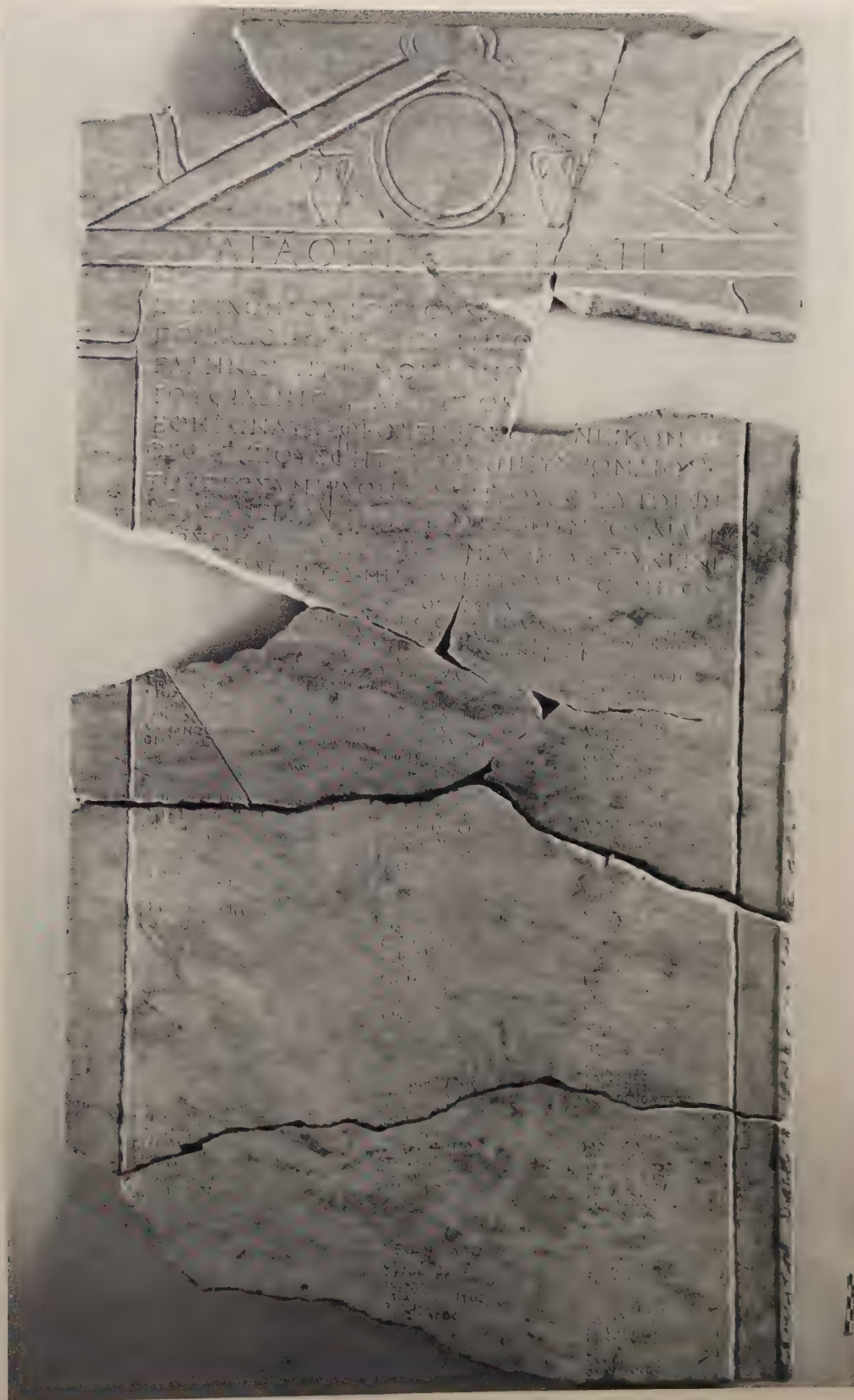
 Πανδιονίδος
 70 Ἄντυλλος
 Ἀττικός
 Διογένης
 Ὑγείνος
 Ἀπολλώνιος
 75 Ἐπίγονος
 Ζώσιμος
- Νεικέρων
 90 Θε[— — —]
 Ζώσιμος
 Σωσίστρατος
 Φίλιππος
 Ἐπίγονος
 95 Θεολόγος
 Ἐπίκτητος
 Ἐπιτευξίδης

 Ἀδριανίδος
 Μαρκιανός
 100 Ἐπαφρίων

 Οἰνείδος
 Ἰππόνεικος
 Εὐφράς
 Ἀσκληπιάδης
 105 Ἀθηνόδωρος
 Ἑρμῆς

 Κεκροπίδος
 Νείκων
 Μενεσθεύς
 110 Εὐτυχος
 Χαρίτων
 Ἀσκληπιόδοτος
 Ζώϊλος
 Ἡρακλείδης
 115 Δημήτριος
 Λοῦπ(π)ος
 Ῥηγείνος
 Ἰσόχρυσος
 [Ἀσκ]ληπιόδοτος

 120 Ἴπποθωντίδος
 Διονύσιος
 Καλόπους
 Ἀθηνόδωρος



No. 37

40	Καλλιπτεῖνος Δημήτριος	Ζώπυρος	Πρωτογένης 125 Ζωσιμιανός Χρυσόγονος Δημήτριος Βασιλείδης
		Λεωντίδος Εντύχης	Λιαντίδος 130 Σωκράτης Ξενοκράτης Θεόδωρος
80	Νεικήτης Ίλαρος Ἐπαφρόδειτος Ῥόδων Τειμόθεος		Ἀντιοχίδος Ἀφροδείσιος 135 Ἐπαφρόδειτος Ἀμάραντος Σωτήριχος Καλλιπτεῖνος Εὐτυχιανός
85	[Πτολεμαῖδος] [-----]		

In line 3 (Ἵ[μονοίας]) I now follow the restoration defended by P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo, 1934), p. 289. The cult is already attested by another Athenian inscription, *I.G.*, II², 3623: ἱερεὺς θεοῦ Ἀδριαν[οῦ Πανελληνίου καὶ] Ἵμονοίας τῶν Ἑλ[λήνων]. The other parallels are from Boeotia: *I.G.*, VII, 2510 and 3426.

For *κεστροφύλα*<ξ> (53) the stone has ΚΕΣΤΡΟΦΥΛΑΣ. On this analogy I have ventured to restore the name Ἡλι<ξ>, which is already known at Athens, in line 60 where the stone has ΗΛΙΣ, which at least at Athens would be unparalleled.

At the top of Column I there was a group of names in the position usually occupied by the six *σωφρονισταί* and the six *ὑποσωφρονισταί*. No title *ὑποσωφρονισταί* sets off the last six names from those which precede them, and therefore it is likely that no title *σωφρονισταί* introduced the other six. The very position of the names sufficed to identify them as those of the aforesaid officers, who cannot have been overlooked and who are best accommodated in the usual position of prominence.

CATALOGUE OF PROMINENT MEN

38. Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on January 25, 1938 in a Byzantine wall in Section II. The back (rough-picked) and the left side (picked) are preserved, but the stone is broken away above, below, and at the right.

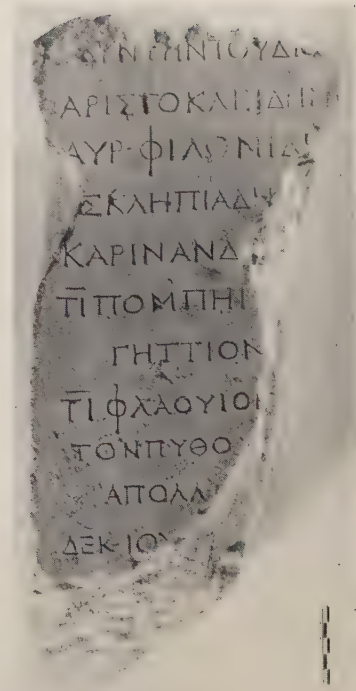
Height, 0.475 m.; width, 0.20 m.; thickness, 0.145 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.-0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 5177.

A.D. 175-200

- [----- φαι]
 δυντῆν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐν --]
 Ἀριστοκλείδην C [-----]
 Αὐρ· Φιλωνίδην [ν -----]
 5 [Ἀ]σκληπιάδην [ν -----]
 Καρίναν Δι[ονύσιον ---]
 Τί Πομπήιον [ν ----- Γαρ]
 γήτιον
 Τί Φλάονιον [ν -----]
 10 τὸν πυθόχ[ρηστον ἐξηγητὴν]
 Ἀπολλῶ [ν -----]
 Δέκ· Ἴου[ν -----]



No. 38

It is unusual to find a catalogue with the names in the accusative. This is characteristic of the catalogues of prominent men who have been chosen by the hierophant to prepare a lectisternium for Pluto. From *I.G.*, II², 1935 and 2464, which represent two inscriptions of the same document, we learn that in the Augustan Period such a catalogue began: *Name of the hierophant ἀνέγραψεν τοὺς ἐπὶ κλίνην καὶ ἐπὶ τράπεζαν ἐπιοφθέντας τῷ Πλούτωνι κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ τῶν γεγαμηκότων.* From *I.G.*, II², 1933 and 1934 we find that in the fourth century B.C. it was stated that the men recorded had been chosen by the hierophant *τὴν κλίνην στρώσαι τῷ Πλούτωνι καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν κοσμήσαι.*

The date of the inscription is revealed by the name in line 6. Carinas Dionysius appears in an ephebic catalogue of A.D. 169/70 (*I.G.*, II², 2097, line 104), not however as a citizen ephebe but as an *ἐπέγγραφος*. Hence we see that the above list of distinguished men, some of whom appear even to enjoy Roman citizenship, cannot easily have been a list of prytanes or of any magistrates, and the identification proposed above is strongly confirmed.

With the name in line 12 compare *I.G.*, III, 3910: Δέκμος Ἴ[ούνιος].

CATALOGUES OF HIPPOTHONTIS

39. Three contiguous fragments of a herm of Pentelic marble, broken away above and below, found in 1936 during the demolition of modern walls, in Section P. A vertical groove down the right side dates from a later re-use of the monument.



No. 39. Left Side



No. 39. Obverse Face



No. 39. Right Side

Height, 0.42 m.; width, 0.35 m.; thickness, 0.28 m.

Height of letters, 0.02 m. in lines 49-50, 0.008 m.-0.01 m. elsewhere.

Inv. No. I 3248.

Middle of the Second Century after Christ

On the obverse

[----- Z]οίλου
[-----] Ἱερατηφάλτου
[----- Π]ρείμου
[----- Ἀφρ]οδεισίου
5 [-----]ικος
[-----])
[-----] Πρεί
[μου]

On the left side

30 [.]μ[-----]
[N]εικία[ς -----]
Ἀφροδείσιος [-----]
[---]ατ[.]ς)
[---]ος Ἑράτων[ος]
35 [Δ]ιονύσιος) νε
[.]ροκλής Εἰσιγέν[ο]υ[ς]
[---]α[-----]

On the right side

[Φ]ίλων Ἀν[---]ο[υ]
Ἀπολλώνιος Φίλων[ος]
40 Ἀρχέλαος Ἀπολλωνίου[υ]
Μόσχος)
[Ἡ]ρακλε[ί]δης)
[Φ]ίλων Ἡρακλείδου
[Δ]ημήτριος Εὐόδου

Ἀζη[νιεύς]
10 Αἴλιος Μητροδ[ωρος]
Δημήτριος Νυμφ[ο]
δότου
Διονύσιος)
Ἑρέννι[ο]ς Στρατοκ[λής]
15 Ἑρέννιος Ἀ[υ]σανί[ας]
Ἑρέννιος Φηστια[νός]
Ἑρέννιος Ἐπίγ[ονος]
Πο[-----]
[-----]
20 [-----]
[---]ι[-----]
[---]μαχος Ἑρά
τωνος
[.]μένης Ἑρά
25 τωνος
[Λακρατ]είδης Εὐ
[τυ]χίδου
[---]ος Διο[---]
[-----]

45 Οσ[-----]
Ἐπα[-----]
Φίλω[υ -----]
Εὐπο[ρος -----]

	Ἀ μ α ξ α ν τ [ε ί α]	
50	ἱ ε ρ ο [-----]	
	Ἀξ[ημιεῖς]	65 [-----]
	[-----]	[T]ι Κλ Ὑλλος
	[---]οσ[-----]	Ἀφροδίσιος [Ni]
	[Nyμ]φόδοτο[ς---	κάνορος
55	Διονύσιος [-----]	vacat
	Εἰρηναῖος Ἀ[νθεστηρί]ον	Ἐλευσίνιο[ι]
	Ἑρμίας Ἀνθε[στηρίου]	70 Φίλιππος)
	Δαίδαλος Εἰ[-----]	vacat
	vacat	ἐκ Κοίλης
	Εὐήμερος [-----]	[I]σίδοτος)
60	[Ἐ]ρέν Ἐπάγ[αθος]	[Ἀ]ριστοκλῆς)
	Ἰσίδωρος N[-----]	[P]οὔφος) ϩ
	Σωτᾶς)	75 [P]οὔφος) ν[ε]
	Ἀχάρνος [-----]	[Ἀ]φροδίσιο[ς---
	[-----]	λου
		[...]οτρ[-----]

The inscription contains two or three catalogues of uncertain character. All the names appear to be those of Athenian citizens belonging to the tribe Hippothontis, and the heading of one catalogue (ἱερο[μνήμονες?]) is preserved in lines 49-50.

The date is established approximately by prosopographical evidence. Demetrius (11-12) and Archelaus (40) were ephebes in A.D. 125/6 (*I.G.*, II², 2037), Herennius Epagathus of Azenia (60) fourteen years later (*I.G.*, II², 2044, line 21). Aelius Metrodorus (10), Demetrius son of Nymphodotus (11), Dionysius son of Dionysius (12), Irenaeus son of Anthesterius (56) and Herennius Epagathus (60) reappear in an unpublished catalogue at the Agora (I 3231) as prytanes in the archonship of Nummius Menis, i.e., in some year between A.D. 140 and 157. Acharnus (63) may have been an ephebe between A.D. 144 and 149 (*I.G.*, II², 2051).

Several of the persons in this list are mentioned elsewhere. The aforesaid Archelaus belonged to the deme Piraeus, served as cosmète in 139/40 (*I.G.*, II², 2044) and is mentioned again in the inscription *I.G.*, II², 3738. The sepulchral monument with the inscription *I.G.*, II², 5308 may have been intended for the Dionysius of line 13. Isidotus (72) may have been the father of a prytanis recorded in the catalogue *I.G.*, II², 1819 from the beginning of the third century or the father of an ephebe recorded in the catalogue *I.G.*, II², 2130 of A.D. 192/3; the same demotic is indicated in each of these cases.

In the last decade of the second century the ἱερεὺς βουτύπος Λακρατείδης Εὐτυχείδου Ἀζημιεύς, who was probably nephew of the person mentioned in lines 26-27, served as cosmète for the ephebes (*I.G.*, II², 2128, 2129, and 2291a).

CATALOGUES

40. Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken away at the back and on all sides, brought into the museum of the Agora excavations in 1936 from the Stoa of Attalus.

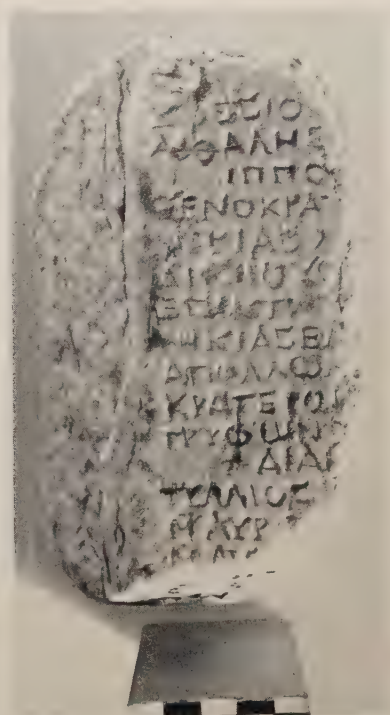
Height, 0.165 m.; width, 0.055 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 4179.

After A.D. 161

- Σ[υν]έσιος [-----]
 Αἴ(λιος) Θαλῆς
 Ἰππο[θωντίδος]
 Ξενοκράτ[ης -----]
 5 Νικίας)
 Ἀν[τ]ίχο[ς -----]
 Ἐπίκτητ[ος -----]
 Νικίας Εἰ[σιδώρου]
 Ἀπολλών[ιος -----]
 10 Κράτερος [-----]
 Τρύφων)
 Αἰαν[τίδος]
 Τύλλιος [-----]
 Μ Αὐρ Ε[-----]
 15 Μ Αὐρ [-----]



No. 40

The inscription is engraved by the same hand as the catalogue *I.G.*, II², 2339 (face A) from A.D. 161/2, and it is doubtless not very much later in date. Nicias son of Eleusinius (8) and Tryphon son of Tryphon (11) reappear in a catalogue of uncertain character, *I.G.*, II², 2136, from the end of the century. Aelius Thales (2) may be identical with the ephebe Aelius Thales of the catalogue *I.G.*, II², 2067 from A.D. 154/5. If so, our inscription cannot be a catalogue of ephebes.

41. A block of Pentelic marble, broken away above, below, and at the back, found on May 22, 1933 in Section H. The right side has drafting and a rough-picked surface (not anathyrosis); the edge is bevelled. The left edge is not bevelled and the left side is finished smoothly. It may be that the inscribed surface represents the original right side of the block re-used.

Height, 0.33 m.; width, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.185 m.

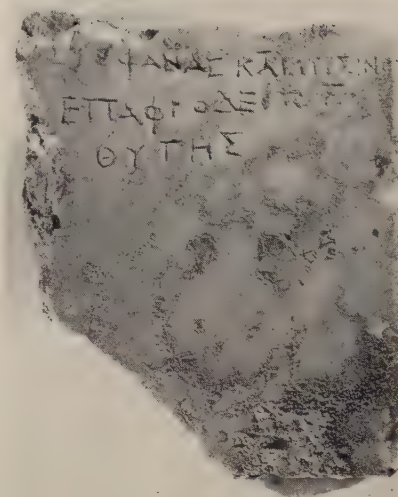
Height of letters, 0.009 m.-0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 878.

First Half of the Third Century after Christ

[-----]
 Στεφανᾶς, Κλ̄ Μυρσῖνος,
 Ἐπαφρόδειτος
 θύτης

The stone contained a catalogue of uncertain character. Epaphroditus the θύτης belonged to a religious club called οἱ περὶ τὸν ἐπώνυμον Ἀριστόβουλον and known from an inscription re-published with improved readings by Ch. N. Petrou-Anagna, *Ἑλληνικά*, VIII, 1935, pp. 228-238. This may well be another catalogue of the same society. Epaphroditus the θύτης is commemorated also in *I.G.*, II², 1949.



No. 41

APPENDIX I

Q. TREBELLIVS RVFVS

The mutilated letter of the magistrates and curia of Tolosa in Narbonese Gaul to the Athenian Councils and Demos on an inscription which may be dated in the reign of Domitian and is published in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 72-77 thanks the Athenians for honors which they have conferred on Q. Trebellius Rufus of Tolosa, high priest of the imperial cult for Narbonese Gaul, *summus Caeninensis sacrorum populi Romani*. Where Rufus is said to be loved *εἰς ἄμιλλαν πόλεων* (= *in aemulationem civitatum*), the cities meant are probably Rome and Athens. Rufus is a prominent figure not only at home but in whole [provinces]: restore the word *ἐπαρχείαις* in line 36. He has been in the imperial service (37), and he has been honored with the perpetual priesthood of the imperial cult (38). After mention of the senate, *συνκλητ* [— (39), the inscription goes on to say that he yearned for tranquillity (40). This probably means that like the brother of the younger Seneca and a few others, who are considered by A. Stein, *Der römische Ritterstand* (Munich, 1927), pp. 195-201, he declined promotion to senatorial rank. In thought and period the best parallel for the excuse *ἐπε[θ]ύμησεν ἡσυχίαν* occurs in Pliny, *Epistles*, I, 14, 5: *Pater Minicius Macrinus, equestris ordinis princeps, quia nihil altius voluit: adlectus enim a divo Vespasiano inter praetorios honestam quietem huic nostrae ambitioni dicam an dignitati constantissime praetulit.*

APPENDIX II

ATHENIAN ARCHONS UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE

The fundamental studies on the order and identification of the eponymous archons of Athens for the period after the battle of Actium are that of Paul Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'Empire*, Brussels, 1922 (Mémoires de l'Académie de Belgique, 4°, 1921), and for the second century also that of W. Kolbe, "Studien zur attischen Chronologie der Kaiserzeit," *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVI, 1921, pp. 105-156. Among the differences between these two lists for the period covered are (a) the date of the archonships of Hadrian and his immediate successors, whose names are preserved in *Inscriptions de Délos* 2535 and 2536, and (b) the date of Abascantus, by the year of whose paedotribia the positions of many archons are fixed. Graindor, *Album d'inscriptions attiques d'époque impériale*, Ghent, 1924, criticized Kolbe's results, but Kolbe's solution, whereby the archonship of Hadrian falls in 112/3 and that of Memmius ros in 127/8, has now been accepted by Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo, 1934, p. 29. In *I.G.*, II², Pars altera, Fasciculus posterior (1931), pp. 789-796, J. Kirchner presented a table of the Athenian archons from the accession of Augustus to the end of antiquity. Kirchner's list is based largely on that of Graindor but it makes a few corrections and additions imposed by a new survey of all the Attic inscriptions, among which the catalogues and their headings constituted in this respect the most important group. He adopted, moreover, Kolbe's dates for Abascantus, whose paedotribia accordingly would have begun in 136/7 instead of 139/40. This is probably right, and it is also easier to accommodate the consecutive archons Claudius Attalus, Aelius Phileas, Aelius Alexander (I) and Vibullius Rufus, whose names appear in *Inscriptions de Délos* 2538, in 140/1-143/4 than it is in 152/3-155/6. Since the publication of Kirchner's survey some further determinations and additional discoveries, particularly from the inscriptions of the Agora excavations, have called for tabulation, although they have not so affected the main order of archons that it would be necessary to compile a new set of tables. In order, however, to present all the essential information and to spare students the trouble of looking in two places for the name and date of an archon, I here republish with corrections and additions Kirchner's list of the dates and names of the archons but not his two other columns, which are entitled *Commemoratur* and *Testimonia*. My notes contain nothing but additions to, and deviations from, those in Kirchner's column labeled *Commemoratur*.

Two names, which Kirchner inherited from Graindor, have now disappeared. That Φλάουιος Ἀμφικλῆς, dated *aetate Hadriani* on p. 793, served as archon of the Panhellenes and not of Athens, was pointed out by M. N. Tod, *J.H.S.*, LXII, 1922, p. 171, and conceded by Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (1934), p. 93, note 1. The

name --]χης Βησαιεύς, dated on p. 794 as 180/1-191/2, is not that of an archon, as we have shown above on p. 61. Three others have been absorbed in more complete names: --]ονίδης, dated on p. 794 as *fin. II/init. III*, becomes Δ[ο]μίτιος Ἀρισταῖος Π[αι]ονίδης, while Μου--, dated on p. 791 as *fin. s. I aut init. s. II*, becomes Μου[νάτι]ος Θεμισίων [Ἀζην]ιεύς of about A.D. 220, and [Πολύχαρμος Εὐκ]λέους Μαραθώνιος, dated on p. 791 as *aetate Augusti*, becomes Ἡρώδης Εὐκλέους Μαραθώνιος of the middle of the first century. Graindor's Aur. [S]ocrates (= Ἀνρήλιος [Φιλ]οκράτης), attested by *I.G.*, VII, 3106, is here omitted for lack of evidence of any connection with Athens.

ARCHONTUM TABULAE AETATIS IMPERATORUM

ARCHONTES INDE AB ANNO 30/29 A. CHR.

<i>Annus</i>	<i>Archon</i>
c. a. 30/29 a.	Ἀρχίτιμος (Σφήτιος) ²¹
c. a. 26/5	[Διό]τιμος Ἀλαι[εύς]
a. 25/4-18/7	Ἀπόληξις ²²
c. a. 20	Δημέας Ἀζηνιεύς ²³
17/6	Αι[--]
16/5	Πυθαγ[όρ]ας
15/4	Ἀντίοχος
14/3	Πολύαινος Νικάνδρου Σουნიεύς
13/2	Ζήνων
12/1	Λεωνίδης
11/10	Θεόφιλος
a. 10/9-2/1	Νικίας Σαραπίωνος Ἀθμονεύς
post a. 9/8	Ξένων Μεννέου Φλυεύς
8/7-2/1	Ἀπόληξις ἐξ Οἴου
23/4	Μ[---]
24/5	Χαρμ[--]
25/6	Καλλικρ[--]
26/7	Πάμφιλος
27/8	Θεμιστοκλῆς
28/9	Οἰνόφιλος

²¹ See W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age* (1931), p. 293.

²² Add S. Dow, *Prytaneis* (1937), 115 and also the decree published by I. Chr. Threpsiades *apud* K. Kourouniotes, *Ἑλεσινιακά*, I (1932), pp. 223-236 and by P. Roussel, *Mélanges Bidez* (1934), pp. 819-834. It is an intercalary year with a secretary from Attalis (XII). If the secretary cycle has been unbroken since 49/8, the year of Apolexis falls in 25/4.

²³ S. Dow, *Prytaneis* (1937), 116.

<i>Annus</i>	<i>Archon</i>
29/30	Βόηθος
30/1	[. . . .]τρος
31/2-35/6 aut post 37/8	Ἀριστ[—] ὁ Ἀπ[—]
36/7	Βασιλεὺς Ῥοιμητάλκης νε(ώτερος)
c. a. 37/8	Πολύκριτος
c. a. 37/8	Ζήν[ων]
40/1 aut 41/2	[—]ούιος Λεω[—]
45/6	Ἀντίπατρος Φλυε[ύς] νεώτερος ^{23a}
49/50	Δεινόφιλος
53/4	Διονυσόδωρος
56/7	Κόνων
61/2	Θράσυλλος
64/5	Γ Καρρεῖνας Γαίο[υ υἱὸς Σεκοῦνδος]
65/6	Δημόστρατος
83/4	Ἀναρχία
a. 75/6-87/8	Γ Ἰούλ. Ἀντίοχος Ἐπιφανῆς Φιλόπαππος Βησαιεύς
a. 84/5-92/3	Αὐτοκρ. Καῖσαρ Σεβ. Δομιτιανὸς Γερμανικὸς
a. 85/6-94/5	Τρεβέλλιος Ῥούφος Λαμπτρέύς ^{23b}
a. 86/7-95/6	Ἀναρχία
a. 90-100	Φιλόπαππος καὶ Λαυλιανός

ARCHONTES FINIS SAECULI I ANTE CHR. ET PRIMI SAECULI POST CHR.,
QUORUM TEMPORA ACCURATIUS DEFINIRI NEQUEUNT

<i>Annus</i>	<i>Archon</i>
init. prin. Augusti	Ἐπικράτης
“ “ “	Μεννέας Ζω[πύρου]
“ “ “	Ἀρείος Δωρίωνος Παιανιεύς
“ “ “	Πολύκλειτος Ἀλεξάνδρον Φλυεύς
“ “ “	[. . .]κομήδης ²⁴
c. Chr. nat.	Νικόστρα[τος Νικ]οστράτου
aetate Augusti	Κότυς
“ “	[Ἀν]αξαγόρ[ας Ἀ]ναξαγόρ[ου]
“ “	Δημοχάρης Ἀζηνιεύς
“ “	Πολύχαρμος Πολυκρίτου Ἀζηνιεύς
“ “	Λάκων
“ “	Δημοκρά[της]

^{23a} I.G., II², 3242.

^{23b} See above, p. 80.

²⁴ I.G., II², 1035 (cf. J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia* [1941], pp. 131 f.).

<i>Annus</i>	<i>Archon</i>
init. s. I p. Chr.	[---- Σο]υνιεύς
" " " "	[... ^{c.7} ...] Σφήττιος
" " " "	[... ⁶ ...]ων νε(ώτερος)
aet. Tiberii aut Caligulae?	Ἄρειος Νικάνορο[ς] ἐξ Οἴο[υ]
med. s. I p.	Σεκοῦνδος
" " " "	Φι[----]
" " " "	Η[----]
" " " "	Ἡρώδης Εὐκλέους Μαραθώνιος ²⁵
" " " "	[...]ινος
" " " "	Νεικήτης
" " " "	Τι Κλ Χρύσιππος ²⁶
" " " "	Μητροδωρος
" " " "	[Δη]μοσθέ[νης]
" " " "	Μιθριδάτης
" " " "	Καλλ[ι]κρατίδη[ς]
" " " "	Λυσιάδης νε(ώτερος)
" " " "	Διοκλῆς
post. med. s. I p.	Λούκιος
fin. s. I p.	Τιβ Κλ Ἱεροφάντης Καλλικρατίδου Τρικορύσιος
fin. s. I p.	Αἰολίων
a. 70/1-110/1	Λούκ Φλάουιος Φλάμμας Κυδαθηναίεύς
fin. s. I aut init. s. II	Τίτος Φλάουιος Λεωσθένης Παιανιεύς
" " " " " " "	[----] Ὀῆθ[ε]ν ²⁷
" " " " " " "	[---]ότειμος ^{27a}
s. I p., ut videtur	[Διον]υσόδωρος

ARCHONTES SECUNDI SAECULI P. CHR.

<i>Annus</i>	<i>Archon</i>
112/3	Αἴλιος Ἀδριανός
113/4	Ὀκτάιος Θέων
114/5	Ὀκτάιος Πρόκλος
115/6	
116/7	Φλάουιος Μακρεῖνος Ἀχαρνεύς
117/8	Τ Κωπώνιος Μάξιμος Ἀγνούσιος
118/9	Λ Οὐιβούλλιος Ἱππαρχος Μαραθώνιος
119/20	Φλάουιος Στρατόλαος

²⁵ *I.G.*, II², 2301; *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 58 (= new reading of *I.G.*, II², 5211).

²⁶ Add *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 7 (above).

²⁷ *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 9 (above).

^{27a} The archon [---]ότειμος, mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 3580, is identified by Graindor with the archon Φιλότειμος of the end of the second century, but the identification is rejected by Kirchner, to whom the lettering of *I.G.*, II², 3580 appears to date from the beginning of the second century or even from the first.

*Annus**Archon*

120/1	Κλ Δημόφιλος
121/2	Φλάουιος Σοφοκλῆς
122/3	Τ Φλ Ἀλκιβιάδης (Ι) Λεωσθένους Παιανιεύς
123/4	Κάσιος Διογένης
124/5	Φλ Εὐφάνης
125/6	Γ Ἰούλιος Κάσιος Στειριεύς
126/7	Τιβ Κλ Ἡρώδης Μαραθώνιος
127/8	Μέμμιος [...?]ρος Κολ[λυτεύς]
128/9	Κλ Δομετιανός
129/30	
130/1	
131/2	Κλ Φιλογένης Βησαιεύς
132/3	Σαλλουστιανὸς Αἰολίωνος Φλυεύς
133/4	
134/5	
135/6	
136/7	
137/8	
138/9	Πραξαγόρας (Ι) ὁ [καὶ Τει]μόθεος Θορίκιος
139/40	Φλ Ἀλκιβιάδης (ΙΙ) Παιανιεύς
140/1	Τιβ Κλ Ἀτταλος Σφήττιος
141/2	Πό Αἴλ Φιλέας Μελιτεύς
142/3	Πό Αἴλ Ἀλέξανδρος (Ι)
143/4	Πό Αἴλ Βιβούλλιος Ρούφος
144/5	
145/6	Φλά Ἀρριανὸς Παιανιεύς
146/7	Τι [--- Εὐωνυ]μεύς
147/8	Σύλλας
148/9	[---] Ἔστι[αίοθεν]
149/50	
150/1	Αἴλ Ἀρδυσ (Φαληρεύς)
151/2	
152/3	
153/4	
154/5	Πραξαγόρας (ΙΙ) Μελιτεύς
155/6	Ποπίλλιος Θεότιμος Σουνιεύς
156/7	Αἴλ Καλλικράτης (Φαληρεύς)
157/8	
158/9	Τί Αὐρ Φιλήμων Φιλάδης

<i>Annus</i>	<i>Archon</i>
159/60	Αἴλ' Ἀλέξανδρος (II)
160/1	Π Α[ῖ]λ[ιος Ἑλ]λην ὁ καὶ Πλ[—] Ἀζηνιεύς ²⁸
161/2	Μέμμιος ἐπὶ βωμῷ Θεορίκιος
162/3	Αἴλ' Γέλως Φαληρεύς
163/4	Φιλιστείδης
164/5	
165/6	Σέξτος Φαληρεύς
166/7	Μ Βαλέριος Μαμερτίνος
167/8	Ἀναρχία (I)
168/9	Τυνήσιος Ποντικὸς Βησεεύς
169/70	Ἀναρχία (II) ²⁹
—	-----
192/3	Γ Ἑλβίδιος Σεκοῦνδος Παλληγεύς

ARCHONTES SAECULI SECUNDI POST CHR., QUORUM TEMPORA
ACCURATIUS DEFINIRI NEQUEUNT

<i>Annus</i>	<i>Archon</i>
paullo post a. 102	[Π]άνταινος Γαργ[ήττιος]
init. s. II	[Ζ]ώπυρος Διονυσίου Ἀγρυλῆθεν
“ “ “	Ἀνν[— — — — —] ³⁰
ante a. 112/3	Φο[ύλ]βιος Μητρόδωρος Σουνιεύς
“ “ “	Δεΐδι(ος) Σεκοῦνδος Σφήττιος
ante a. 112/3 aut 115/6	Διοκλῆς (Φαληρεύς)
aetate Hadriani	Τιβ Κλ Λουσιάδης Μελιτεύς
ante a. 157	Λ Νούμμιος Μῆνις Φαληρεύς
post a. 138	[Δ Ἰούνιος] Πάτρων Βε[ρνεϊκίδης]
“ “ “	Τιβ Κλ Δημόστρατος (Μελιτεύς) ³¹
“ “ “	Κύντος Ἀλλήσιος Ἐπίκτητος ³²

²⁸ *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 17 (above).

³⁰ *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 8 (above).

²⁹ Add *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 19 (above).

³¹ Add *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 12 (above).

³² His name was misread in an inscription at Epidaurus, *I.G.*, IV¹ (1902), 1474, where M. Fraenkel comments, "Lapis detritissimus. Exscripsit Fredrich; contuli." Fredrich's copy begins ...CCONAAΛHIONETΠIKYI.E. Fraenkel edited the text: *Nota praenomina* Βά[σσαν] Ἀλλήμιον Ἐπικυ[... Ἐπιδανρ]ίο[υ] υἱόν, etc. In *I.G.*, IV², 1 (1929), 691 Hiller von Gaertringen edited the name [. Βά]σσαν Ἀλλήμιον Ἐπικ[... Ἐπιδανρ]ίο[υ] υἱόν, but in reference to the third name he commented, "In ectypo etiam ΕΠΙΚΤΗΤΟΥ legi posse videtur." In other words the surface was so worn that Fredrich failed to read some letters and mistook weather marks for other letters. The restoration, furthermore, had several very disturbing points. The remainder of the inscription shows that Alleius was a wealthy man who had had a remarkable career at Athens. He had held every single important office: he had been eponymous archon, hoplite general, herald of the Areopagus, epimelete of Hadrian's gymnasium fund, epimelete of the city, agonothete, etc. In other

<i>Annus</i>	<i>Archon</i>
136/7-169/70	Λυκομήδης
148-150	Διονύσιος
c. a. 168/9	Κλαύδιος [----]εύς
c. a. 170	Φλά 'Αρπαλιανὸς Στειριεύς
a. 172/3 aut paullo post	Βιήσιος Πείσων Μελιτεύς
c. a. 173/4	Κλ 'Ηρακλείδης Μελιτεύς
post a. 173/4	Αἰσχίνης
c. a. 174/5	Μ Μουνάτιος Μαξιμιανὸς Οὐοπίσκος ('Αζηνιεύς)
ante a. 177	'Αρ 'Επαφρόδειτος
c. a. 180	Π Πομπ 'Ηγίας (Ι) Φαληρεύς
" " "	Δημόστρατος Μα[ραθώνιος]
" " "	'Αθηνόδωρος ὁ καὶ 'Αγρίππας 'Ασμένου 'Ιταῖος
c. a. 180/1-181/2	Τιβ Μέμμιος Φλάκκος Μαραθώνιος
c. a. 181/2-182/3	'Αναρχία ³³
c. a. 182/3-183/4	Λούκιος Γέλλιος Ξεναγόρας
179/80-190/1	[----- Μαρα]θώνιος
180/1-191/2	Αὐρ Φιλ[....] Πιρεεύς
" "	Μηνογένης
" "	Γ Πεινάριος Πρόκλος 'Αγνούσιος
182/3-190/1	Φιλότειμος 'Αρκεσιδήμον 'Ελεούσιος
183/4-191/2	Τιβ Κλ Βραδούας 'Αττικὸς Μαραθώνιος
c. a. 190	Ξενοκλῆς
190-200	Φλάβιος Στράτων

words, he was a real Athenian, not just a foreigner who assumed the archonship at Athens as a gesture. Therefore, there is no reason to think that he was the son of an Epidaurian. He was, furthermore, a Roman citizen and must have possessed the *tria nomina*. The *nomen* appears as 'Αλλήιος. It was not essential to record the *praenomen*, but, given the date, the *cognomen* had to be recorded. In Fraenkel's restoration the *cognomen* [Βά]σσοις precedes the *nomen* and does not even fill the necessary space. The reversed order (*cognomen nomen*, e.g. Dio Cassius) is relatively uncommon in formal inscriptions, although cases are known (e.g. *Epigraphica*, II, 1940, p. 202), but it never occurs when the *praenomen* is also used, whereas both Fraenkel and von Hiller assume the presence of an abbreviated *praenomen* in the case under consideration. In other words, the restoration [. Βά]σσον is demonstrably incorrect. What we should expect is a *praenomen*, and accordingly the fault doubtless lies in Friedrich's reading of an illegible surface. As a matter of fact the man actually appears at Athens in *I.G.*, II², 3625, which honors Κύντον 'Αλ[λήιο]ν 'Επικτήτον πολιτευσά[μενον] πᾶσαν πολιτεία[ν] ἄριστα. Here Kirchner from a squeeze misread the *nomen* ΑΛ...Ν, but neither Froehner at the Louvre nor any of the earlier copyists saw traces of the penultimate alpha on the stone itself. The Athenian prytanis 'Αλλήιος 'Ακινδύγονος (*I.G.*, II², 1794, c. a. 180 p.) and the Athenian ephēbe 'Αλλήιος Σεκοῦνδος (*I.G.*, II², 2125, c. a. 190-200) were relatives of this man, whose name may now be restored in the Epidaurian text as [Κύντ]ον 'Αλλήιον 'Επικτήτον [...?]ίον υἱόν.

³³ Add *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 48.

<i>Annus</i>	<i>Archon</i>
190-200	Τ Φλάβ Σωσιγένης Παλληνεύς
“ “	Διοινυσόδωρος Εὐκάρπου
“ “	Κλ Δαδοῦχος Μελιτεύς
“ “	Φιλιστείδης) Πειραιεύς
“ “	[Κνι]ντ[----]ς Ἐλευσίσιος
fin. II/init. III	Γ Πινάριος Βάσσος Ἀγνούσιος
“ “ “ “	Κορνηλιανός ³⁴
“ “ “ “	[----] Ἱερο[κ]ῆρυξ Φ[----] ³⁵
“ “ “ “	[----]νι[.]ς νεώ[τερος] ³⁶
“ “ “ “	Ἀγαθοκλῆς
“ “ “ “	[--]στρα[τ----] Ο[----] ³⁷
“ “ “ “	Πομπήσιος Ἀλέξανδρος ³⁸
“ “ “ “	Δομίτιος Ἀρισταῖος Παιονίδης ³⁹
“ “ “ “	Λ [----] Ἀναφ[λυστίος] ⁴⁰

ARCHONTES SAECULORUM TERTII, QUARTI, QUINTI POST CHR.

<i>Annus</i>	<i>Archon</i>
c. a. 200	Αὐρήλιος Δημ[----]
“ “ “	Γ Κύντος Ἱμερτος Μαραθώνιος
“ “ “	Ἀναρχία
“ “ “	Γ Κάσιος Ἀπολλώνιος Στειριεύς
“ “ “	Τιβ Κλ Λ[----] Μελ(ιτεύς) ⁴¹
“ “ “	Φάβ Δαδοῦχος Μαραθώνιος
a. 202/3	[----]μος ⁴²
init. s. III	Φλάβ Εἰαχ[χαγωγ]ὸς Ἀγρυλεύς
“ “ “	Κλ Φωκᾶς Μαραθώνιος
“ “ “	Π Πομπ Ἡγίας (II) Φαληρεὺς ν(εώτερος)
“ “ “	Αὐρ Διονύσιος Καλλίππου Λαμπτρεὺς
“ “ “	Γέ[λλιος Ξενα]γόρας νε(ώτερος) ⁴³
“ “ “	Σκριβώνιος Καπίτων Ε[----]
“ “ “	Αὐρ Καλλίφρων Προτείμου Γαργήτιος = Καλλίφρων πρεσ- βύτερος ⁴⁴

³⁴ *I.G.*, II², 3644.³⁵ *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 31 (above).³⁶ *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 10 (above).³⁷ *I.G.*, II², 3673.³⁸ *I.G.*, II², 3815.³⁹ *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 30 (above).⁴⁰ *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 28 (above).⁴¹ *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 33 (above).⁴² *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 87.⁴³ *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 260.⁴⁴ *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 541 f.

*Annus**Archon*

a. 208/9 aut 209/10	Φλ Διογένης Μαραθώνιος
c. a. 210	[Δ]ο[μ]έτιος? Ἀραβιανὸς Μαραθώνιος ⁴⁵
“ “ “	Γ Κύντος Κλέων Μαραθώνιος
“ “ “	Τιβ Κλ Πάτροκλος Λαμπρεύς
c. a. 212/3	Αὐρ Διονύσιος Διονυσίου Ἀχαρνεύς
c. a. 218/9	[. .] [.] υ[-]
“ “ “	ἱερεὺς Ἀν[-]
c. a. 220	ΑΠ Δ<ι>ονυσόδ[ωρ]ος = Λε[----- Διονυσόδ]ωρος ⁴⁶
“ “ “	Μου[νάτι]ος Θεμίσων Ἀζην]ιεύς ⁴⁷
“ “ “	Μ Οὔλπιος Εὐβίотος Λεύρος Γαργήτιος ⁴⁸
a. 221/2	Φιλῖνος
c. a. 225/6	Κασσιανός
c. a. 226/7	Ἐπίκτητος Ἀχαρνεύς
a. 238/9-243/4	Φλάβ Ἀσκληπιάδης [Διο]μαι[ε]ύς
a. 238/9 aut 242/3	Κασσιανὸς Ἱεροκῆρυξ Στειριεύς
post a. 243/4	Αὐρ Λανδικιανός
a. 225-250	Κλ Τήρης
med. s. III	Μᾶρ Αὐρ [Καλ]λίφρων ὁ [καὶ] Φροντεῖνος [Καλ]λίφρονος
	Γαρ[γῆτ]ιος ⁴⁹
a. 250-265	Π Ἐρέννιος Δέξιππος Ἑρμειος
a. 264/5	Imp. Caesar P. Licinius Egnatius Gallienus Aug.
a. 262/3 aut 266/7	Δ Φλά Φιλόστρατος Στειριεύς
c. a. 275	Τίτ Φλ Μόνδων [-----] Φιλείνου Φλυεύς, ἄρχων τὸ β ⁵⁰
a. 300-350	Ἡγείας Τιμοκράτους
a. 386/7	Ἑρμογένης
fin. s. IV	Φαῖδρος Ζωίλου (Παιανιεύς)
a. 425-450	Θεαγένης
a. 484/5	Νικαγόρας ὁ νεώτερος

⁴⁵ Add *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 32 (above).

⁴⁶ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 95 and 101. Restore Λε[πίδιος] or Λε[ίβιος] rather than Λε[ύκιος]. For the date see *Trans. Am. Phil. Assn.*, LXXI, 1940, pp. 306-311.

⁴⁷ *Trans. Am. Phil. Assn.*, LXXI, 1940, p. 311.

⁴⁸ Add J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerusia* (1941), no. 31.

⁴⁹ *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 541 f.

⁵⁰ *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, no. 37 (above).

APPENDIX III

EPITAPHS OF ROMAN SOLDIERS AND SAILORS

In *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 244-249, in connection with the publication of epitaphs of Roman soldiers and sailors among the Agora inscriptions, I summed up the number of such epitaphs which had been found in Attica. To this list must now be added two more published by J. Kirchner in the new fascicle of the *Inscriptiones Graecae*, II² (1940), 13212 and 13213. They belong to the second century, and although they could be as late as the time of Lucius Verus, there is again no internal evidence for so late a date rather than for the period from A.D. 113 to 120. *I.G.*, II², 13212 at the Piraeus was erected by Flavius Marcianus to his brother Maximus, a soldier of the legio XI Claudia. *I.G.*, II², 13213, which was found at Eleusis, I reconstruct as follows:

♂ D wreath M ♀
 C. Domi<ti>us · Aper · Panon(ius),
 mil(es) · clas's' pr(aetoriae) · Misenens(is),
 [vix(it)] an(nis) · XLV, mil(itavit) an(nis) XXIII.
 [—] eius Maximus h(eres) b(ene) m(erito). *ἐάν τις, κτλ.*

Line 5 began either with a nomen like [Apul]eius or with a phrase like [frat(er)] eius.

A third inscription, *I.G.*, II², 12595, published as the epitaph of a centurion (*ἐκατοντ[άρχου]*), can hardly be such if the deceased was also a freedman. Perhaps we should restore *ἐκατοντ[αέτους]* in line 1. In lines 3 and 4, moreover, I myself read *ἐλεύ]θερος ἔζησεν | ἔτη ιγ*.

JAMES H. OLIVER

EPIGRAPHICAL INDEX

ROMAN EMPERORS

HADRIAN

(ἔτους) $\overline{\lambda\zeta}$ ἀπὸ [τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ] Ἀδρια[ν]οῦ ᾧ ἐπ[ιδ.]η[μίας], 17 4-5.

COMMODUS

Ἐπὶ τοῦ μεγίστου [ν καὶ] θειοτάτου Αὐτοκρά[τορος Μάρ] Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνί[νον] $\overline{\text{ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΕΥΤΥΧΟΥΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΒΗΣΑΙΕΩΣ}}$, 25 1-5.

[Ἐπὶ τοῦ μ]εγίστ[ου καὶ θειοτάτου] Αὐτο-

κ[ράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρ] [Ἀύρ] $\overline{\text{ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΕΥΤΥΧΟΥΣ ΒΗΣΑΙΕΩΣ}}$, 26 1-4.

[Ἐπὶ τοῦ] μεγίστου κ[αὶ θειοτάτου]ν Αὐτ[ο]-κράτορος [Καίσαρος Μ Α]ύρ $\overline{\text{ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ ΕΥΤΥΧΟΥΣ ΒΗΣΑΙΕΩΣ}}$, 27 2-6.

[Ἐπὶ τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ μεγ]ίστου Αὐτοκράτορος [Καίσαρος Μάρκον Αὐρηλίου] Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίνου Σ[εβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυ]χοῦς Βησαιέως, p. 61.

NAMES OF MEN AND WOMEN

A[---], councillor of Pandionis, *ca.* A.D. 168, 20 2.

A[---] (Δαμπτρέης), *ca.* A.D. 187, father of Ὀνασος, 29 13.

Ἀγα[θήμερος Ἀσκληπιάδου] (Ἡρεσίδης), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 45.

Ἀγαθοκλῆς Φα(ληρεῦς), ἀντιγραφεύς, A.D. 190-200, 5 3.

Ἀγαθόπους, ὑποσωφρονιστής (?), *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 18.

Ἀγαθόπους (Ἀλωπεκῆθεν), *ca.* A.D. 100, 11 18, 19.

[Ἀγάθων Ἀσκ]ληπιάδου (Ἀναφλύστιος), councillor of Antiochis, A.D. 100-150, 11 10.

Ἄγνος Στεφεφόρου (Διξωνεύς), councillor of Cecropis *ca.* A.D. 174/5, 21 38.

Ἄγνος Συμ[φόρου Ἀκναιεύς], secretary of Council and Demos in A.D. 168/9, 18 16.

Ἀδριανός, ὑποσωφρονιστής (?), *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 22.

Ἀδριανός: [...] Ἀδριανό[ς], councillor of Pandionis in A.D. 160/1, 17 11.

Ἀθίνα[ιος] (Ἀθμονεύς), *ca.* A.D. 136, father of [Εὔπ]ορος, 19 7.

[Ἀθίνα]ιος Διοδότου (Ἀναφλύστιος), councillor of Antiochis, A.D. 100-150, 11 11.

[Ἀθί]να[ιος] Εἰρη[αίου] (Κυδαθηναίεύς), councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 160, 15 2.

Ἀθ[ή]να[ιος] Ἀ[φροδισίου] (Στεριεύς), councillor of Pandionis, A.D. 150-190, 22 8.

Ἀθηνίων (Κικυνεύς), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 27.

Ἀθηνόδωρος (Ἰπποθωντίδης), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 123.

Ἀθηνόδωρος (Οἰνείδης), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 105.

Ἀθηνόδωρος Διογένους (Κεφαλῆθεν), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 24.

Αἴλ(ιος) Δαδοῦχος, aisitus *ca.* A.D. 174/5, 21 55-56.

Αἴλ(ιος) Πυρφόρος, aisitus at end of second century after Christ, 4 6, [5 2].

Αἶ(λιος) Θαλῆς (Κεκροπίδης), after A.D. 161, 40 2.

Π. Α[ἴ]λ[ιος] Ἐλ[λην] [ὁ] καὶ Πλ[-----] Ἀξηνεύς, archon in A.D. 160/1, 17 2-3.

Αἴλιος Μητρόδ[ωρος] (Ἀξηνεύς), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 10.

Ἀκν[λ-----], councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 41.

Ἀλέξανδρος: see Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀλέξανδρος.

Ἀλέξανδρος: see [Πο]μπήιος Ἀλέξανδρος [---].

Ἀλκαμένης: see Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀλκαμένης.

Ἀλκιβιάδης, secretary of the ephebes, *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 49.

Ἀλκιβιάδης, under-secretary of the ephebes, *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 51.

- Ἀλκιβιάδης[ς] (Φιλιάδης), councillor of Aegeis, A.D. 130-150, 13 10.
- Ἀλκίμαχος: see Ὠρά(ριος) Ἀλκίμαχος].
- Ἀμάραντος (Ἀντιοχίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 136.
- [Ἀ]μύντας (Ἀναφλύστιος), *ca.* A.D. 100, 11 8.
- Ἀν[---] (Ἱπποθωντίδος), first half of second century after Christ, father of [Φ]ίλων, 39 38.
- Ἀνθε[στήρι]ος (Ἀζηγιεύς), first half of the second century after Christ, father of Εἰρηναῖος and of Ἑρμίας, 39 56, 57.
- Ἀνν[ιος]----], archon in the late first or early second century after Christ, 8 3.
- Ἀννιος Πιστοκράτης (Ἀλαιεύς), councillor of Cecropis *ca.* A.D. 174/5, 21 31.
- Ἀν[τ]ίοχος[ς] (Ἱπποθωντίδος), after A.D. 161, 40 6.
- Ἀντίοχος[ς] (Φιλιάδης), councillor of Aegeis, A.D. 130-150, 13 9.
- [Ἀντίπατ]ρος Μουσαίου (Ἀλωπεκῆθεν), councillor of Antiochis, A.D. 100-150, 11 20.
- Ἀντελλος (Πανδιονίδος), gymnasiarch ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 39, 70.
- Ἀπολλων[---]: see Ἀῦρ. Ἀπολλων[---].
- Ἀπολλων[ν]----], exegete appointed by the Pythian oracle, *ca.* A.D. 175-200, 38 11.
- Ἀπολλώνιος: see Γ. Κάσσιος Ἀπολλώνιος Στ[ε]ξι[ρι]εύς]
- Ἀπολλων[ιος] (Ἱπποθωντίδος), after A.D. 161, 40 9.
- Ἀπολλώνιος Φίλων[ος] (Ἱπποθωντίδος), middle of second century after Christ, 39 39. Possibly the same as the following.
- Ἀπολλώνιος[ς] (Ἱπποθωντίδος), first half of second century after Christ, father of Ἀρχέλαος, 39 40. Possibly the same as the preceding.
- Ἀπολλώνιος (Πανδιονίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 74.
- Ἀπολλώνιος Ση(μαχίδης), secretary, A.D. 190-200, 5 4.
- Ἀπολλώνιο[ς] (Στειριεύς), councillor of Pandionis, A.D. 150-190, 22 7.
- Ἀπολλώνιος (Σφήτιος), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 10.
- [Ἀπ]ολλώνιος Φιλοστρά[τον] (Φιλιάδης), councillor of Aegeis in the middle of the second century after Christ, 14 11.
- Ἀραβιανός: see [Δομίτιος Ἀραβία]γὸς Μαρ[αθώνιος].
- Ἀρι[---] (Κεκροπίδος ?), *ca.* A.D. 170-200, father of [Σ]όλων, 35 11.
- Ἀρισταῖος: see Δ[ο]μίτιο[ς] Ἀρισταῖος Π[αι]ονίδης.
- Ἀριστείδης: see Ἀῦρ(ήλιος) Ἀριστείδης].
- [Ἀριστείδης Φ]ρε<άρ>ριος, ἐπὶ Σκιάνδος *ca.* A.D. 200, 6 7.
- Ἀριστ[τί]δης Θεογ[ένους], ἱερὺς Φωσφόρων at the end of the second century after Christ, 23 7; [Ἀρι]στείδης Θεογένους Φρε[ά]ρριος], 24 7-8.
- Ἀ[ρις]τ[ό]β[ο]λος Ἰρ[η]ναί(ου) (Κυδαθηναίεύς), councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 160, 15 3.
- Ἀριστοκλείδης (---), *ca.* A.D. 175-200, 38 3.
- [Ἀ]ριστοκλῆς (ἐκ Κοίλης), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 73.
- Ἀρίστων: see Γά(ιος) Ὀφέλλιος Ἀρίστων[ν] (Κολλυτεύς).
- [Ἀρκ]εσίλα[ο]ς Φλυ(εύς), councillor of Ptolemais, A.D. 180-192, 25 21.
- Ἀρ[ρ]ιος Ζεύξις (Τετακίδης), councillor of Ptolemais in A.D. 168/9, 18 14.
- Ἀρτεμ[---] (Χολαργεύς), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 36.
- Ἀρτεμίδωρος (Ἐλευσεῖνιος), middle of the third century after Christ, father of Ἀῦρ(ήλιος) Σωκράτης, 37 10.
- Ἀρτέμων (Αἰγείδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 68.
- Ἀ[ρτ]έ[μ]ων Ἐλευσιν(ίου) (Κυδαθηναίεύς), councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 160, 15 4. Probably the same as the following.
- Ἀρτέμων(ν) (Κυδαθηναίεύς), *ca.* A.D. 127, father of Ἡλιόδωρος, 15 5. Probably the same as the preceding.
- Ἀρχέλαος Ἀπολλωνί[ο]ν (Ἱπποθωντίδος), middle of second century after Christ, 39 40.
- [Ἀρχί]δαμ[ος] Φλυ(εύς), councillor of Ptolemais, A.D. 180-192, 25 19.
- Ἀρχικλῆς (Βερνεκίδης), *ca.* A.D. 150, 25 23.
- [Ἀ]σκληπιάδης[ς], *ca.* A.D. 175-200, 38 5.
- Ἀσκληπιάδης, συνστρεμματάρχης, *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 33.

- [... 'A]σκλη[πι--], councillor of Cecropis (?)
ca. A.D. 200-230, 35 2.
- 'Ασκληπιάδης (Οἰνείδος), ephebe ca. A.D. 275,
37 104.
- ['Ασκληπιάδης ('Αναφλύστιος), ca. A.D. 100,
father of ['Αγάθων], 11 10.
- ['Ασκληπι]άδης Δημοχάρους ('Αναφλύστιος), coun-
cillor of Antiochis in the early second century
after Christ, 11 7.
- ['Ασκληπι]άδης 'Υγείνου ['Ανα]φλύστιος, priest of
the eponymous hero of Antiochis, A.D. 100-
150, 11 25-26.
- ['Ασκληπιάδης] ('Ηρεσίδης), ca. A.D. 120, father
of 'Αγα[θήμερος], 12 45.
- 'Ασκληπιάδης Προσδοκίμου (Σφήττιος), councillor
of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 13.
- ['Ασκληπι]ώδοτος (Κεκροπίδος), ephebe ca. A.D.
275, 37 119.
- 'Ασκληπιώδοτος (Κεκροπίδος), ephebe ca. A.D. 275,
37 112.
- 'Αττικός: see [Πάπιος 'Ατ]τικός Β[η]σαιε[ύς].
- 'Αττικός (Πανδιονίδος), ephebe ca. A.D. 275, 37 71.
- 'Αττικός (Κεφαλήθεν), ca. A.D. 120, father of
Μοσχιανός, 12 23.
- 'Αττικός (Λαμπτρέύς), councillor of Erechtheis
ca. A.D. 220, 29 14.
- Αὔ(ήλιος ?) 'Υάκινθος, possible reading in 4 9.
See Αὔ(ίδιος ?) 'Υάκινθος.
- Αὔ(ίδιος ?) 'Υάκινθος, περὶ τὸ βῆμα at end of
second century after Christ, 4 9.
- [Αὔ]ίδιος Κοδρᾶτ[ος] (Μυρρινούσιος), councillor
of Pandionis, ca. A.D. 150-190, 22 12.
- [Αὔ]ιδιος Φαρν[άκης] (Μυρρινούσιος), councillor
of Pandionis, ca. A.D. 150-190, 22 13.
- Αὔλος (Σφήττιος), ca. A.D. 120, father of 'Οπ-
τάτος, 12 16.
- Αὔρ(ήλιος) 'Αλέξανδρος, under-paedotribe, ca. A.D.
275, 37 45.
- Αὔρ(ήλιος) 'Απολλων[--], ἀντιγραφεύς at end of
second century after Christ, 4 10.
- Αὔρ(ήλιος) 'Ε[πιτυν]χάνων Μενάνδρον, herald of
the Council and Demos at end of second cen-
tury after Christ, 4 7-8.
- Αὔρ(ήλιος) Θαλής, anticosmete, latter part of
third century after Christ, 37 11.
- Αὔρ(ήλιος) Φιλωνίδης[s], ca. A.D. 175-200, 38 4.
- Μ. Αὔρ(ήλιος) [----] (Αἰαντίδος), after A.D.
161, 40 15.
- Μ. Αὔρ(ήλιος) Ε[----] (Αἰαντίδος), after A.D.
161, 40 14.
- Αὔρ(ήλιος) Πελάγιος ('Ερεχθείδος), ephebe ca.
A.D. 275, 37 56.
- Αὔρ(ήλιος) 'Αριστε[ίδης], councillor of Cecropis
(?) ca. A.D. 200-230, 35 4.
- [Αὔ]ρ(ήλιος) 'Ερμεί[ας], councillor of Cecropis
(?) ca. A.D. 200-230, 35 3.
- Αὔρ(ήλιος) 'Ηλιόδω[ρος], councillor of Cecropis
(?) ca. A.D. 200-230, 35 10.
- Αὔρ(ήλιος) Νεκί[ας], councillor of Cecropis (?)
ca. A.D. 200-230, 35 6.
- Αὔρ(ήλιος) Παρα[---], councillor of Cecropis
(?) ca. A.D. 200-230, 35 9.
- Αὔρ(ήλιος) Παράμ[ονος], councillor of Cecropis
(?) ca. A.D. 200-230, 35 8.
- Αὔρ(ήλιος) Περ[---], councillor of Cecropis
(?) ca. A.D. 200-230, 35 12.
- Αὔρ(ήλιος) Προσδό[κιμος], councillor of Cecropis
(?) ca. A.D. 200-230, 35 7.
- [Αὔ]ρ(ήλιος) [----], councillor of Ptolemais
in A.D. 168/9, 18 12.
- [Αὔρ]ή(λιος) Σωκρά[τ]ης Βερ(νεικίδης), council-
lor of Ptolemais, A.D. 180-192, 25 14.
- [Α]ὔρ(ήλιος) Σωκράτης 'Αρτεμιδώρου 'Ελευσείνιος,
perpetual paedotribe, latter part of third cen-
tury after Christ, 37 10.
- Αὔρ(ήλιος) 'Ισίδω[ρος] (Κυδαθηναίεύς), councillor
of Pandionis in A.D. 168, 20 28.
- Αὔρ(ήλιος) 'Αλ[κα]μέγ[ης] (Λαμπτρέύς), coun-
cillor of Erechtheis ca. A.D. 220, 29 10.
- Αὔρ(ήλιος) 'Αλ[κ]αμέ[νης νε(ώτερος)] (Λαμπ-
τρέύς), councillor of Erechtheis ca. A.D. 220,
29 11.
- Αὔρ(ήλιος) [---] (Στειριεύς), councillor of Pan-
dionis, A.D. 150-190, 22 3.
- Αὔρ(ήλιος) 'Αφροδείσιος ὁ καὶ Νείκων 'Αφροδείσιου
Σφήττιος, of equestrian rank, cosmete of the
ephebes, latter part of the third century after
Christ, 37 6-7.
- Αὔρ(ήλιος) Δημοσθένης (Σφήττιος), councillor of
Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 7.
- 'Αφ[---], councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-
165, 12 43.

Ἀφροδείσιος: see Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀφροδείσιος ὁ καὶ Νείκων Ἀφροδείσιου Σφήττιος.

Ἀφροδείσιος: see [Π. Ἀφρόδιτος ὁ καὶ] Ἀφροδείσιος.

Ἀφροδείσιος, ὑποσωφρονιστής (?), *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 20.

Ἀφροδείσιος (Ἀντιοχίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 134.

[Ἀφρ]οδείσιος (Ἰπποθωντίδος), first half of second century after Christ, 39 4.

Ἀφροδείσιος (Ἰπποθωντίδος), middle of second century after Christ, 39 32.

Ἀφροδείσιος (Σφήττιος), middle of third century after Christ, father of Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀφροδείσιος ὁ καὶ Νείκων.

Ἀ[φρ]οδείσιος Φλυεύς, *aisitus ca.* A.D. 200, 6 6.

Ἀφρόδειτος: see Ἀφρόδιτος.

Ἀφρο[δι---] (Χολαργεύς), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 37.

Ἀφροδίσιος: see Ἀφροδείσιος.

Ἀφροδίσιος [Νι]κάνορος (Ἰπποθωντίδος), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 67-68.

[Ἀ]φροδίσιου[ς ---]λου (ἐκ Κοίλης), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 76-77.

Ἀ[φροδίσιος] (Στεριεύς), *ca.* A.D. 120-160, father of Ἀθ[ῆ]ναιος, 22 8.

Ἀφροδίσιου[ς] (Στεριεύς), councillor of Pandionis, A.D. 150-190, 22 6.

Ἀφροδίσιος (Φιλάδης), *ca.* A.D. 120, father of [Ζη]νόδοτος, 14 9.

Ἀφροδίσιος (Φιλάσιος), *ca.* A.D. 100, adoptive father of [---]λίου, 11 32.

[Π. Ἀφρόδιτος ὁ καὶ] Ἀφροδείσιος, sacred flutist *ca.* A.D. 200, 6 8.

Ἀχαρνός (Ἀζηγιεύς), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 63.

Βασιλείδης (Ἰπποθωντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 128.

Β[ε]τάλιος Διον[υσίου] (Λαμπρεύς), councillor of Erechtheis *ca.* A.D. 220, 29 7.

Βουρριανός: see Ὀρφίτιος Βουρριανός Σφή[ττιος].

Γ. Βουσσηνός [---] (Γαργήττιος), councillor of Aegeis, A.D. 130-150, 13 7.

Γ[---]: see Νώνιος Γ[---].

Γ[---], councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 168, 20 20.

Γάιος, one of the secretaries at the end of the first century after Christ, 2 8.

Γηρόσυνος Λ[---] (Λαμπρεύς), councillor of Erechtheis *ca.* A.D. 220, 29 6.

Δ[---], councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 168, 20 8.

Δ[---] (Στεριεύς), *ca.* A.D. 120-160, father of Ῥόδων, 22 5.

Δαίδαλος Εἰ[---] (Ἀζηγιεύς), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 58.

Δασούμειος Θαλῆ[ς] (Κυδαθηγαιεύς), councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 160, 15 8.

Δείφι[λος] (Θορίκιος), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 31.

Δέκμος (Στεριεύς), councillor of Pandionis, *ca.* A.D. 150-190, 22 10.

Δημήτριος, gymnasiarch ephebe, *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 41.

Δημή[τριος], λειτουργός at the end of the first century after Christ, 2 6.

[Δ]ημήτριος Εὐόδου (Ἰπποθωντίδος), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 44.

Δημήτριος (Ἰπποθωντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 127.

Δημήτριος (Κεκροπίδης), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 115.

Δημήτριος Νυμφ[ο]δότου (Ἀζηγιεύς), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 11-12.

Δημήτριος (Ἀλαιεύς), councillor of Cecropis *ca.* A.D. 174/5, 21 33.

Δημήτριος: ἱερεὺς Δημήτριος (Ἀλαιεύς), councillor of Cecropis *ca.* A.D. 174/5, 21 32.

Δημ[ή]τριος (Γαργήττιος), *ca.* A.D. 100, father of [---]ων, 11 28.

[Δημήτριος] (Χολαργεύς), *ca.* A.D. 120, father of Μέν[ανδρος], 11 33.

Δημόστρατος: see Κλ[αύδιος] Δημ[όστρατος] Μελιτεύς].

Δημοσθένης: see Ἀὐρ(ήλιος) Δημοσθένης (Σφήττιος).

[--- Δη]μοσθέ[νης] (Βερνικίδης), councillor of Ptolemais *ca.* A.D. 210, 32 10.

Δημόστρατος: see Τι Κλαύδιος Δημόστρατος Σουινεύς.

- Δημοχάρης (Ἀναφλύστιος), *ca.* A.D. 100, father of [Ἀσκληπι]άδης, 11 7.
- Διο[---] (Ἰπποθωντίδος), early second century after Christ, father of [---]ος, 39 28.
- Διογένης (Πανδιονίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 72.
- Διογένης (Κεφαλῆθεν), *ca.* A.D. 120, father of Ἀθηνόδωρος, 12 24.
- Διόδωτος (Ἀναφλύστιος), *ca.* A.D. 100, father of [Ἀθήναι]ος, 11 11.
- Διόδωρος (Πιθεύς), *ca.* A.D. 141, father of Ἡλιόδωρ[ος], 21 45-46.
- [Διό]δωρος Σκαμάνδρον (Φιλιάδης), councillor of Aegeis in the middle of the second century after Christ, 14 10.
- Διοκλῆς Ἡρ[---], secretary [of the Council and Demos], A.D. 130-150, 13 15.
- Διονύσιος: see Καρίνας Δι[ονύσιος].
- Διονύσιος (Ἰπποθωντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 121.
- [Δι]ονύσιος γε(ώτερος Ἰπποθωντίδος), middle of second century after Christ, 39 35.
- Διονύσιος (Ἀζηγιεύς), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 55.
- Διονύσιος (Ἀζηγιεύς), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 13.
- Διονύσιος[ς] (Κυδαθηναίεύς), *ca.* A.D. 127, father of Σωκράτη[ς], 15 6.
- Διον[ύσιος] (Δαμπτρεύς), *ca.* A.D. 187, father of Β[ε]ιτάλιος, 29 7.
- Διονυσόδωρος (Σφήττιος), *ca.* A.D. 120, father of Θάλλος, 12 12.
- [Δομίτιος Ἀραβία]νός Μαρ[αθώνιος], archon *ca.* A.D. 210, 32 2-3.
- Δ[ο]μίτιος[ς] Ἀρισταῖος Π[αι]ονίδης, archon *ca.* A.D. 200, 30 2-3.
- E[-----], ἀντιγραφεύς, A.D. 130-150, 13 16.
- E[-----], councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 168, 20 18.
- Εἰ[-----] (Ἀζηγιεύς), first half of the second century after Christ, father of Δαίδαλος, 39 58.
- Εἰρηναῖος Ἀ[νθροστηρί]ον (Ἀζηγιεύς), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 56.
- Εἰρηναῖος (Κυδαθηναίεύς), *ca.* A.D. 127: Εἰρηναῖος, father of [Ἀθήν]αιος, 15 2; Ἰρ[η]να[ί]ος, father of Ἀ[ρυσ]τ[ό]β[υ]λος, 15 3.
- Εἰσιγένης: see Ἰσιγένης.
- Εἰσιγένης[ης] (Ἰπποθωντίδος), first half of second century after Christ, father of [...]ροκλῆς, 39 36.
- Εἰσιγένης (Ἀλωπεκῆθεν), *ca.* A.D. 100, father of [-----]ς, 11 21.
- Εἰσιδοτος: see Ἰσιδοτος.
- Εἰσιδοτος, prytany secretary at the end of the second century after Christ: Εἰσιδοτ[ος], 23 5; [Εἰσιδοτος Φ]ήλεικος Ἀ[γγεληθεν], 24 2-3.
- Εἰσιδοτος) Μαρα(θώνιος), under-secretary in A.D. 168/9, 18 21.
- Εἰ[σιδωρος] (Ἰπποθωντίδος), *ca.* A.D. 130, father of Νικίας, 40 8.
- Ἐλευσίνιος, sacred herald, A.D. 100-150, 11 34.
- Ἐλευσίνιος, ἐπὶ Σκιάδος, A.D. 100-150, 11 35.
- Ἐλευσίν(ιος) (Κυδαθηναίεύς), *ca.* A.D. 127, father of Ἀ[ρτ]έ[μ]ων, 15 4.
- Ἐλιξ (Κεφαλῆθεν), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 22.
- [Ἐλ]λην: see Π. Ἀ[ἱ]λ[ιος] Ἐλ[λην] [ό] καὶ Πλ[-----] Ἀζηγιεύς.
- Ἐλπιδιανός (Ἐρεχθείδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 57.
- Ἐπ[-----], councillor of Ptolemais in A.D. 168/9, 18 8.
- Ἐπα[-----] (Ἰπποθωντίδος), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 46.
- Ἐπάγαθος: see [Ἐ]ρέν(ιος) Ἐπάγ[αθος] (Ἀζηγιεύς).
- Ἐπαφρίων (Ἀδριανίδος), gymnasiarch ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 38, 100.
- Ἐπαφρόδειτος θύτης, *ca.* A.D. 200-250, 41 3.
- Ἐπαφρόδειτος (Ἀντιοχίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 135.
- Ἐπαφρόδειτος (Λεωντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 82.
- Ἐπίγονος: see Ἐρένιος Ἐπίγ[ονος] (Ἀζηγιεύς).
- Ἐπίγονος, συστρεμματάρχης, *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 27.
- Ἐπίγονος (Αἰγείδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 64.
- Ἐπίγονος (Ἀκαμαντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 94.
- Ἐπίγονος (Πανδιονίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 75.
- Ἐπίγονος Ἀ[-----] (Γαργήττιος), councillor of Aegeis, A.D. 130-150, 13 5.

- Ἐπίγο[νος] (Κυδαθηναίος), councillor of Pandionis in A.D. 168, 20 30.
- Ἐ[π]ίκτητος, *ca.* A.D. 150, father of [---]onos, 25 16.
- Ἐπίκτητος, συστρεμματάρχης, *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 25.
- Ἐπίκτητος, σωφρονιστής (?), *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 17.
- Ἐπίκτητος (Αἰγείδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 65.
- Ἐπίκτητος (Ἀκαμαντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 96.
- Ἐπίκτητ[ος] (Ἱπποθωντίδος), after A.D. 161, 40 7.
- Ἐπίκτητος (Ἀναφλύστιος), in the early second century after Christ, father of [---]ης, 11 6.
- Ἐπίκτητος (Δαμπρεύς), councillor of Erechtheis *ca.* A.D. 220, 29 5.
- Ἐπισ[---] (Χολαργεύς), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 38.
- Ἐπιτευξίδης (Ἀκαμαντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 97.
- Ἐπιτυνχάνων: see Αἰρ. Ἐ[πιτυν]χάνων Μενάνδρον.
- Ἐράτων (Ἱπποθωντίδος), first half of second century after Christ, father of [---]ος, 39 34.
- Ἐράτων (Ἱπποθωντίδος), first half of the second century after Christ, father of [---]μαχος and [---]μένης, 39 22-25.
- Ἐρένιος Ἱεροκῆρυξ, aisitus *ca.* A.D. 174/5, 21 57-58; Ἐρέν(ιος) Ἱερ<ο>κῆρυξ, aisitus *ca.* A.D. 200, 6 2.
- [Ἐ]ρέν(ιος) Ἐπάγ[αθος] (Ἀζηνιεύς), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 60.
- Ἐρένιος Ἐπίγ[ονος] (Ἀζηνιεύς), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 17.
- Ἐρένιος Ἀ[ν]σανί[ας] (Ἀζηνιεύς), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 15.
- Ἐρένι[ο]ς Στρατοκ[λῆς] (Ἀζηνιεύς), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 14.
- Ἐρένιος Φηστια[νός] (Ἀζηνιεύς), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 16.
- Ἐρέν(ιος) Φίλητος (Χολαργεύς), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 35.
- Ἐρμείας: see Ἐρμίας.
- Ἐρμείας: see [Αὔ]ρ(ήλιος) Ἐρμεί[ας].
- Ἐρμείας (Αἰξωνεύς), two councillors of Cecropis *ca.* A.D. 174/5, 21 41, 42.
- Ἐρμείας (Αἰξωνεύς), *ca.* A.D. 141, father of Ἐρμογένης, 21 43.
- Ἐρμῆς (Οἰνείδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 106.
- Ἐρμίας Ἀνθε[στηρίου] (Ἀζηνιεύς), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 57.
- Ἐρμογένης Ἐρμείον (Αἰξωνεύς), councillor of Cecropis *ca.* A.D. 174/5, 21 43.
- Ἐρμ[ό]δ[ωρος], sacred flutist, A.D. 190-200, 5 3.
- Ἐρως (Κεφαλήθεν), *ca.* A.D. 120, father of Φιλουμένος, 12 21.
- Ἐρωτίων, ὑποσωφρονιστής (?), *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 19.
- Ἐστιαῖος Ο[---] (Γαργήτιος), councillor of Aegeis, A.D. 130-150, 13 4.
- Ἐταιρείος: see Ἐτερείος.
- Ἐτερείος Πρ<α>λίσσης (Κολλυνεύς), councillor of Aegeis in the middle of the second century after Christ, 14 16.
- Εἰ[---], councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 168, 20 9.
- Εἰ[---] (Μυρρινούσιος), *ca.* A.D. 120-160, father of [---]ος, 22 14.
- Εἰδημος (Γαργήτιος), *ca.* A.D. 100, father of [---]ς, 11 30.
- Εἰήμερος (Ἀζηνιεύς), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 59.
- Εἰκαρπος (Αἰγείδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 67.
- Εἰκαρπος Σφή(τιος), περὶ τὸ βῆμα, A.D. 190-200, 5 2.
- Εἰμένης (Σφήτιος), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 9.
- Εἰσόδος (Ἱπποθωντίδος), first half of the second century after Christ, father of [Δ]ημήτριος, 39 44.
- Εἴπο[ρος] (Ἱπποθωντίδος), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 48.
- [Εἴ]πορος Ἀθηνα[ίου] Ἀθμονεύς, eponymus of the tribe Attalis in A.D. 169/70, 19 7.
- Εἰσέβης (Αἰγείδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 63.
- Εἰτυχᾶς, under-zacorus of the ephebes, *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 47.
- Εὔτυχης (Λεωντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 79.
- Εὔτυχανός (Ἀντιοχίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 139.
- Εὔ[τυ]χίδης (Ἱπποθωντίδος), father of [Λακρα-τ]είδης, first half of the second century after Christ, 39 26-27.
- [Εὔτυ]χίδης [] Φλυ(εύς), councillor of Ptolemais, A.D. 180-192, 25 18.

Εὐτυχος (Κεκροπίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 110.
 Εὐφράς (Οἰνείδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 103.
 Εὐχάριστος, sacred flutist in A.D. 168/9, 18 19.
 Εὐχάριστος) (Ἐπεικίδης), councillor of Cecropis
ca. A.D. 174/5, 21 48.

Ζεῦξις: see *Αρ[ρ]ίος Ζεῦξις (Τετακίδης).

Ζηρόβιος: see *Ιού(λιος) Ζηρόβιος.

[Ζη]νόδοτος Ἀφροδισίου (Φιλάδης), councillor of
 Aegeis in the middle of the second century
 after Christ, 14 9.

Ζήνων (Φ---), second half of second century
 after Christ, 23 3, 24 5.

[Ζ]οῖλος (Ἰπποθωντίδος), first half of second
 century after Christ, 39 1.

Ζοῖλος (Κεκροπίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 113.

Ζώ[πυ]ρος, councillor of Erechtheis *ca.* A.D. 220,
 29 3.

Ζώπυρος (Πανδιονίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 77.

Ζώπυρος Ἰσιδ[ότου] (Κυδαθηναίης), councillor of
 Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 168, 20 24.

Ζωσᾶς, προστάτης of the ephebes, latter part of
 the third century after Christ, 37 43.

Ζωσιμianός (Ἰπποθωντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275,
 37 125.

Ζωσιμianός Νηρέως (Σφήττιος), councillor of Aca-
 mantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 18.

Ζώσιμος, attendant at the bath, *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 54.

Ζώσιμος (Ἀκαμαντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 91.

Ζώσιμος (Πανδιονίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 76.

Ζώσιμος Ἰσιδ[ότου] (Κυδαθηναίης), councillor of
 Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 168, 20 25.

Ζώσιμος (Σφήττιος), *ca.* A.D. 120, father of Νικίας,
 12 15.

[Ζωστῆρ] (Γαργήττιος), *ca.* A.D. 100, father of
 Πονπώνι[ος], 13 2.

Η[---], councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 168,
 20 12.

*Ηλι<ξ> (Ἐρεχθείδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 60.

*Ηλιόδωρος: see Αἰρ(ήλιος) Ἡλιόδω[ρος].

*Ηλιόδωρος Ἀρτέμω(νος) (Κυδαθηναίης), council-
 lor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 160, 15 5.

*Ηλιόδωρ[ο]ς Διοδώρου (Πιθείς), councillor of
 Cecropis *ca.* A.D. 174/5, 21 45-46.

*Ηρ[----], *ca.* A.D. 100, father of Διοκλῆς, 13 15.

[Ἡ]ρακλε[ί]δης) (Ἰπποθωντίδος), middle of
 second century after Christ, 39 42. Probably
 the same as the following.

*Ηρακλείδης (Ἰπποθωντίδος), first half of second
 century after Christ, father of [Φ]ίλων, 39 43.
 Probably the same as the preceding.

*Ηρακλείδης (Κεκροπίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275,
 37 114.

*Ηρυχος (Ἀλωπεκῆθεν), *ca.* A.D. 100, father of
 [Ἰσιγέ]νης, 11 16.

Θ[---], councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 168,
 20 3.

Θαλῆς: see Αἰ(λιος) Θαλῆς (Κεκροπίδος).

Θαλῆς: see Αἰρ(ήλιος) Θαλῆς.

Θαλῆς: see Δασούμιος Θαλῆ[ς] (Κυδαθηναίης).

Θαλῆς: see [. . .]π. Θαλῆ[ς] Βερ(νεκίδης).

Θάλλος Διονυσόδωρου (Σφήττιος), councillor of
 Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 12.

Θε[---] (Ἀκαμαντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275,
 37 90.

Θεμιστοκλῆς: see [Ἰ]όν(ιος) Θεμιστοκλῆς.

Θεμισών: see [Ἰού]λιος Θεμισώ[ν].

Θεο[---] Ἀθ[---]μονεύς, περὶ τὸ βῆμα at the begin-
 ning of the third century after Christ, 36 5-6.

Θεογ[έν]ης (Φρεάρριος), second half of the
 second century after Christ, father of Ἀρι-
 σ[τί]δης, 23 7, [24 7].

Θεόδωρος (Αἰαντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 132.

Θεόδωρος (Στειριεύς), councillor of Pandionis,
ca. A.D. 150-190, 22 9.

Θεολόγος, συστρεμματάρχης, *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 30.

Θεολόγος (Ἀκαμαντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275,
 37 95.

Θεόφραστο[ς] Ποπλίου (Γαργήττιος), councillor
 of Aegeis, A.D. 130-150, 13 6.

Θρασυκλῆς) (Σφήττιος), councillor of Acamantis,
 A.D. 146-165, 12 17.

Θρεπτιών, ὑποσωφρονιστής (?), *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 23.

*Τακχος, ὑποσωφρονιστής (?), *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 21.

*Τερατηφάλης (Ἰπποθωντίδος), first half of second
 century after Christ, 39 2.

[Ἰ]εροκλε[ίδ]ης Μητροδ(ώρου) (Κυδαθηναίης),
 councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 160, 15 9.

*Ιλαρος (Λεωντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 81.

- Ἰλαρο[ς] (Λαμπρεύς), *ca.* A.D. 187, father of Ἰλαρος, 29 9.
- Ἰλαρος Ἰλάρ[υ] (Λαμπρεύς), councillor of Erechtheis *ca.* A.D. 220, 29 9.
- Δέκ. Ἰου[-----], *ca.* A.D. 175-200, 38 12.
- Ἰουλιανός, physician, *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 48.
- Ἰού(λιος) Ζηνόβιος, ἐπὶ Σκιαδός in A.D. 168/9, 18 23-24.
- [Ἰού]λιος Θεμισώ[υ], eponymus of a tribe, in 169/70 A.D. or somewhat later, 1 3.
- [Ἰού(λιος) Ἱεροφάντης], aisitus, A.D. 168/9, 18 1; Ἰούλ(ιος) Ἱεροφάντης, aisitus, *ca.* A.D. 174/5, 21 53-54.
- Ἰούλ(ιος) Φίρμος (Σφήττιος), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 8.
- [Ἰ]ούν(ιος) Θεμιστοκλῆς, aisitus A.D. 150-200, 3 4.
- Ἰππόνεικος (Οἰνείδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 102.
- Ἰρηνάιος: see Εἰρηναῖος.
- Ἰσιγένης: see Εἰσιγένης.
- [Ἰσιγέ]νης Ἠσύχου (Ἄλωπεκῆθεν), councillor of Antiochis, A.D. 100-150, 11 16.
- Ἰσίδωτος: see Εἰσίδωτος.
- [Ἰ]σίδωτος (ἐκ Κοίλης), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 72.
- Ἰσίδωτο[ς ..]π[---] (Κυδαθηναίεύς), councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 168, 20 23. Probably the same as the following.
- Ἰσίδωτος (Κυδαθηναίεύς), *ca.* A.D. 135: Ἰσίδ[ωτος], father of Ζώπυρος, 20 24; Ἰσ[ίδωτος], father of Ζώσιμος, 20 25. Probably the same as the preceding.
- Ἰσίδω[ος] (Κυδαθηναίεύς), councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 168, 20 29.
- Ἰσίδωρος: see Εἰσίδωρος.
- Ἰσίδωρος: see Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἰσίδω[ρος] (Κυδαθηναίεύς).
- Ἰσίδωρος Ν[-----] (Ἀξηγνιεύς), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 61.
- Ἰσίδωρος Σαβίνου (Κολλυτεύς), councillor of Aegeis in the middle of the second century after Christ, 14 15.
- Ἰσόχρηστος (Κεκροπίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 118.
- [Ἰστ]λήιο[ς] Σ[υ]νέρος Βερ[ε]ν(εικίδης), councillor of Ptolemais, A.D. 180-192, 25 13.
- Κ[-----], councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 168, 20 5.
- Κ[-----], councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 168, 20 11.
- Καλλιππεῖνος (Ἀντιοχίδης), gymnasiarch ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 40, 138.
- Καλλίστρατος (Βερενικίδης), at the end of the second century after Christ, father of [---]δωρος, 36 11.
- Καλόπους, συστρεμματάρχης, *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 26.
- Καλόπους (Ἀκαμαντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 88.
- Καλόπους (Ἰπποθωντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 122.
- Καρίνας Δι[ονύσιος], *ca.* A.D. 175-200, 38 6.
- Κάσ(ιος) [-----], magistrate, A.D. 180-192, 27 7.
- Κάσ(ιος) Μάξ[ε]μος (Κολλυτεύς), councillor of Aegeis in the middle of the second century after Christ, 14 13.
- Γ. Κάσσιος Ἀπο[λλώνιος] Στ[ε]ν[δ]ρι[εύς], hoplite general, A.D. 180-192, 25 6-7.
- Κλᾶρος Ὀνησί[μου] (Λαμπρεύς), councillor of Erechtheis *ca.* A.D. 220, 29 8.
- Κλ(αύδιος) Μυρσίνος, *ca.* A.D. 200-250, 41 2.
- Τι. Κλ(αύδιος) Χρύσι[ππος], archon in middle of the first century after Christ, 7 1.
- [Τ]ι. Κλ(αύδιος) Ὑλλος (Ἰπποθωντίδος), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 66.
- [Τιβ. Κλ(αύδιος) Πά]τρο[κλος] Λα[μπτρ]εύς, hoplite general, priest and φαίδωντής of Zeus in Olympia, *ca.* A.D. 200-230, 33 6.
- Κλ(αύδιος) Δημ[όστ]ρατος Μελιτεύς, archon, A.D. 146-165, 12 2.
- Τιβ. Κλ(αύδιος) Λ[-----] Μελ(ιτεύς), archon *ca.* A.D. 200-230, 33 2-3.
- Τι Κλαύδιος Δημ[όστ]ρατος Σουνιεύς, agonothete of the Great Eleusinia in the late first or early second century after Christ, 8 11-14.
- Κλ(αύδιος) Κορνηλιανός Στειριεύς, ἀντιγραφεύς *ca.* A.D. 200, 6 5-6.
- Κοδράτος: see [Αὐ]τίδιος Κοδράτ[ος] (Μιρρινούσιος).
- Κόρι[νθος] (Θορίκιος), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 30.

- Κορνηλιανός: see Κλ(αύδιος) Κορνηλιανὸς[ς Στειριεύς].
- Κράτερος (Ἱπποθωντίδης), after A.D. 161, 40 10.
- Τι Κωπώνιος Μάξιμος Ἀγνούσιος, epimelete of the city in the late first or early second century after Christ, 8 18-22.
- Λ. [----] Ἀναφ[λύστιος], archon *ca.* A.D. 150-200, 28 1-2.
- Λ[----]: see Τιβ. Κλ(αύδιος) Λ[----] Μελ(ιτείς).
- Λ[----] (Γαργήτιος), *ca.* A.D. 100, father of Ἐπίγονος, 13 5.
- Λ[----] (Λαμπρέυς), *ca.* A.D. 187, father of Γηρόσυνος, 29 6.
- [Λακρατ]είδης Εὐ[τυ]χίδου (Ἱπποθωντίδης), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 26-27.
- Λαμ[----]: see Ὀκτάουιος Λαμ[----] (Κολλυτεύς).
- Λικ(ίνιος) Πολύαινος (Κολλυτεύς), councillor of Aegeis in the middle of the second century after Christ, 14 17.
- Λούκ[ιος ----] Κηφεισιεύς, aisitus at the end of the first century after Christ, 2 2-3.
- Λούκιος Σωκράτης[us] (Κυδαθηναίεύς), councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 160, 15 7.
- Λούπ[ος] (Κεκροπίδης), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 116.
- Λυσανίας: see Ἐρένιος Λ[υ]σανί[ας] (Ἀζηνιεύς).
- Λυσιμαχίδης (Σφήτιος), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 11.
- Μ[----], councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 168, 20 17.
- Μαξιμιανός: see Μ. Μοννάτιος Μαξιμιανὸς Οὐοπίσκος [Ἀζηνιεύς].
- Μάξιμος: see Κάσ(ιος) Μάξ[ι]μος (Κολλυτεύς).
- Μάξιμος: see Τι Κωπώνιος Μάξιμος Ἀγνούσιος.
- Μαρκιανός (Ἀδριανίδης), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 99.
- Μαρκιανός (Ἐρεχθείδης), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 59.
- Μέμ(μος) ἐπὶ βωμῷ Θορ[ίκιος], eponymus and councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 5, 29; aisitus in A.D. 168/9, [18 4]; aisitus *ca.* A.D. 174/5, 21 59-60.
- Μέμων (Ἀναφλύστιος), *ca.* A.D. 100, father of [Πυρφόρος], 11 12.
- Μένανδρος, father of Αὐρ. Ἐ[πιτυν]χάνων, *ca.* A.D. 160, 4 8.
- Μέν[ανδρος Δημητρίου] (Χολαργεύς), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 33.
- Μενεσθεύς (Κεκροπίδης), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 109.
- Μη[----] (Ἡρεσίδης), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 47.
- Μηνόδορος[ς] (Κυδαθηναίεύς), councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 168, 20 26.
- Μηνόδορος (Μαραθώνιος), *ca.* A.D. 100, natural father of [----] λιος, 11 33.
- [Μ]ηνόφιλος, aisitus at the beginning of the third century after Christ, 36 15.
- Μητροδόρος: see Αἴλιος Μητροδ[ωρος] (Ἀζηνιεύς).
- Μητροδ[ωρος] (Κυδαθηναίεύς), *ca.* A.D. 127, father of [Τ]εροκλε[ίδ]ης, 15 9.
- Μο[----] (Ἡρεσίδης), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 46.
- Μόνδων: see Τίτ(ος) Φλ(άουιος) Μόνδων [----] Φιλείνου Φλυεύς.
- Μοσχιανὸς Ἀττικοῦ (Κεφαλήθεν), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 23.
- Μόσχος (Ἱπποθωντίδης), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 41.
- Μ. Μοννάτιος Μαξιμιανὸς Οὐοπίσκος [Ἀζηνιεύς], archon *ca.* A.D. 174/5, 21 2-3; [Μᾶρ(κος) Μοννάτιος Οὐ]οπίσκ[ος Ἀζηνιεύς], hoplite general, A.D. 180-190, 26 5-6.
- Μουσαῖος (Ἀλωπεκῆθεν), *ca.* A.D. 100, father of [Ἀντίπατ]ρος, 11 20.
- Μουσα[ῖος] (Στειριεύς), councillor of Pandionis, A.D. 150-190, 22 4.
- Μυρσίνος: see Κλ(αύδιος) Μυρσίνος.
- Μύρων Λ[αμπρέυς], under-secretary in A.D. 169/70 or somewhat later, 1 5.
- Ν[----] (Ἀζηνιεύς), first half of the second century after Christ, father of Ἰσίδωρος, 39 61.
- Νεικέρως (Ἀκαμαντίδης), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 89.
- Νεικήτης (Λεωντίδης), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 80.
- Νεικίας: see Αὐρ(ήλιος) Νεικί[ας].

[Ν]εικία[s] ('Ιπποθωντίδος), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 31.

Νεικόμαχος, under-secretary at the end of the first century after Christ, 2 5.

Νείκων: see Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀφροδείσιος ὁ καὶ Νείκων Ἀφροδεισίον Σφήττιος.

Νείκων, ἐπὶ Διογενείου, *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 52.

Νείκων (Κεκροπίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 108.

Νηρεὺς (Σφήττιος), *ca.* A.D. 120, father of Ζωσιμιανός, 12 18.

[Νι]κάνωρ ('Ιπποθωντίδος), first half of the second century after Christ, father of Ἀφροδείσιος, 39 67-68.

Νικέρως: see Νεικέρως.

Νικήτης: see Νεικήτης.

Νικίας: see Νεικίας.

Νικίας Εἰ[σιδώρου] ('Ιπποθωντίδος), after A.D. 161, 40 8.

Νικίας ('Ιπποθωντίδος), after A.D. 161, 40 5.

Νικίας Ζωσίμου (Σφήττιος), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 15.

Νικόμαχος: see Νεικόμαχος.

Νικόμαχος: see [Φ]λ(άουιος) Νικ[όμαχος] (Στειριεύς).

Νίκων: see Νείκων.

Νίκων [...δῶρον] ('Αλαιεύς), councillor of Cecropis *ca.* A.D. 174/5, 21 35.

Νόστ[ιμος] (Χολαργεύς), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 34.

Νυμφόδοτος, drill sergeant, *ca.* A.D. 175, 37 44.

Νυμφ[ό]δοτος ('Αζηγιεύς), first half of the second century after Christ, father of Δημήτριος, 39 11-12.

[Νυμ]φόδοτο[s] ('Αζηγιεύς), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 54.

Νόνιος Γ[-----], councillor of Cecropis (?) *ca.* A.D. 200-230, 35 5.

Ξενοκράτης (Αἰαντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 131.

Ξενοκράτης ('Ιπποθωντίδος), after A.D. 161, 40 4.

Ο[-----] (Γαργήττιος), *ca.* A.D. 100, father of Ἐστιαῖος, 13 4.

Ὀκτάουιος Λαμ[-----] (Κολλυτεύς), councillor of Aegeis in the middle of the second century after Christ, 14 18.

Ὀλύμπιος, ὑπόπλομάχος, *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 50.

Ὀλυμπος (Μελιτεύς), *ca.* A.D. 141, father of Στράτων, 21 51.

Ὀνασος Α[-----] (Λαμπτρέύς), councillor of Erechtheis *ca.* A.D. 220, 29 13.

Ὀνησικράτης, trainer *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 43.

Ὀνήσιμος Στεφηφόρον (Αἰξωνεύς), councillor of Cecropis *ca.* A.D. 174/5, 21 39-40.

Ὀνήσι[μος] (Λαμπτρέύς), *ca.* A.D. 190, father of Κλάρως, 29 8.

Ὀπᾶτος Αὔλου (Σφήττιος), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 16.

Ὀρφέτιος Βουρριανὸς Σφή[ττιος], [herald] of the Council and Demos at the beginning of the third century after Christ, 36 3-5.

Οσ[-----] ('Ιπποθωντίδος), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 45.

Οὔειτάλιος: see Βειτάλιος.

Οὔοπίσκος: see Μ. Μονάτιος Μαξιμιανὸς Οὔοπίσκος ['Αζηγιεύς].

Γά(ιος) Ὀφέλλιος Ἀρίστω[ν] (Κολλυτεύς), councillor of Aegeis in the middle of the second century after Christ, 14 14.

Παιδέρ[ως] (Λαμπτρέύς), councillor of Erechtheis *ca.* A.D. 220, 29 15.

[Πάπιος Ἀτ]τικὸς Β[η]σαιε[ύς], herald of the Council and Demos in A.D. 168/9, 18 6.

Παρα[-----]: see Αὐρ(ήλιος) Παρα[-----].

Παράμονος: see Αὐρ(ήλιος) Παράμ[ονος].

[Π]ατροκλῆς, aisitus A.D. 150-200, 3 3.

Πάτροκλος: see [Τιβ. Κλ(αύδιος) Πά]τρο[κλος Λα]μπτ[ρεύς].

Πει[-----] ('Ηρεσίδης), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 49.

[Πειν(άριος) Ἱεροκῆρ]υξ, aisitus, A.D. 168/9, 18 3.

Πελάγιος: see Αὐρ(ήλιος) Πελάγιος ('Ερεχθείδος).

Περ[-----]: see Αὐρ(ήλιος) Περ[-----].

Πιστικός, συστρεμματάρχης, *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 28.

Πιστικός (Αἰγείδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 66.

Πιστοκράτης: see Ἄννιος Πιστοκράτης ('Αλαιεύς).

Πλ[-----]: see Π. Α[ἰ]λ[ιος] Ἐλ[λην] [ό] καὶ Πλ[-----] Ἀζηγιεύς.

Πο[-----], middle of the second century after Christ, 39 18.

Πολύαινος: see Λικ(ίνιος) Πολύαινος (Κολλυτεύς).

- Πολυδεύκης, zacorus of the ephebes, *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 46.
- [Πο]μπήιος Ἀλέξανδρος [---], eponymus of the tribe Oeneis *ca.* A.D. 200, 30 6.
- [Πομ(πήιος) Δαδοῦχος], aisitus, A.D. 168/9, 18 2.
- Τι. Πομπήιος[ς ---- Γαρ]γήτιος, *ca.* A.D. 175-200, 38 7-8.
- Πομπώνιος: see Πονπώνιος.
- Πονπώνιος[ος Ζωστήρης] (Γαργήτιος), councillor of Aegeis, A.D. 130-150, 13 2.
- Ποντικός: see [Τι]γής Π[οντικός].
- [Πόπλιος] (Γαργήτιος), *ca.* A.D. 100, father of Θεόφραστο[ς], 13 6.
- Πρ'αλίσης: see Ἐτερείος Πρ'αλίσης (Κολλυτεύς).
- Πρεῖμος (Ἰπποθωντίδος), first half of second century after Christ: Πρεῖ[μος], 39 7-8; [Π]ρεῖμος, 39 3.
- Πρεῖμος Π[ροτείμου] (Γαργήτιος), councillor of Aegeis, A.D. 130-150, 13 3.
- [Πρό]κλο[ς] Φλυ(εύς), councillor of Ptolemais, A.D. 180-192, 25 20.
- Προσδόκιμος: see Αἶρ(ήλιος) Προσδό[κιμος].
- Προσδόκιμος (Σφήτιος), *ca.* A.D. 120, father of Ἀσκληπιάδης, 12 13.
- Π[ρότειμος] (Γαργήτιος), *ca.* A.D. 100, father of Πρεῖμος, 13 3.
- Πρωτίων, aisitus at the beginning of the third century after Christ, 36 14.
- Πρωτίων, ἐπὶ Σκιάδος, A.D. 190-200, 5 4.
- Π[ρωτογένης], under-secretary at end of second century after Christ, 23 10.
- Πρωτογένης, συστρεμματάρχης, *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 31.
- Πρωτογένης (Ἰπποθωντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 124.
- Πυρφόρος: see Αἶλ(ιος) Πυρφόρος.
- [Πυρφόρος] Μέμνονος (Ἀναφλύστιος), councillor of Antiochis, A.D. 100-150, 11 12.
- Πωλ[ι----] (Χολαργεύς), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 39.
- Ῥηγείνος (Κεκροπίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 117.
- Ῥόδων, συστρεμματάρχης, *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 29.
- Ῥόδων (Λεωντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 83.
- Ῥόδων Δ[----] (Στειριεύς), councillor of Pandionis, A.D. 150-190, 22 5.
- [Ῥ]οῦφος) γ[ε(ώτερος)] (ἐκ Κοίλης), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 75.
- [Ῥ]οῦφος) πρ(εσβύτερος ἐκ Κοίλης), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 74.
- Σ[----] (Κυδαθηναίεύς), *ca.* A.D. 135, father of Φιλήμων, 20 27.
- Σαβίνος (Κολλυτεύς), *ca.* A.D. 120, father of Ἰσίδωρος, 14 15.
- Σάτυρος) (Σφήτιος), councillor of Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 14.
- [-- Σε]κοῦν[δος] (Βερνικίδης), councillor of Ptolemais *ca.* A.D. 210, 32 11.
- Ξι[----], councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 168, 20 10.
- Σκάμανδρος (Φιλάδης), *ca.* A.D. 120, father of [Διό]δωρος, 14 10.
- Σκρει(βόνιος) Ταμιακ[ός], περὶ τὸ βῆμα in A.D. 168/9, 18 18; Σκρι(βόνιος) Τ[α]μ[ια]κός, councillor of Cecropis *ca.* A.D. 174/5, 21 34.
- [Σ]όλων Ἀρι[---], councillor of Cecropis (?) *ca.* A.D. 200-230, 35 11.
- Σπέν[δων], sacred flutist at end of second century after Christ, 23 8.
- Σπύρο[ς] (Κυδαθηναίεύς), councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 160, 15 10.
- Στεφανᾶς, *ca.* A.D. 200-250, 41 2.
- Στεφανᾶς (Αἰγείδος), gymnasiarch ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 37, 62.
- Στεφφηφόρος) (Αἰξωνεύς), councillor of Cecropis *ca.* A.D. 174/5, 21 37.
- Στεφφηφόρος (Αἰξωνεύς), *ca.* A.D. 141, father of Στεφφηφόρος, Ἀγνος, and Ὀνήσιμος, 21 37, 38, 39-40.
- Στρατοκ[λῆς]: see Ἐρέννι[ο]ς Στρατοκ[λῆς] (Ἀξηνεύς).
- Στράτων Ὀλύμπου Μελιτεύς, secretary of the councillors *ca.* A.D. 174/5, 21 50-51.
- [Σύμ]μαχος, councillor of Ptolemais, A.D. 180-192, 25 15.
- [Σ]ύμμαχος (Φλυεύς), *ca.* A.D. 150, 25 24.
- Σύμ[φορος] (Ἀκναίεύς), *ca.* A.D. 135, father of Ἀγνος, 18 16.
- Συνέρος: see [Ἰσθλῆιο]ς Σ[υ]νέρος Βερ[ρ](νεικίδης).
- Ξ[υ]νέσιος (Κεκροπίδος), after A.D. 161, 40 1.

Σωκράτης (Αιαντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 130.
 Σωκράτης: see [Αὔρ]ή(λιος) Σωκρά[τ]ης Βερ-
 (νικίδης).

Σωκράτης: see [Α]ὔρ(ήλιος) Σωκράτης Ἀρτεμι-
 δώρον Ἐλευσίνιος.

Σωκράτῃ[ς] Διονυσίο[υ] (Κυδαθηναίεύς), council-
 lor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 160, 15 6. Probably
 the same as the following.

Σωκράτῃ[ς] (Κυδαθηναίεύς), *ca.* A.D. 127, father
 of Λούκιος, 15 7. Probably the same as the
 preceding.

Σωσιγένης: see Φλά(ουιος) Σωσιγένης.

Σωσίστρατος (Ἀκαμαντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275,
 37 92.

Σωτᾶς) (Ἀξηνιεύς), middle of the second cen-
 tury after Christ, 39 62.

Σωτήριχος: ἱερεὺς Σωτήριχος, ἡγεμών of the ephebes,
ca. A.D. 275, 37 44.

Σωτήριχος, συστρεμματάρχης, *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 34.

Σωτήριχος (Ἀντιοχίδης), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275,
 37 137.

Τ[-----], councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D.
 168, 20 13.

Τ[-----], councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D.
 168, 20 21.

Ταμιακός: see Σκρει(βώνιος) Ταμιακ[ός].

Τειμόθεος (Λεωντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 84.

Τειμοκλή[ς] (Λαμπρεύς), councillor of Erech-
 theis *ca.* A.D. 220, 29 12.

[Τι]γής Π[οντικός], archon in A.D. 169/70, 19 3.

Τρυφ[-----] (Ἡρεσίδης), councillor of Aca-
 mantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 48.

Τρύφων, συστρεμματάρχης, *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 32.

Τρύφων (Ἐρεχθείδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 58.

Τρύφων (Ἱπποθωντίδος), after A.D. 161, 40 11.

Τύλλιος [-----] (Αἰαντίδος), after A.D. 161,
 40 13.

Υάκινθος: see Αὐ(ίδιος ?) Υάκινθος.

Υγείνος (Πανδιονίδης), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 73.

Υγείνος (Ἀναφλύστιος), *ca.* A.D. 100, father of
 [Ἀσκληπι]άδης, 11 25.

Υλλος: see [Τ]ι. Κλ(αύδιος) Υλλος (Ἱππο-
 θωντίδος).

Φαρνάκης: see [Αὐί]διος Φαρν[άκης] (Μυρρι-
 νούσιος).

[Φ]ήλιξ (Ἀγγεληθέν), second half of the second
 century after Christ, father of Εἰσίδοτος, 24 3.

Φηστιανός: see Ἐρένιος Φηστια[νός] (Ἀξηνιεύς).

Φιλάδελφος, keeper of the ammunition, *ca.* A.D.
 275, 37 53.

Φιλείνος (Φλυεύς), third century after Christ,
 father (or grandfather) of Τίτ(ος) Φλ(ά-
 ουιος) Μόνδων, 37 5.

Φιλήμων Σ[-----] (Κυδαθηναίεύς), councillor of
 Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 168, 20 27.

Φίλητος: see Ἐρέγ(νιος) [Φίλητος] (Χολαργεύς).

Φιλίγος: see Φιλείνος.

Φίλιππος (Ἀκαμαντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275,
 37 93.

Φίλιππος) (Ἐλευσίνιος), middle of the second
 century after Christ, 39 70.

Φιλόστρα[τος] (Φιλάδης), *ca.* A.D. 120, father of
 [Ἀπ]ολλώνιος, 14 11.

Φιλονυμένος Ἐρωτος (Κεφαλήθεν), councillor of
 Acamantis, A.D. 146-165, 12 21.

Φίλω[ν -----] (Ἱπποθωντίδος), middle of the
 second century after Christ, 39 47.

[Φ]ίλων Ἀν[-----]φ[υ] (Ἱπποθωντίδος), middle
 of the second century after Christ, 39 38.
 Probably the same as the following.

Φίλων (Ἱπποθωντίδος), first half of second cen-
 tury after Christ, father of Ἀπολλώνιος, 39 39.
 Probably the same as the preceding.

[Φ]ίλων Ἡρακλείδου (Ἱπποθωντίδος), middle of
 second century after Christ, 39 43.

Φιλωνίδης: see Αὐρ(ήλιος) Φιλωνίδης[ς].

Φίρμος: see Ιούλ(ιος) Φίρμος (Σφήττιος).

Τι. Φλάουιος [-----], *ca.* A.D. 175-200, 38 9.

Φλά(ουιος) Σωσιγένης, secretary of the Council
 and Demos, *ca.* A.D. 200, 6 4.

[Φ]λ(άουιος) Νικ[όμαχος] (Στειριεύς), councillor
 of Pandionis, A.D. 150-190, 22 2.

Τίτ(ος) Φλ(άουιος) Μόνδων [-----] Φιλείνου
 Φλυεύς, of senatorial rank, twice archon,
 priest of Athena Polias, priest of Ὀμόνοια τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων, latter part of the third century after
 Christ, 37 2-5.

Χαρίτων (Κεκροπίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 111.

Χρύσιππος: see Τλ. Κλ(αύδιος) Χρύσι[ππος].

Χρυσόγονος (Ἰπποθωντίδος), ephebe *ca.* A.D. 275, 37 126.

ᾠρά(ριος) Ἀλκ[ίμαχος], ἀντιγραφεὺς in A.D. 168/9, 18 17.

[.]ε[----], councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 168, 20 4.

[.]π[----] (Κυδαθηναίεύς), *ca.* A.D. 135, father of Ἰσιδοτο[ς], 20 23.

[.]π. Θαλῆ[ς] Βερ(νεκίδης), councillor of Ptolemais, A.D. 180-192, 25 17.

[...]δωρος (Ἀλαιοεύς), *ca.* A.D. 141, father of Νίκων, 21 35.

[...]μένης Ἐράτωνος (Ἰπποθωντίδος), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 24-25.

[...]ροκλῆς Εἰσιγέ[ν]ο[υ]ς (Ἰπποθωντίδος), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 36.

[--]αγρ[---], councillor of Erechtheis *ca.* A.D. 220, 29 2.

[----]αικε[---], councillor of Cecropis (?) *ca.* A.D. 200-230, 35 14.

[----]ανος, *ca.* A.D. 150, 25 12.

[----]ατ[.]ς) (Ἰπποθωντίδος), middle of second century after Christ, 39 33.

[----]άτης (Ἀλωπεκῆθεν), councillor of Antiochis, A.D. 100-150, 11 17.

[---]άτων Γαργήτι[ος], secretary in the middle of the second century after Christ, 14 3.

[--]δωρος Καλλιστράτου Βερενεκίδης, aisitus at the beginning of the third century after Christ, 36 11.

[----]δωρος (Κεκροπίδος), *ca.* A.D. 141, 21 25.

[----]ιελος), aisitus A.D. 150-200, 3 2.

[----]ης Ἐπικτήτου (Ἀναφλύστιος), councillor of Antiochis, A.D. 100-150, 11 6.

[----]ικος, middle of the second century after Christ, 39 5.

[----]ιος, councillor of Cecropis *ca.* A.D. 174/5, 21 24.

[----]καρπο[ς] (Ἀγνούσιος), councillor of Attalis in A.D. 169/70, 19 10.

[--]κλε[ίδης] Φλυ(εύς), councillor of Ptolemais, A.D. 180-192, 25 22.

[----]λαος, *ca.* A.D. 150, 4 2.

[----]λιος Ἀφροδισίου Φυλάσιο[ς γόνωι] δὲ Μηνοδώρου Μαραθώνιος, ἀντιγραφεὺς, A.D. 100-150, 11 32-33.

[--]μαχος Ἐράτωνος (Ἰπποθωντίδος), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 22-23.

[----]νδρος, *ca.* A.D. 150, 4 4.

[--]ν[.]ς νεώ[τερος], archon in the second century after Christ, 10 3.

[--]ονος Ἐ[π]ικτήτου, councillor of Ptolemais, A.D. 180-192, 25 16.

[--]ος Διο[---] (Ἰπποθωντίδος), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 28.

[----]ος Ἐράτων[ος] (Ἰπποθωντίδος), middle of the second century after Christ, 39 34.

[----]ος (Ἀγνούσιος), councillor of Attalis in A.D. 169/70, 19 12.

[----]ος Εὐ[---] (Μυρρινούσιος), councillor of Pandionis *ca.* A.D. 150-190, 22 14.

[----]ροκης (Ἀγνούσιος), councillor of Attalis in A.D. 169/70, 19 9.

[----]ς Εἰσιγένους (Ἀλωπεκῆθεν), councillor of Antiochis, A.D. 100-150, 11 21.

[----]ς Εὐδήμου Γαργήτιος, περὶ τὸ βῆμα, A.D. 100-150, 11 30.

[--]σάμος Π[α].], aisitus A.D. 150-200, 3 7.

[----]στος (Ἀγνούσιος), councillor of Attalis in A.D. 169/70, 19 11.

[--]χρηστος (Βερενεκίδης), councillor of Ptolemais, *ca.* A.D. 210, 32 9.

[----]ων, councillor of Cecropis (?) *ca.* A.D. 200-230, 34 9.

[----]ων Δημ[η]τρίου Γαργήτιος, secretary of the Council and Demos, A.D. 100-150, 11 28.

[----]ων Φλυ(εύς), councillor of Ptolemais, A.D. 180-192, 25 25.

[----]ωρος) (Ἀλωπεκῆθεν), councillor of Antiochis, A.D. 100-150, 11 15.

A HELLENISTIC DEPOSIT AT CORINTH

During the excavation of the Corinthian Agora in the spring of 1933, a closed deposit of the Hellenistic period, containing terracotta figurines and other objects, was found at the eastern end of the South Stoa. While most of the objects possess a certain individual interest, they form a rather remarkable collection, and for this reason their publication as a unit has seemed desirable.

The South Stoa, an exceptionally long and prominent structure, which in Greek times extended along the entire south side of the Agora, had the unusual feature of a double row of small rooms behind its colonnade.¹ These rooms, the front row of which was used as shops, the back as adjoining storerooms, have proved a highly fruitful source of stratified objects. The deposit under discussion here was discovered in Shop III, counting from the east. In the preliminary report of the excavation it was stated that "a deposit of terracotta figurines and shields was discovered mixed with a red fill and resting directly on hardpan. Some of the terracottas were packed against the foundations for the Greek partition walls."² In addition to these objects there were forty-seven identifiable bronze coins, two terracotta lamps, a terracotta thymiaterion, two clay loom-weights, and a few miscellaneous objects. When the preliminary account was written it was thought that this deposit might provide the *terminus post quem* for the erection of the South Stoa. Whether or not this proves to be the case, the problem of the date of this building lies outside the scope of the present study, and the deposit is to be considered here solely *per se*. Its relation to the chronology of the Stoa, if there was a vital connection, will be discussed in the publication of the building.³

Concerning the date of the deposit, the most useful clues are of course furnished by the coins. In so far as they are to be relied upon, they fix the time of the formation of the deposit as not later than the third quarter of the third century before Christ. From the following list it will be observed that most of the coins (all bronze), from Corinth or nearby towns, are of indefinite period, but the fortunate inclusion of the four royal pieces gives us narrower limits.

¹ See *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 555 f., fig. 1.

² Oscar Broneer in *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 559.

³ A second deposit containing almost identical figurines (see following article by Broneer, Figure 7), in some cases from the same moulds, but no shields, coins, or other objects, was found in 1937 at some distance to the north of the South Stoa, in the catch-basin of a curious raised circular pavement (*A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 551). In much poorer condition than the figurines of the larger deposit, they were once burned, and are so fragile that they crumble at a touch.

35	Corinth	400-146 B.C.
2	Corinth	300-242 B.C.
3	Sicyon	ca. 400-300 B.C.
2	Argos	350-228 B.C.
1	Troezen	370-300 B.C.
1	Macedonian, Demetrios Poliorcetes...	306-283 B.C.
2	Macedonian, Antigonos Gonatas.....	277-239 B.C.
1	Egyptian, Ptolemy III, Euergetes.....	247-222 B.C.

The two lamps (Fig. 1), next in importance as chronological evidence, are very nearly alike—a variation on Type IX,⁴ which “cannot be earlier than the third century and should probably be dated about the middle of the century.”⁵ They are wheel-made, of a fine buff-colored fabric, and partially covered with a fine glaze which has flaked off here and there. No. 2 has a grooved vertical strap-handle, No. 1 is without a handle, and both were supported on high stands whose exact height is now lost. It is possible that the preserved stands do not belong to the two lamps, and in the case of No. 2 this seems quite likely (observe the spiral effect on the stand, lacking on the part attached to the lamp). The small knob which appears on the right side of each lamp was a common Hellenistic feature.⁶ During the glazing of the lamps, which was effected by dipping, they were held by the centre of the support, as the spot of glaze on the stem of No. 2, probably from the finger of the glazer, shows.

With the date of the deposit now reasonably well fixed, its contents in general may be described. The largest group of objects consists of terracotta figurines, of which there are about fifty fairly complete, and a large number of small fragments. In subject matter they form a somewhat heterogeneous lot, but in fabric they are quite uniform and undoubtedly of local make. Their clay is not the clay of the “Potters’ Quarter,” which is a fine and durable buff, yellowish or green substance, but a reddish, friable material of which most of the Corinthian figurines of the Hellenistic period were made. A fire in which a few of the figurines suffered has reduced the clay to a still more fragile condition. A chalky white slip, covered with chalky pigment, is present on every figurine.

In the subjects represented the figurines for the most part follow well-worn paths. As early as the sixth century we find at Corinth banqueting figures, reliefs representing horse and rider, and in the fifth century the stelai with helmet and twisting snake. The treatment accorded such well-known subjects is, however, sometimes unusual in these third century pieces.

The banqueting figures from this deposit (Nos. 3-10, Fig. 2) surpass in size, elaboration, and interest any figurines of the type found at Corinth. Of the nine pieces fairly well preserved, three show a woman seated at the man’s feet; two others

⁴ Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, ii, p. 49 and fig. 24.

⁵ *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 560.

⁶ Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, ii, p. 6.

once did. Outside of this deposit very few Corinthian figurines have this feature, although elsewhere it was common.⁷

Nos. 3, 4, and 5 are very nearly alike (the first and last probably from the same



Fig. 1. Terracotta Lamps

mould). A bearded man, with long locks of hair hanging about his face, reclines on an elaborately draped couch, a cushion under his left elbow. He wears a polos and

⁷ E. g., Tarentum (Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, I, p. 203, nos. 3, 4, 5; Attica (Winter, I, p. 196, no. 3). Examples in which the woman reclines beside the man (e. g., Winter, I, p. 196, no. 40, from Athens), or is embraced by him (Winter, I, p. 197, no. 2, from Myrina), are unknown at Corinth, nor is there a single relief in which more than two figurines are represented (as Winter, I, p. 197, no. 3, from Myrina).



Fig. 2. Terracotta Figurines: Banqueters

a himation covers his body from the waist downward, and in his left hand he holds a bowl while his right hand rests on his knee. At the foot of the couch is seated a woman who leans slightly away from him in a graceful position. She wears a chiton and a himation, and holds a large oenochoe against her right knee, waiting to pour from it into the man's bowl. In No. 3 the modelling of the figurine is sharp and clear, showing considerable retouching. In back, the upper part was filled out by hand to correspond with the front; the lower part was untouched. No. 4 is similar in this respect. No. 5 was hastily retouched and instead of delicate folds above the woman's feet, as in No. 3, there is a series of rude scratches. This is not the result of the deterioration of the mould, but is clearly carelessness.⁸ It is supported behind by a strut which projects in the middle. Traces of color remain only on No. 3: pink on the flesh portions, pink on the drapery of the couch, and red on its lower border. No. 6 is the most elaborate of all the reclining figures. What remains is only the lower end of the couch, with a woman seated upon it, the knees of the man, and a huge amphora at her right, but even this fragment holds much of interest. The man reclines in the usual fashion; in his right hand, which appears at the preserved upper right edge of the relief, he held some object over his companion's arm. While the nature of this is obscure, it might possibly be a snake. The woman, not relaxed as in Nos. 3-5, but sitting bolt upright, and facing front, wears a long chiton pulled tight across her breasts, and perhaps a himation. In her right hand she seems to hold part of her garment; her left is concealed in drapery. The large vessel was evidently the source of refreshment, but for dipping, not pouring, as was the oenochoe in Nos. 3-5. Beside the couch, which alone among Corinthian examples is undraped, stands a three-legged table supporting various objects, presumably food, the outlines of which are no longer distinguishable. The back of the figurine has a support in the centre projecting at right angles from top to bottom. No traces of the flesh color remain, but considerable pigment is preserved in the woman's dress. The appearance of the figurine is unusually sculptural. Most compositions of this size tend, perforce, to simplify detail and omit unessential features. Here, on the contrary, the coroplast has tried to include in his composition elements which in other cases are left to be inferred from general knowledge, i. e., from sculpture, and as a result so much is included that the details are obscured. No. 7 is so fragmentary and the surface so damaged that it is now notable chiefly for its size. The himation, on which much retouching was done, covers the figure's left shoulder and arm, and is carried around the front of the body under the right arm. The head was made separately and set into a depression in the neck. The back, with a small circular vent, was added by hand, and folds of drapery indicated on it. When complete the figure must have stood about forty centimetres high, really a small piece of sculpture rather than a

⁸ The fact that Nos. 3 and 5 were photographed from different angles makes them seem unlike, but actually they are similar in all respects.

large figurine. It seems likely that such a large figure would have had a woman seated at the foot of the couch, but of this there is no evidence remaining. The rest of the reclining figurines, represented by Nos. 8, 9, and 10, are the normal Corinthian type: small, modest in conception and size, and without detail. The man is alone without any attendant woman. The figure reclines on the left side, the lower part of the body covered with a himation, the left arm resting on a cushion, a kantharos (No. 8) or a patera (No. 10) held in his right hand. The couch may be draped in various ways (cf. Nos. 8 and 9). The backs of the figurines are flat or slightly concave, and there is no evidence of retouching. A few traces of color remain; on No. 8 brick-red for the flesh, pink for the couch, in No. 9 red for the couch, on No. 10 brick-red for the flesh, lighter red for the couch.⁹ In a deposit published many years ago and presumed to be of the fourth century, was found a figurine from the same mould as No. 8,¹⁰ and indeed this, as well as the following figurines, seems a little early in style for the middle of the third century. But since the same moulds were used during long periods, there is little possibility of dating these persistent types more accurately. Probably to be associated with the figure of a banqueter is a small, rather thick disk (not illustrated), which is smooth on one surface, rough on the other. This was very likely a dish to be fastened to the hand of a large reclining figure. In the case of large figures, such plastic attributes were often added.

The "rider reliefs" have a fairly long history at Corinth. They were not manufactured in the Potters' Quarter at the west of the city, but in some other factory whose location is as yet unidentified. They were preceded by the hand-made horse-and-rider, which claims a considerable antiquity, and which continued to be made even long after the same subject was produced as a relief by the use of a mould. By the time of this deposit, however, the hand-modelled figurine had practically vanished. The dozen figurines or fragments of rider reliefs which appear in the deposit (Nos. 11-22, Fig. 3) show considerable variation and illustrate the futility of attempting to trace the development of such figurines. While the reliefs, presumably, are all of the same period, they descend almost as if by regular steps from the elaborate and realistic No. 11 to the poor and lifeless No. 20. This considerable variation in the quality of the pieces, natural enough in a deposit of larger proportions, is here somewhat surprising. No. 11 was cast in extremely high relief and all its details are unusually clear. It is covered with a white slip and also shows traces of a pinkish red color on the horse and on the flesh of the rider. The horse is a spirited animal prancing high with both forelegs off the ground as if trying to escape the snake coiling beneath its belly. In contrast to this activity the rider is calmness itself. He or she, dressed in a chlamys which, reaching to the knee, conceals the body and the

⁹ For the rest of No. 9 cf. the reclining figurine at the lower right corner of Fig. 7 in Broneer's article.

¹⁰ *A.J.A.*, X, 1906, p. 168, no. 20, and pl. XII.



Fig. 3. Terracotta Figurines: Riders

right arm, and wearing high boots, sits in an easy pose, the head turned to the side, facing the spectator. This rather ludicrous contrast is the natural result of the conventionalizing of a once meaningful and realistic representation. The rider is probably male, but the missing head, preserved in a similar figurine found in the deposit in the catch-basin (see note 3) seems rather feminine. A border was added by hand around the back of the figurine.

No. 12 is a smaller version of No. 11. Here much of the horse is missing, but the rider is well preserved, and color remains on most of the figurine. It is entirely covered with a white slip and the usual chalky pigments. The horse is painted a bright pink, with a red harness; the rider's face and legs are brownish red, the background a dull black. The rider's garment is similar to that of No. 11, but the head is different from that preserved in the parallel figurine shown at the left in Fig. 7 on p. 148, and the features appear somewhat more masculine. The hair is dressed in a roll over the forehead, and partially covered by a cap. Neither on this, nor on any of the succeeding figurines, is a trace of a snake to be seen. The casting of this figurine was neatly done; the mould was sharp and the details carefully worked.

No. 13 presents a sharp contrast, for although complete, and identical in subject with No. 12, it was made from a poor and worn mould.¹¹ Slight traces of pink paint over a white slip are visible on the rider's flesh and on the horse's harness. No. 14 is a fragment of a figurine very similar to Nos. 12 and 13. The chlamys of the rider is arranged in a slightly different fashion, and the raised border at the bottom of the relief, scarcely noticeable in No. 13, is here quite pronounced. No. 15 shows a horse standing on three legs, with only the left foreleg raised. There are traces of red on the rider's body and black on the background. While the rider is still as placid as in the other figurines, the horse is extremely spirited, with inflated nostrils and a bulging eye, well-defined body musculature, and the tail swinging around to cover the right flank. The figure is not really a relief, for it is hollow, with a back added on and a circular vent. No. 16, in spite of its very high relief, is only a poor imitation of No. 15. Faint traces of color remain. A back was added to the figure, and there seems to have been a vent. The fragmentary No. 17 is another example of the degeneration of the type. The horse's head, held stiffly back on the neck, has no features visible except the mouth and a slight protrusion to indicate the eye. No. 18 is probably the only figurine in the deposit in which the rider is nude to the waist and has a chlamys wound around his lower right arm. A polos is worn on the head. The specimen is very fragmentary, but we know from similar figurines found elsewhere at Corinth that the horse stood on all four feet, in a stiff yet rather lifelike pose. A similar pose appears in No. 19, in which, however, the chlamys covers the body of the rider as far as the knees. The flesh of the rider and the horse's harness show traces of pink,

¹¹ Cf. the very similar figurine at the upper right corner of Fig. 7 in Broneer's article (p. 148).

while the background is black. No. 20, with its hazy outlines and poor clay, represents the ultimate degeneration of the rider relief. The white slip is still partially preserved, showing that its original appearance cannot have been much better. No. 21 may once have been a very fine piece. Larger in scale than the other figurines (its original height at least 0.20 m.), it was really a free-standing figure and not a relief. The horse faces left, as it rarely does in these figurines, and seems to be standing still or advancing slowly. The edge of a saddle cloth shows at the fracture. The tail, projecting at right angles from the body, hangs down behind the left rear hock, and the hairs are rendered impressionistically by the use of an instrument. A fragment of a human leg (No. 22) from the same deposit may belong to the same figurine. The rider wears a chiton covering the thigh, and a high boot with an elaborate rolled top and flaps such as occur often in figures of Artemis. Nos. 21 and 22 are both brightly colored: the horse's body brick-red, the saddle cloth pink, the background black. The rider's leg is a light salmon color and the boot bright red.

There is naturally less variety among the snake-and-helmet stelai than among the other figurines. While the type was well known at Corinth,¹² it was not manufactured in the Potters' Quarter, and there is no evidence that it existed before the fifth century. The nine specimens found in the deposit (Nos. 23-31, Fig. 4) are with few exceptions similar to others from Corinth. Nos. 23, 24, 25, 26, and 27 are alike except for differences in quality. Upon a stele with double or single mouldings at top and bottom rests a plumed Corinthian helmet, facing to the right. The back of the plaque is flat. A white slip covers the whole surface; the plume is painted red. No. 25 is distinguished by having the hairs of the plume standing out in a rather unusual manner, apparently running up instead of down. Nos. 26 and 27 exhibit the inevitable relaxation of the standard of manufacture, and in No. 27 the snake is hardly more than a wavy ridge which does not reach the moulding at the top of the stele. In No. 28 the type is similar except that the helmet faces left. This is also the case with the tiny fragment No. 29, the plume of which differs from the others in having a central boss. Nos. 30 and 31, which together form a distinct variety, are unfortunately incomplete. Although much alike, they were not made from the same mould. Convex in front instead of flat, they have deep grooves outlining the mouldings, and probably represented columns rather than stelai. The helmet in both cases faced left.

A large group of figurines is that representing women standing with some offering in one hand (Nos. 33-39, Fig. 5). This type began with the Kore figurine, so common in archaic Greece, and persisted through many vicissitudes, even after its

¹² Elsewhere it seldom occurs. At Tarentum the theme is found in an interesting variation (*Not. Scavi*, XII, 1936, p. 169, fig. 79): A nude man, seated beside the stele, feeds the snake from a phiale as it crawls up the stele. There is no helmet on top of the stele, but apparently some small cakes.

fostering art had long died. In the deposit, with the exception of the fragmentary No. 32, a late degeneration of the archaic Kore,¹³ we find the Hellenistic version of this subject. Most of the eleven specimens are fragmentary, and in every one the



Fig. 4. Terracotta Figurines: Stelai

object held in the hand is indefinite of outline and only dimly distinguishable. The archaic Kores, in contrast, always hold clearly recognizable offerings. This vagueness

¹³ It is made of light buff clay covered with a white slip and with traces of red on the polos. Very likely it was part of a seated figure.

may have been deliberate, if the objects had lost their peculiar significance and were intended to represent offerings in general, not an attribute of a particular deity.

No. 33 (height, 0.138 m.), the most striking and the finest of these figures, is made of unusually friable clay, but still retains traces of a white slip and of red on the hair, blue on the garment. The rather long-legged figure stands in a somewhat slouching attitude on a low plinth, wearing a chiton with thick fold between the legs,



Fig. 5. Terracotta Figurines: Maidens with Offerings

over it a shawl bound at the waist and falling below in a triangular form. The hair hangs loosely on her shoulders, and a low polos is worn on the head. While the left hand loosely grasps the drapery at the side, the right is raised to support some object—a cup, a flower? The back is hollow. The figurine is well modelled, with considerable retouching, especially on the drapery. One other fragment of an exactly similar figurine was found. The fragmentary No. 34 (height, 0.041 m.) was probably much the same, with the exception of an elaborate moulded base, unique in the group. With Nos. 35 and 36 begins another series. Here again the figure stands on a low plinth, but her feet are invisible and only a chiton with long apodygma is worn. The hair and hands are arranged as in No. 33, and in the right hand is perhaps a fruit. No. 37 (height, 0.107 m.) is much like No. 35, but from a poorer mould and without

retouching. The object held in the hand is perhaps a pine cone. No. 38 is similar except for a higher polos, and perhaps an object carried in the left hand as well as in the right. In No. 39 (height, 0.106 m.) the position is reversed: the right hand hangs at the side, holding a vase (?); the left, raised to the breast, contains an unidentifiable object. A bag, or some drapery, hangs from the left arm near the hand. The extremely poor mould from which the figure was made and the lack of retouching



Fig. 6. Terracotta Figurines

has resulted in vagueness like that of No. 37. The remaining specimens are still more fragmentary and show no features which do not appear in Nos. 33-39. No. 40 (height, 0.057 m.) is the seated counterpart of the standing figure, and the successor of the archaic seated Kore. Since it is preserved only from hips to feet, nothing can be seen but a long chiton and a himation or other garment draped over it and reaching to below the knee. No traces of the hands or of an offering remain. At their best figurines of this type never were examples of great art, and the specimens here presented are not of the best. Lacking the simple dignity of the Kores, they were yet bound by tradition to preserve a stiffness which Hellenistic art was in general well able to avoid. They preserve an air of ceremoniousness without a saving air of dignity. The three fragmentary heads which follow (Nos. 41, 42, and 43, Fig. 6) show a striking superiority, and indicate that finer figurines might have been preserved to

us had fate been kinder. No. 41 is probably a child's head. The delicate features smile gently; the hair, parted in the centre, curls in impressionistic locks about the cheeks. On the flesh traces of red paint appear over a white slip. The back of the head, added by hand, is rough, and a fracture on top may indicate that a hat was worn. A typical Hellenistic product, the figure shows the charm of the period emphasized to good effect.

No. 42 (height, 0.037 m.) with the left side of the face broken off, still preserves traces of red on hair and lips, over the usual white slip. The delicate features, the wide-set eyes, the small mouth are all characteristic of the period. The hair, probably parted in the centre, hangs behind the ears and reaches low on the neck. A circular earring is still preserved. The back of the hair was added separately and touched up with an instrument.

The much battered No. 43 has widely and deeply set eyes, short nose, small, thick-lipped mouth, prominent chin, and heavy neck. The exaggerated features may have been intended to represent those of an older woman.

No. 44 (Fig. 7), the figure of an actor carrying a tragic mask, is unique at Corinth and apparently uncommon elsewhere. No trace of paint remains on the white slip covering the buff clay. The actor, nude to the waist, stands on a low rectangular plinth in an easy pose, the left arm and lower body covered with a himation. The back of the figurine was roughly added by hand, and has a small rectangular vent.

An interesting but hopelessly fragmentary piece is No. 45 (Fig. 6), a relief on a very small scale. A white slip covers the entire surface, and the background is bright pink. The fragment shows a youth facing right, holding one hand or some object before his face. Without a single edge of the relief preserved, speculation on its nature is futile.

The remaining figurines are commonplace. A small hand-modelled bird (No. 46, Fig. 6) is complete although without feet. No. 47 (Fig. 6), a mirror, is covered with a white slip on which are traces of yellow paint doubtless meant to imitate the brilliant surface of a bronze mirror. The flat disk shape with a short handle, pointed at the



Fig. 7. Terracotta Figurine: Actor (No. 44)

lower end, is the usual type; only occasionally was an effort made to imitate, in these terracotta models, the delicate forms of the bronze mirrors.

More unusual than the figurines are the terracotta votive shields found in this deposit. They are of various types, and differ greatly in size, but all save one are circular.¹⁴ The exception is a small almond-shaped shield (No. 48, Fig. 9) of the so-called Gallic or Galatian type, probably made in a mould, of buff clay which was burned at some time and is now extremely friable. It was evidently made exactly to imitate a real shield, with a heavy rib thickened in the middle along the vertical axis, and a deep groove around the edge. The back is rough and uneven.¹⁵

Nos. 49-53 (Fig. 8) are examples of a type familiar at Corinth in Hellenistic contexts.¹⁶ About 0.09 m. in diameter and rather thick, they are made of the usual buff clay and covered with a chalky white slip. They were mould-made, Nos. 49 and 50 probably in the same mould, Nos. 51 and 52 in another mould. In each the centre is slightly convex and the border flat. A wreath ending in fillets, painted red, stands out in relief on the outer surface. In Nos. 51 and 52 the leaves of the wreath are visible; in the others they are not shown. In Nos. 49 and 50 the ends of the fillets are moulded; in Nos. 51 and 52 they are painted, and in both the latter the outlines of wreath and fillet are indistinct. No. 53 was cast in a very poor mould. The backs of all the shields are concave and rather rough. No means of holding the shield is indicated, and there are no suspension holes.

Besides these tiny moulded shields a group of eleven large circular wheel-made shields was found (Nos. 54-62, Figs. 8, 9). As appears in their profiles (Fig. 11), they are similar in shape, with only subtle variations which have no chronological significance. Their diameters range from 0.207 m. to 0.25 m., with a tendency toward the larger dimension. Characteristic of all is the convex centre bounded by a flat or nearly flat border. None is perfectly symmetrical, but one or two (e. g., No. 61) show a considerable delicacy of profile; others seem to have been produced by a hand less sure. Many of the shields have two suspension holes at the junction of border and boss; in the rest we may assume such holes to have been originally present. The clay varies from a light buff to a rather coarse red color, the outer surface invariably covered with a white slip. Upon this slip designs and figures are painted in the same chalky paint which appears on the figurines. The probable original appearance of the shields is shown in Fig. 10, a restored watercolor sketch (by Marian Welker) of No. 55 (Fig. 9).

¹⁴ For a fuller discussion of the circular shield, see G. Lippold, "Griechische Schilde" (*Münchener archäologische Studien*), pp. 442 f.

¹⁵ For figurines of warriors carrying similar shields, see Winter, *Typen*, II, pp. 384, 385 (from Kertch, Myrina, Caere).

¹⁶ Terracotta reliefs showing a "hero" standing beside a horse and wearing a shield of this shape, while he holds a kantharos in his right hand, were found at Tarentum (*Not. Scavi*, XII, 1936, p. 169, fig. 77).

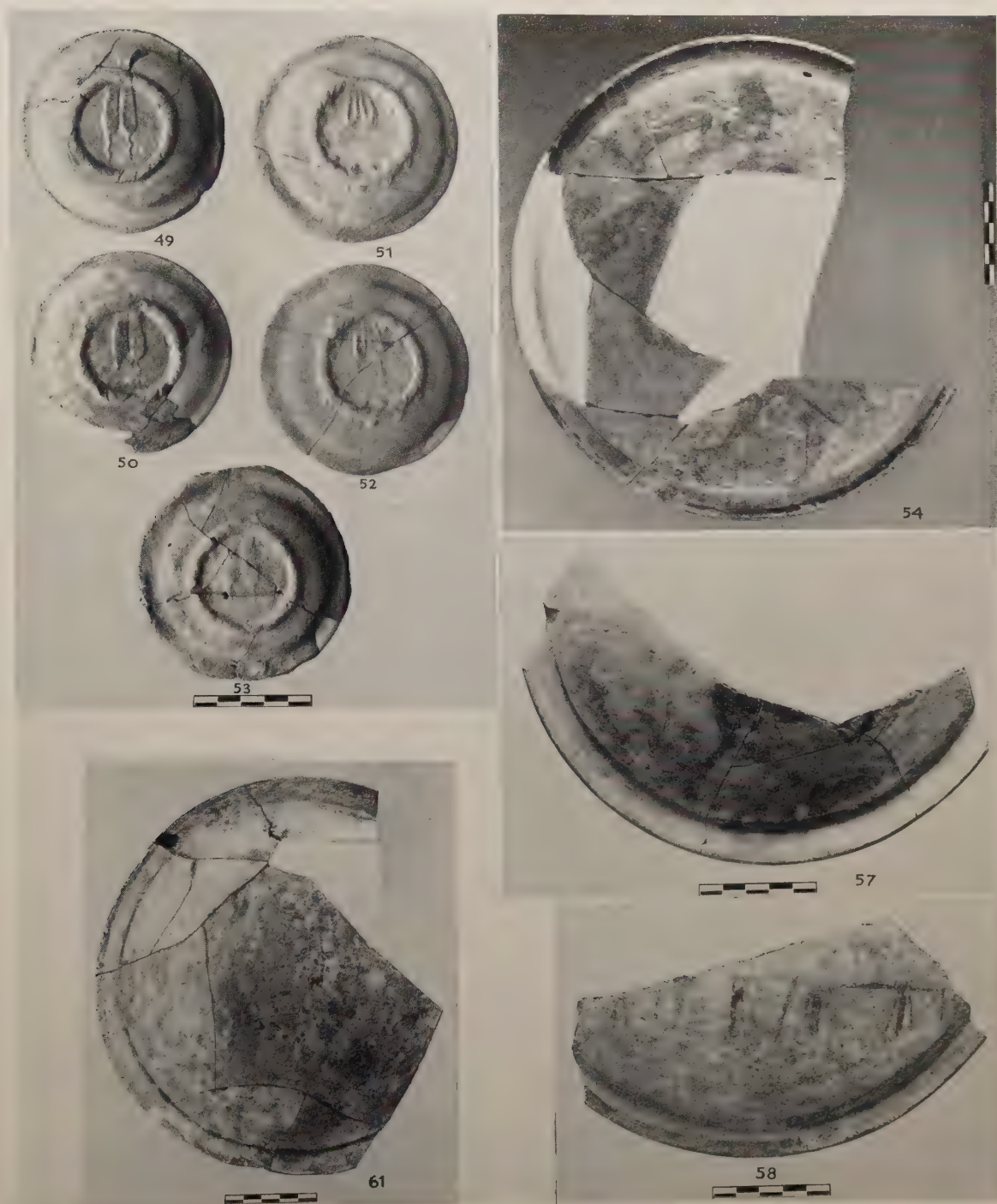


Fig. 8. Terracotta Shields

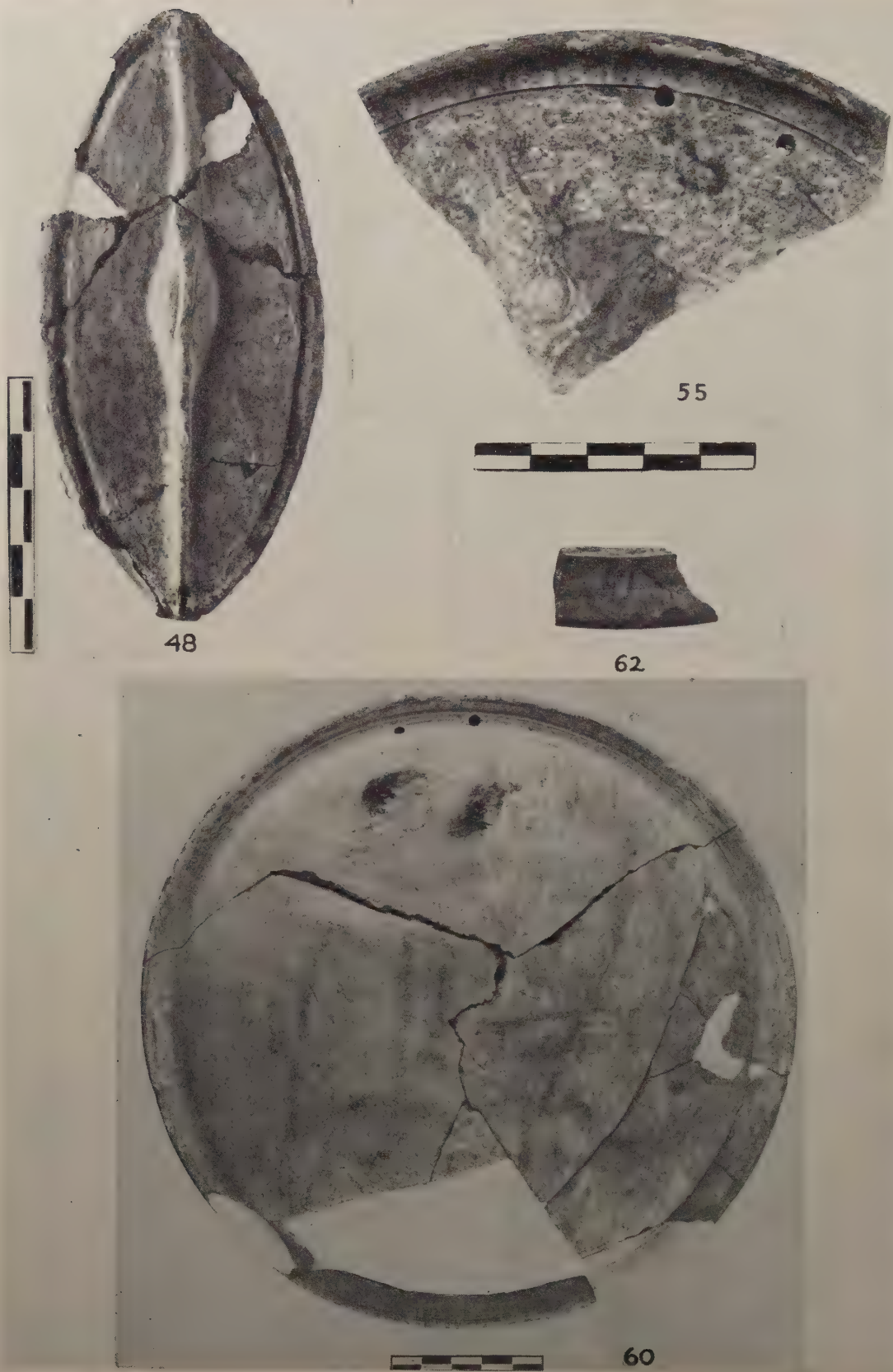


Fig. 9. Terracotta Shields

None of the shields has a well-preserved surface, but in most cases the nature of the design can at least be determined. Nos. 54 (Fig. 8) and 55 (Fig. 9) offer the clearest representations (although the figures appear very dimly on the photographs, they are hardly more visible on the shields themselves). On the former, within a red border, two warriors are fighting. The figure at the left (in Fig. 8 the shield

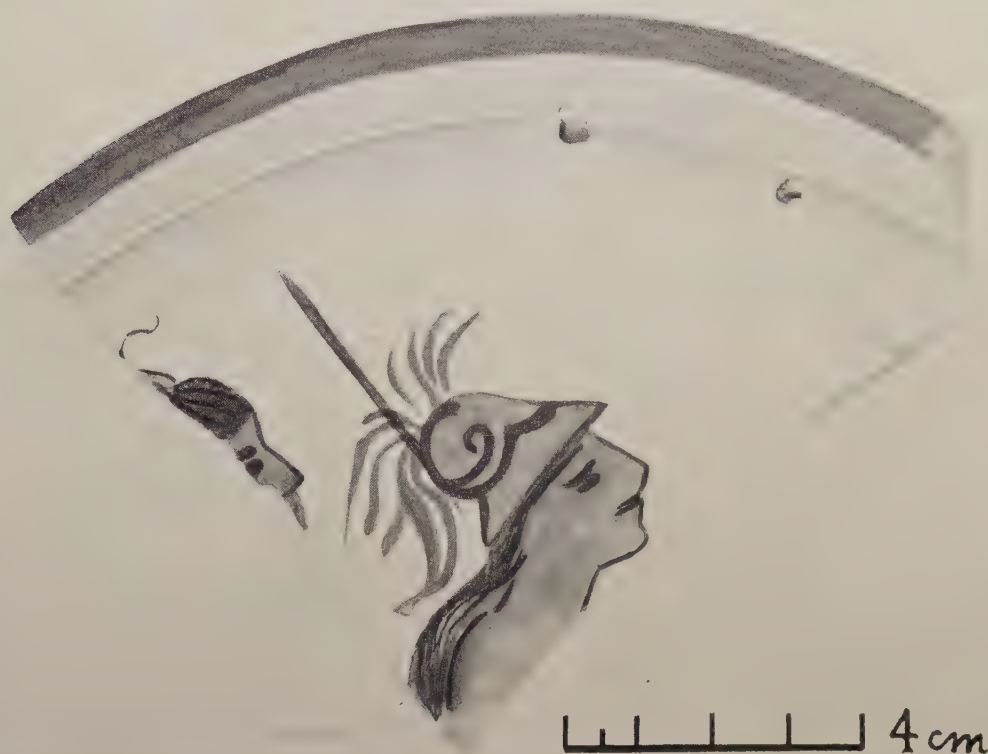


Fig. 10. Watercolor of Terracotta Shield

has been tipped too far to the right), wearing a short tunic, a Corinthian helmet with waving plume, and probably a shield, holds a spear horizontally in his retracted right hand. Of the opposing warrior only the legs and part of his short tunic remain. Red is much used in this painting: in the warrior at the left for the skirt, for the borders of the neck and sleeves, and for the plume of the helmet. A rather brownish red is used for the face and flesh, which are outlined in black. The tunic of the warrior at the right is blue. Despite the damage to the surface, it is possible to feel some of the spirit of the composition, and to appreciate the way in which it has been fitted without awkwardness into the boundaries of the shield. No. 55 (Figs. 9 and 10) has two figures, both facing right: a warrior with a woman behind him. A black outline here also defines the flesh portions. The warrior's face and shoulders are bright red, and

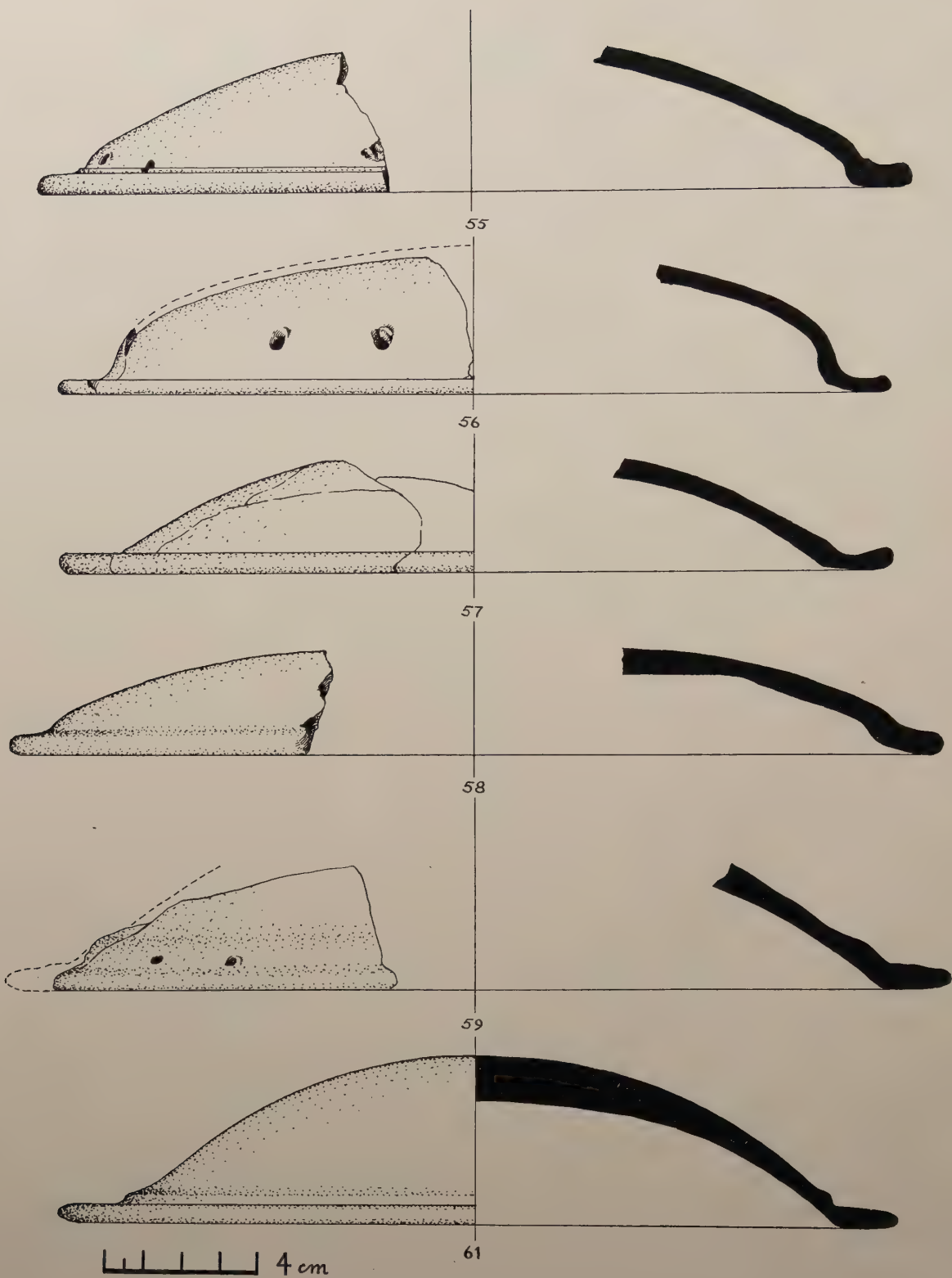


Fig. 11. Profiles of Terracotta Shields

his long hair is brown. The same brown is used for the decoration on his yellow helmet, the plume of which is painted red, but in a shade slightly different from that used for the flesh. Behind the helmet appears the tip of his spear. Only slight traces of his tunic are visible. The woman's face is yellow, a variation on the traditional white. Her hair is drawn into a topknot. The scene probably represented a woman bidding farewell to her husband as he goes off to the wars. A red border encircles the edge of the shield.

The very fragmentary No. 56 (Fig. 11) and another piece with similar profile seem to preserve portions of helmets which were doubtless on the heads of warriors. On No. 56, which lacks a red border, there are remains of two figures: at the left appears a warrior's plume, in the centre an upright spear, and at the right some object painted in blue and red. On the other piece is part of a helmet with a yellow and pink crest, outlined in black. The fragment which remains of No. 57 (Figs. 8, 11) shows

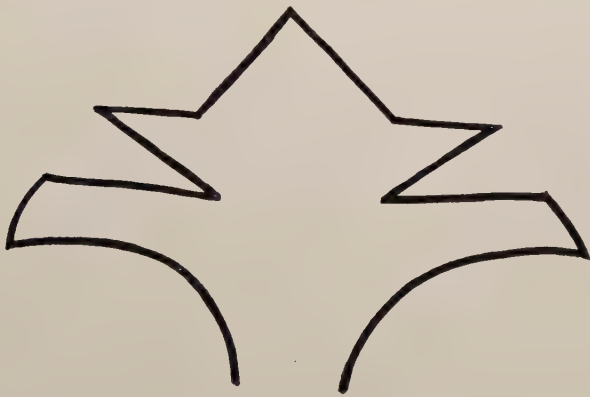


Fig. 12. Design on No. 59

a red border around the edge, and the lower part of a brown horse galloping to the left, perhaps trampling on a figure which appears hazily at the lower right, or rearing above it. The whole picture is indistinct. No. 58 (Figs. 8, 11), which is unusually flat in profile, has a row of fillets, painted in blue-black and red, hanging from a rope within the customary border. At the upper right is some object painted yellow. On No. 59 (Fig. 11), a small fragment with two pinkish-red borders, one on the rim of the shield, the other at the edge of the

central part, is a design in black which faintly appears as in the rough sketch shown in Fig. 12. Can it perhaps be a standard?

Another small fragment (not illustrated) has a narrow stripe of red on the rim, another around the edge of the central part, and a third within the central area just above a wide groove made while the clay was soft.

Nos. 60 (Fig. 9) and 61 (Fig. 8) bear representations apparently unconnected with wars or victories. No. 60, the most nearly complete of the series, also has the most distinguishable design. Within a red border, a man and a woman proceed to the right, the woman in front. Her flesh is pink, her companion's red. Her black hair is tied in a knot low on her nape, and she wears a long blue garment of indefinite outline, probably a chiton. The man, youthful and unbearded, wears a long garment of which only the outlines are painted, in blue-green. Above and to the right of the woman hangs an indefinite object, outlined in red. Such a picture might possibly

represent the donors of the shield. No. 61 preserves much of the shield, but little of the drawing. Within the red border appear faint traces of a single figure facing to the right, with flesh painted red, dressed in a long pink garment. This is the only shield which seems to have no suspension holes. If they existed at the side which is now missing, the figure would have been askew when the shield was suspended.

The tiny fragment No. 62 (Fig. 9) is the only piece which bears any letters. It is part of a rim which instead of the usual red border had an inscription painted in black. The two remaining letters EN are almost certainly to be restored as |ἀνέθηκ|εν.

Among the remains of ancient painting, so little of which has been left us, it is hard to find a close parallel for these painted shields. Similar shields have often been found in much earlier contexts,¹⁷ but contemporary examples are rare. They are perhaps most like the terracotta shields discovered at Centuripe.¹⁸ Although much larger than those from Corinth, they are similar in shape and in the technique used for the painting. On them are represented female figures or Nikes. The narrowest chronological limits that can accurately be assigned the Centuripe pieces are the last three centuries before Christ, more definite dating depending solely on stylistic criteria; it is likely, however, that these ambitious creations are somewhat later than the Corinth shields. From the fact that parallels are so hard to adduce, and from the obvious deficiencies of the technique, it is apparent that such shields never could have become widely popular. While the Centuripe and Corinth shields probably were not isolated phenomena, it is unlikely that many more have been discovered.

The remaining objects from the deposit are of a miscellaneous nature. The most important is No. 63 (Fig. 13), a small terracotta thymiaterion (height, 0.084 m.) of the usual buff Corinthian clay, made of two sections joined together in a rather intricate way. The upper part, a shallow cup, was set into a hollow stand, and the two parts fastened together in such a way that the joint is invisible from the outside. The whole object is covered with a chalky white slip extending even into the interior of the stand. The decoration is in red: a border around the inside of the top, another on the outside around the bottom, and three red star-like flowers on the sides. This little incense-burner shows not the slightest traces of use, a fact which may have some bearing on the nature of the deposit. If it had been used the white slip would surely

¹⁷ Cf. D. Burr, "A Geometric House and a Proto-Attic Votive Deposit," in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 609 f. (late seventh century B.C.). One of these bears a painted figure of a horse and rider; and others have only stripes or geometric designs. See also A. Newhall, "The Corinthian Kerameikos," in *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, pp. 27 ff. (round shields, some painted, some with relief designs, usually with handles). Also Helbig, in *Jahreshefte*, XI, 1909, pp. 45 f. (terracotta votive shields found at Menidi and Tanagra).

¹⁸ G. Libertini, *Centuripe*, p. 169, nos. 38 (diameter, 0.35 m.), 39 (diameter, 0.24 m.), and pl. LXIV; Richter, "Polychrome Vases from Centuripe," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, II, 1929-1930, p. 201, fig. 14 (a shield in the Princeton Museum, diameter, 0.45 m.).

have been damaged in some way. Thymiateria of this sort have been discovered at Delos (dating *ca.* 100 B.C.)¹⁹ and elsewhere. The similarity in technique to the contemporary lagynoi has been pointed out.²⁰

The two conical loom-weights found in the deposit (Fig. 13) are dissimilar both in shape and in date. No. 64 is made of fine reddish buff clay, and has a single suspension hole. The lower part is bevelled to a point about one fourth the height of the weight. Just above the bevelling is an oval stamp, punched while the clay was soft, bearing a representation of a loom-weight; below the bevelling and directly beneath



Fig. 13. Thymiaterion and Loom-weights

the first stamp is another, rectangular, with the letters ΜΕΛΙΞ in relief. This combination of stamps is extremely common on Corinthian loom-weights. No. 65 is made of fairly fine buff clay covered with a slip of finer clay, and also has a single hole. The lower part is bevelled to a point about one third the height of the weight, and just above the bevelled portion is a rectangular stamp bearing the letters ΔΑΜ. This was of course impressed before the weight was baked, and at the same stage a small punch was rolled over the surface directly above the stamp to form rather vague outlines resembling the letters ΜΝ. The stamp ΔΑΜ is found on no other Corinthian weight, and I know of none anywhere else. Between the time of the making of No. 64 and that of No. 65 there are at least fifty years and possibly a hundred. While the shape of the conical loom-weight did not change in any essential way from the fifth century to the Roman period, there were subtle changes which are not only perceptible but datable. On the basis of a study of hundreds of Corinthian loom-

¹⁹ W. Deonna, *Délos*, XVIII, pp. 377 ff. and pl. CV.

²⁰ G. Leroux, *Lagynos*, pp. 52 ff.

weights²¹ it is almost certain that No. 64 can not have been manufactured later than 300 B.C., and it may have been made as much as fifty years before then. No. 65, on the other hand, is of the same period, i. e., *ca.* 250 B.C., as the rest of the objects in the deposit. The criterion for dating is the gradual rise of the bevelled portion of the weight. At first non-existent, it gradually works its way toward the top of the weight until in the first century after Christ the weight becomes pear-shaped rather than conical. The survival of a loom-weight of an earlier period in this deposit is not surprising, for these objects are almost indestructible and were often used over long periods.

The only remaining item of interest in the deposit was a small astragalus moulded of transparent blue glass (length, 0.018 m.). It is a beautiful little object (not illustrated) which imitates very accurately the natural bone. While glass astragali were common enough elsewhere,²² this is the only one which has appeared at Corinth, where real knucklebones were most commonly used.

It is difficult to draw conclusions as to the nature of this deposit, for its strange provenience offers no reliable basis on which to assert that this was refuse from a factory, a temple, a dwelling, or a shop. Of these possibilities the first can easily be eliminated. Factory sweepings contain misfired fragments, unfinished fragments, moulds. No such pieces were found in the deposit. The second possibility cannot be disposed of quite so simply, for although some of the objects appear to be non-religious in character, the large majority is of the sort that is usually connected with the cult of a hero: banqueting figures, riders, stelai, shields, snakes. The nature of this cult is discussed by Oscar Broneer in the article immediately following. The objects in the deposit, however, while they may have been intended for use in a sanctuary, almost certainly never reached their destination. The thymiaterion is without any traces of use, and the figurines, instead of being broken into small pieces and charred, as was usually done when discarding votives, are reasonably complete and most are untouched by fire. Moreover, and most important, the coins are quite out of place in a favissa. Fifty-four authentic, negotiable coins would hardly have been discarded from a sanctuary. They formed no hoard; they were scattered throughout the deposit.

Although the deposit is perhaps not wholly unintelligible as the contents of a private collection, obvious difficulties at once appear: the location of the collection and the presence of the coins must be explained.

The possibility which until now seems the most reasonable, that this group of objects formed the stock in trade of a shop, would be greater if a larger number of figurines and more duplicates had been found. But a small shop selling votive offerings

²¹ To be published in a forthcoming volume of *Corinth, Results of Excavations Conducted by The American School of Classical Studies at Athens*.

²² See Deonna, *Délos*, XVIII, pp. 332 ff. and pl. XCIII.

is not unlikely to have been located in the South Stoa, conveniently close to adjacent sanctuaries.

Nevertheless, until the publication of the South Stoa is completed it would be premature to fix definitely upon any theory regarding the relation of the deposit to the building in which it was discovered. The second deposit of similar figurines, discussed by Oscar Broneer in this number of *Hesperia* (p. 150), may give the clue to the ultimate purpose of the terracottas, but it does not explain their presence in a shop of the South Stoa. Further study of the topography of the puzzling eastern end of the Agora may lead to a final solution of this problem.

GLADYS R. DAVIDSON

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

HERO CULTS IN THE CORINTHIAN AGORA

The excavations at Corinth, since their beginning nearly half a century ago, have brought to light important material for the cult history of the city. Some of this has been published in one form or another, but hitherto the religious aspects have been considered only incidentally in connection with particular objects or groups of objects. No attempt has been made to correlate the scattered bits of information into anything like a history of the religion of ancient Corinth. Before a comprehensive work of that kind is undertaken it seems desirable to deal with specific aspects of Greek cults.¹ It is the purpose of the present study to consider certain phases of the religious life of the city as reflected in the material remains from the excavations.

In dealing with a subject so many sided and so elusive as the history of Greek cults, and of Corinthian cults in particular, it is likely that the results will be as vague and baffling as Greek religion itself. It is in most cases impossible to detect the precise significance of a particular object and its relation to the cult in which it was employed.² This is, of course, largely due to our lack of detailed information in matters pertaining to these cults, but it is also true that the meaning attached to the cult objects by the ancients was anything but precise. It is essential to bear these limitations in mind, for however desirable it may appear from the student's point of view to classify and clarify, nothing will be gained by ignoring the essentially illogical and fortuitous in all matters pertaining to religion.

The difficulty in this instance is doubly great, because our information comes largely from the objects themselves. There are few inscriptions from Corinth that give us any information about religion prior to the Roman conquest, and even the documents from imperial times add very little beyond the names of certain deities or of their priests. Our chief source of written information is Pausanias, whose knowledge of the religious life of the city is largely limited to the time of the Roman colony. For the period before Mummius there are only casual references in the works of other writers, and our knowledge must come chiefly from the cult antiquities unearthed in the excavations.

In the preceding article by Gladys Davidson a unique deposit of votive terracottas is published, which will serve as a convenient point of departure for our study of the

¹ A recent study of this kind, leading to most interesting results, has been made by Robert L. Scranton, *Corinth*, I, ii, *Architecture*, pp. 149-165. See below, pp. 158-159.

² L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, p. 69, sums up the difficulties in the apt remark: "Nearly all our hypotheses on Greek mythology, unless pushed to absurdity, leave something unexplained."

hero cults and their relation to the worship of major gods at Corinth. Other deposits of related character will shed additional light on the cults involved.

Apart from those objects which in themselves appear to be devoid of religious significance, such as the lamps, the coins, the loom-weights, and certain single pieces like the tragic actor, etc., the terracottas from the deposit fall into five main groups: the reclining figures, the mounted figures, the shields, the stelai with snake and helmet, and the standing female figures. These five kinds of terracottas occur in sufficiently large numbers to make them typologically important and give significance to the deposit as a whole. For it is obvious that they must be considered, not merely as isolated dedications, but as a unified group of related objects connected with one of the cults of Corinth, and deriving their form from the religious rites and circumstances attendant upon the cult.

This is somewhat less obvious in the case of the standing figures, which belong to a ubiquitous class of figurines that continued to be made with slight variation for several centuries. The objects held in the hands can rarely be determined with certainty, and even when this is possible they do not shed much light on the cult problems at hand. The standing figures from the Corinth deposit are best interpreted either as priestesses connected with the cult, or as votaries bringing their gifts of offering for the sacrifice. Since they all wear a kind of polos, it is likely that they are intended to represent women officiating at some religious ceremony rather than mere worshipers.

The reclining figure, always male, likewise wears a polos. The only figure from the deposit of which the head is preserved has a beard,³ and his face bears a resemblance to that of certain deities, especially of Zeus or Poseidon or Hades. In the case of the smaller terracottas the reclining figure is alone, but on the larger and better-made examples a woman is seated at the foot of the couch,⁴ and frequently there is a large vase standing by her side. In one case a table with offerings stands in front of the couch.

The horse-and-rider reliefs may be related typologically to earlier terracottas, but the specimens from the deposit in the Stoa, and from two other deposits in the Agora, form a distinct class. There are certain variations in the pose of the horse; in some cases he is represented as galloping or prancing, in others as standing with all four feet on the ground or pawing the air as if eager to start. By contrast the riders

³ See article by G. Davidson, p. 108, fig. 2, No. 4. In the case of the less elaborate examples of the same type, found elsewhere in Corinth, the figure is frequently beardless. On the marble reliefs (see below), which represent the same figure, he usually appears with a beard.

⁴ The type is well known from other sites. Compare the terracottas from Tarentum, Arthur J. Evans, *J.H.S.*, VII, 1886, pp. 9, 21; Niels Breitenstein, *Catalogue of Terracottas in the Danish National Museum*, p. 41 and pl. 44, nos. 369-370, p. 66 and pl. 76, no. 630; Pierre Willeumier, *Tarente* (Paris, 1939), pl. XXVII, 2, 3, 5; Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, I, pp. 203, 205. Of especial interest is a deposit of terracottas from Aitolia, K. A. Rhomaïos, *Δελτίον*, VI, 1920-21, pp. 60-98 and figs. 19-23, and see below, p. 137, note 33.

all assume the same pose, which is anything but horseman-like. With the exception of a single specimen of poor workmanship, the riders are draped in a mantle which envelopes the right arm and hand and barely permits the left hand to emerge sufficiently to hold the reins. No weapons, either for hunting or fighting, are in evidence. So far as his pose and demeanor are concerned the rider might as well be sitting in a chair. He is hardly a horseman at all, merely a part of the horse's equipment.

The remaining two groups represent accessories. The stele supporting a helmet is a local Corinthian type of figurine, apparently unknown at other sites. It might stand for a trophy, or a turnpost in a stadium or hippodrome, but the snake, also present on some of the rider reliefs, gives it cult significance. There is greater variety among the shields, and the size and elaborate decoration of the larger shields make them particularly prominent. These form a category of their own. The smaller shields, on the other hand, are on a scale more in keeping with that of the other objects from the deposit. Their most interesting feature is the wreath and fillet, which are moulded and further accentuated in red paint. There is a slight variation in the rendering of the wreaths. The leaves in some instances resemble olive leaves; in others no leaves are indicated.

It is obvious that these figurines are closely related to the more elaborate hero-reliefs in marble, and before discussing the significance of the figures and the objects represented on the terracottas, it will be necessary to comment upon the salient features of the typical hero-reliefs. Several fragmentary examples have been found at Corinth, the best and largest of which has the lower half preserved⁵ (Fig. 1). The important elements in this relief are: a reclining male, and a seated female figure, both draped, a nude boy (*οἰνοχόος*) standing in front of a tall krater, a table with viands, a snake rearing up beneath the table, and worshipers, large and small, with votive offerings—one leading a pig⁶ toward an altar. The missing portions of the Corinth relief have been restored from a similar relief which is now in the Museum at Istanbul,⁷ but is said to have come from the Dodecanese Islands. It has been dated in the early third century B.C. The reclining figure in this relief wears a low polos and holds a drinking horn in the right hand and a patera in the left. There is a striking similarity in the features of his head with the Corinth figurine in Davidson's figure 2, No. 4. In the background is a square frame, within which is the head of a horse in low relief. In view of the close similarity of the two reliefs, it is probable that the horse was represented on the Corinth relief as well. A very common feature in reliefs of this kind is the representation of armor at the upper edge of the back-

⁵ F. P. Johnson, *Corinth*, IX, *Sculpture*, p. 126, no. 263; cf. also pp. 126-130, nos. 264-265, 269-271. I am indebted to Dr. A. Raubitschek for making the drawing for Figure 1.

⁶ It is a strange fact that there are no pigs among the numerous terracotta figurines from Corinth, although these include specimens of most of the domesticated animals.

⁷ E. Pfuhl, *Jahrbuch*, L, 1935, p. 57, fig. 19.

ground.⁸ The shield, always circular, occurs most frequently, but helmet and cuirass, and less commonly the sword and the spear, are also found. It is clear that they are thought of as being suspended on the wall, whereas the horse is commonly seen through a square frame or window. Occasionally the horse appears against the background

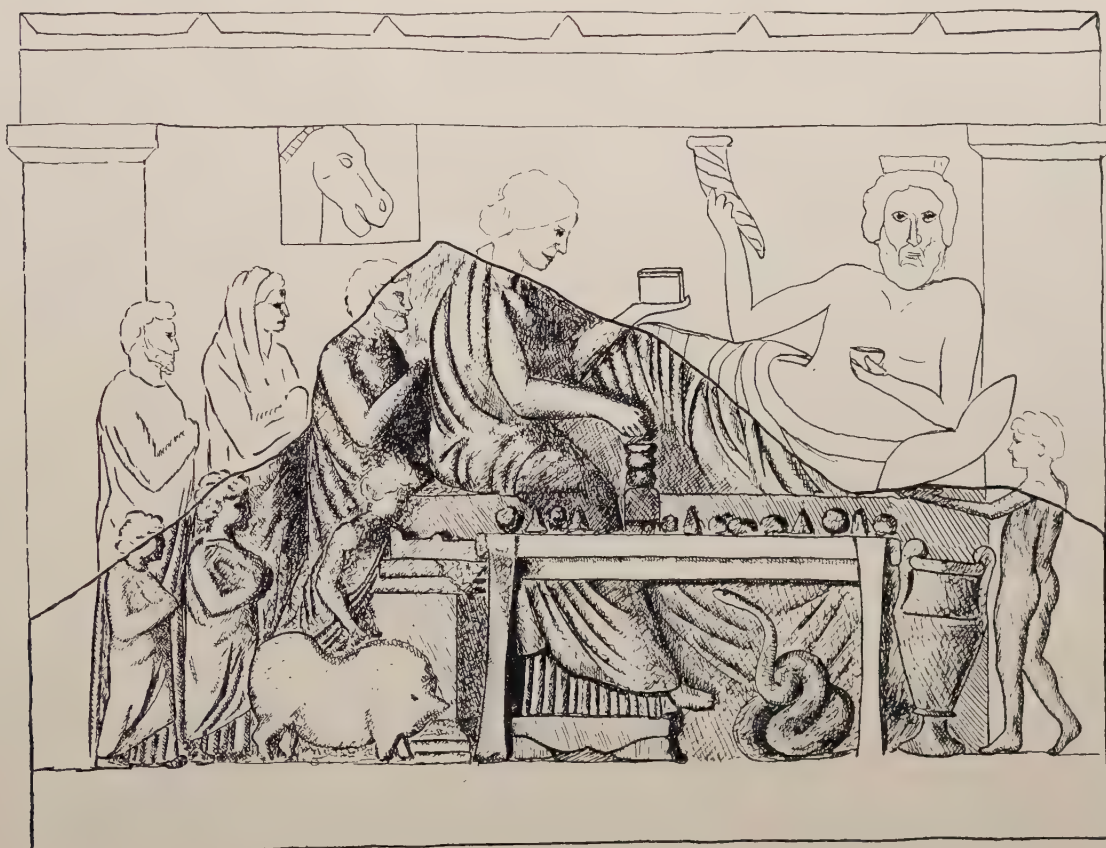


Fig. 1. Hero Relief from Corinth, Restored

without the window,⁹ and in some instances he is represented as standing in front of the banquet scene.¹⁰

The most common feature, apart from the two main figures, is the presence of the snake, which is but rarely omitted in the common type of hero relief.

It is apparent that the elements represented separately by the terracottas from

⁸ Cf. E. Pfuhl, *loc. cit.*, pp. 40, 41, 43, figs. 22, 23, 24. ⁹ E. Pfuhl, *loc. cit.*, p. 41, fig. 23.

¹⁰ Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v. Heros, fig. 10. One well-known terracotta relief from Tarentum, Percy Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, p. 101, fig. 37, shows the horse standing behind the reclining figure, but the accidental proximity of the horse's mouth to the patera held out by the male figure should not be interpreted as an indication that the horse is participating in the feast. Cf. Percy Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 97, fig. 30.

the deposit together constitute the essential features of the typical hero-relief. The male figure reclining on a couch and the woman seated beside him, the table with viands and the snake underneath, the krater for libations, the altar, the shield, the helmet, and the horse all belong together, and together they form the composite picture of some religious function represented on the marble reliefs. And if we have correctly identified the standing female figures as religious officials or as worshipers, the scene is practically complete. The chief difference is the omission of the cup-bearer, whose function is, however, implied by the krater.

Objections will be raised against the inclusion of the horse in this congeries of religious motives on the ground that in the terracottas he is invariably represented with the rider, whereas on the marble reliefs usually only the horse's head appears. Yet, there can hardly be any doubt that the horse-and-rider should be considered as part of the scene depicted in the reliefs. It is true that in the most common of these the horse appears in abbreviated form on the principle of *pars pro toto*, but this principle can be extended to include the rider as well.

The question arises as to the meaning intended to be conveyed by the various elements in the hero reliefs, and here no unanimity of opinion is to be expected.¹¹ It is possible, however, that the terracottas from the deposit will throw new light on this much debated problem, because they contain these elements in separate units and thus serve to focus the attention both on the individual aspect of each object and on the significance of the group as a whole. We need not suppose that each worshiper contributed a whole group of related figures, but whatever he brought had some independent meaning at the same time as it contained elements of collective significance.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss at length the various theories proposed in explanation of hero reliefs,¹² but merely to point to certain features which these reliefs have in common with the terracottas. Some of these seem to be significant, in view of what is known of Corinthian cults and their representations in minor arts.

We may safely proceed from the assumption that the deposit had some connection with a hero cult or with the cult of some chthonian deity, or with both. The presence

¹¹ The literature on this subject is so extensive that a complete list of references would constitute a lengthy article in itself. By far the most useful general discussion is that of Furtwängler in *Collection Sabouroff*, Introduction, pp. 15-40; but the articles by Eitrem in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* Heros, and by F. Deneken in Roscher's *Lexikon*, *s.v.* Heros, are more comprehensive. Other important articles are: P. Foucart, "Le culte des héros chez les Grecs" in *Memoires de l'Institut National de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XLII, 1922, pp. 1-166; L. Malten, "Das Pferd im Totenglauben," *Jahrbuch*, XXIX, 1914, pp. 179-256; W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, especially chapters I and IV; Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 349-362; Percy Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, chapter VII; K. A. Rhomaïos, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, pp. 189-235; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 1160 ff.

¹² These reliefs, once their contents had become more or less fixed, were used in a variety of cults. Consequently no general interpretation for the different figures can be given, since in each case this will depend on the hero or deity to whom the reliefs were dedicated.

of the snake, both on the rider reliefs and on the stele with the helmet, is sufficient proof of this fact. For on the symbolic meaning of the snake most authorities agree, however much they differ with regard to the significance of the other objects. The snake represents the soul of the dead,¹³ and by an extension of this meaning it is used as a symbol indicating that the ceremony depicted on the relief is conceived of as taking place in the lower world or in connection with the worship of the powers beneath the earth.

The reclining male, if we may judge from the single preserved head, is regarded as a divine figure; and the polos, commonly worn by Hades-Pluto,¹⁴ and later by Serapis, labels him as ruler in the realm of the dead. Likewise the woman, seated on the couch or on a separate throne at the foot of the couch, can be none other than the consort of the reclining deity. The table set with food in front of the pair and the krater belong to the accessories of the banquet. Around this divine pair, whatever name be applied to them, is centered the whole action depicted in the reliefs.

But according to a common interpretation the reclining figure represents the hero or the heroized dead,¹⁵ and the woman seated beside him is his wife. In the most typical kind of reliefs this can hardly be correct.¹⁶ It would limit the application to married men, and would seem to require that the wife, too, be represented among the dead. The alternative would be to regard the feast as taking place in the home of the deceased, in which case the dead in whose honor it is instituted must be thought of as participating with bodily presence. This would raise the problem, why the other members of the family do not participate. By exception a second reclining figure appears on the couch,¹⁷ but in no case does the scene give the impression of repre-

¹³ See Plutarch's *Lives*, *Kleomenes*, 39. A dissenting opinion is expressed by K. A. Rhomaios, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, pp. 213 ff., who sees in the snake a "Bild aller chthonischen Geister, zu denen auch die eigentlichen Heroen gerechnet werden müssen." Only in a secondary sense, under the influence of anthropomorphic conceptions, "sinkt die Schlange zum heiligen Tier der Götter und folglich auch der Heroen herab, denen in der Spätzeit bisweilen auch heroisierte Tote angeglichen werden."

¹⁴ The polos is not in itself sufficient to establish the identity of a given figure (see Frickenhaus, *Tiryns*, I, pp. 68 f.), but when, as here, it is worn by a male figure who is the object of worship in a chthonian cult, this identification is justified. Cf. K. A. Rhomaios, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, p. 211; V. K. Müller, *Der Polos*, pp. 75 ff.

¹⁵ Rouse, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 ff.; Percy Gardner, *J.H.S.*, V, 1884, pp. 130 f., *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, p. 88; Wolters, *Arch. Zeit.*, XL, 1882, pp. 300 ff.; E. Pfuhl, *Jahrbuch*, XX, 1905, pp. 138-155.

¹⁶ See K. A. Rhomaios, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, pp. 209 ff.; A. A. Papagiannopoulos-Palaios, *Πολέμων*, I, 1929, pp. 241-248; *Δελτίον*, VI, 1920-21, pp. 88, 89. Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 f., shows that in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. the reliefs are dedicated either to chthonian deities like Hades or to heroes, not to the recently dead.

¹⁷ L. Malten, "Das Pferd im Totenglauben," in *Jahrbuch*, XXIX, 1914, p. 220, fig. 14. Cf. description of family feast at Phigaleia in honor of heroes as described by Athenaios, IV, 149 C: ὅταν δὲ τοῖς ἥρωσι θύωσι, βουθυσία μεγάλη γίνεται καὶ ἐστιῶνται πάντες μετὰ τῶν δούλων. οἱ δὲ παῖδες ἐν ταῖς ἐστιάσεσσι μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἐπὶ λίθων καθήμενοι γυμνοὶ συνδειπνοῦσιν.

senting a family meal. Other figures on the reliefs are always pictured not as participating in the feast but as contributing to it with gifts and sacrificial victims. These, then, must be considered as the living members of the family, if, indeed, the reliefs have any relation to ceremonies in honor of the recently deceased.¹⁸

A common feature on hero reliefs is the presence of a dog, usually lying under the table. Many scholars see in him, as in practically all the other elements of the scene, a direct reference to the soul of the dead, or to death itself,¹⁹ and Kerberos and Hekate are called to the witness stand to prove the case. This interpretation leads to some difficulties, and in the case of a dog peacefully gnawing a bone beneath the table²⁰ it approaches the grotesque. Among the pieces from the deposit no figures of dogs are preserved. In view of the fragmentary condition of the terracottas this might be accidental, although it is far more likely that the dog was not represented. On the preserved fragments of marble reliefs of this kind from Corinth the dog is likewise absent.²¹

On the common type of hero relief the dog may thus be regarded as part of the scene without cult significance. The presence of the horse raises a different problem. Manifestly he has no place in the interior of a house where the banquet is spread. To obviate the incongruity of his presence, only the head is shown, usually set within a casing, which may be regarded either as a window through which the head is seen from within, or as a frame added for the purpose of emphasizing the symbolic character of the animal in the scene.

Many theories, as a rule more erudite than convincing, have been offered in explanation of the prominence of the horse in the cult of the dead. Percy Gardner

¹⁸ Cf. K. A. Rhomaïos, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, pp. 208 ff. Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 ff., has shown that the reliefs dedicated to the dead are late adaptations, in which the original significance of the scene has become contaminated with the common elements of sepulchral stelai. On the other hand it cannot be denied that the reliefs incorporate the elements which had since earliest times been associated with the worship of the dead, and continued to be used on sepulchral monuments. A constant contamination of the two kinds of monuments and a confusion of the symbolic meaning of the various elements were the natural results of such a development. Cf. for example the beautiful grave stele from Tarentum (Domenico Zancani, *Boll. d'Arte*, VI, 1926, p. 17, fig. 1) which shows a young man, holding a pomegranate, who can only be intended to represent the deceased. In the background his armor: large circular shield, helmet, spear, and sword. A snake rears up in front, and above is a horse's head within a frame. The rocky eminence on the right can only be a representation of the tomb.

¹⁹ See Malten, *loc. cit.*, pp. 236 f.; K. A. Rhomaïos, *loc. cit.*, p. 216.

²⁰ Percy Gardner, *op. cit.*, pl. III; cf. p. 88, and *J.H.S.*, V, 1884, pp. 112 ff. It is not to be denied that figures of dogs as well as those of almost any animal may be used with symbolic significance, but this is usually not the case where they appear in their natural milieu. The difference in this respect between the dog and the snake is readily apparent.

²¹ On a late Corinthian grave stele, utilizing the composition of the hero reliefs, the dog is present; A. Philadelphus, *Δελφικόν*, IV, 1918, *Παρ.* p. 7, fig. 10; B. D. Meritt, *Corinth*, VIII, i, *Greek Inscriptions*, no. 133.

points to the custom of burying animals in the tombs,²² but this cannot have been a common practice in Greece itself.²³ The most extensive study on the subject is that of L. Malten,²⁴ whose conclusion is that the horse stands for death itself, and only in a secondary sense is used to represent the dead. But here, too, much of the evidence comes from legends and practices foreign to the Greeks.

It is obvious that no one theory will suffice to explain a phenomenon so widespread and at the same time so complex as the symbolic significance of the horse. Originally the religious motive must have been the most important, but the prominence of the horse in sepulchral art, and especially in hero reliefs, cannot be explained on the basis of religious beliefs alone. The sculptors, coroplasts and painters, who gave artistic expression to these beliefs, can have had only vague conceptions regarding the origin and significance of the various objects and symbols used in the cult. To them the outward manifestations of religious practices in local cults were the deciding factors in determining the contents of their artistic productions.

Whatever was the primary reason for associating the horse with the cult of the dead, it is more than likely that the funeral games, in which the horse race was the most important event, had much to do with the creation of the hero relief. And, like many other elements originating in a cult of the dead, the races became one of the essential features in the worship of heroes.²⁵ This interpretation will account for the presence of the window through which the horse's head usually appears. The whole scene—banquet, sacrifice, games—represents the celebration in honor of the hero.

In support of this explanation we may point to a series of reliefs in which mounted warriors appear in the background of the banqueting scene. A good example of this class is a relief from Teos in the Smyrna Museum,²⁶ which shows the usual arrangement, but has two figures reclining on a couch and a female figure seated at the foot. There are two *oinochooi* busy with the wine and a third servant arranging the food on the table, and certain accessories appear which are not found on the more typical reliefs of the fourth century. The background is closed off by a curtain stretched between the two antae enclosing the scene. Where the curtain sags down in the center are seen the upper parts of three armed horsemen in full gallop to the left. The large

²² *J.H.S.*, V, 1884, p. 131; *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, pp. 83 ff.

²³ The funeral rites of Patroklos, which Homer describes, *Il.*, XXIII, 165-183, include the immolation of human victims as well as animals, among them the dog and the horse, but it is obvious that the poet was familiar with funeral customs which the Greeks in Greece did not practise. Bones of dogs and horses are not commonly, if ever, found in tombs in Greece proper.

²⁴ *Jahrbuch*, XXIX, 1914, pp. 179-256.

²⁵ There is, of course, no essential difference between the worship of the dead and hero worship, but since only a few of those who were honored by their families at the time of their death became recognized heroes, there is a practical distinction in the two kinds of worship. See Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, p. 19; M. P. Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 454.

²⁶ Ernst Pfuhl, *Jahrbuch*, XX, 1905, p. 123, fig. 20; and *Jahrbuch*, L, 1935, p. 13, fig. 2.

circular shields are particularly prominent. Since the horsemen are represented as seen at a distance they are much smaller than the main figures in the foreground. In view of the fact that there are three men on horseback and only two on the couch, the two groups cannot be intended to represent the heroes, or deities, engaged in different functions. It is reasonable to suppose that the mounted figures are here conceived of as participating in a race in honor of the two reclining males,²⁷ be they gods or heroes or heroized dead, for whom the feast is spread in the foreground.²⁸

In a recent study of the relief in Smyrna Otto Walter²⁹ has identified the three riders as kouretes or korybantes, but this interpretation leads to grave difficulties. Both kouretes and korybantes are divine attendants attached to specific deities and usually associated with the birth of the divine child, either Zeus or Dionysos. Their function on the hero reliefs would be anything but obvious. Moreover, as Walter himself points out, they do not appear as knights in other instances where their identification is beyond doubt.³⁰

However the type originated, the three riders on the hero relief in Smyrna probably refer to the same thing as the horse's head in the window, which can hardly be considered a symbol of the kouretes. The essential thing is the horse, not the warrior. For the origin of this conception we must now consider another relief from Corinth of special importance for the present inquiry.

A small unpublished fragment of marble³¹ in the epigraphical collection at Corinth preserves part of a relief, in which there is a bearded man reclining on a couch and part of a draped figure on the left with some object held in the hand. The rest is broken away, but what remains is sufficient to show that we have to do with a common type of hero feast. Above the relief was a dedicatory inscription in letters of the late fourth or early third century B.C., preserving the name [Z]ευξίπποι.³² The

²⁷ Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, p. 34, explains the mounted warriors as participants in the funeral procession. This interpretation is rejected by E. Pfuhr, *Jahrbuch*, XX, 1905, p. 151, who sees in them a reference to "das wilde Heer, das draussen vorbeizieht."

²⁸ There are other reliefs of a similar type, but in none of these is the action so clearly indicated. Cf. Pfuhr, *Jahrbuch*, XX, 1905, p. 126, fig. 21; and cf. coin of Bizya illustrated by Percy Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, p. 92, fig. 34.

²⁹ *Jahreshefte*, XXXI, 1938, pp. 53-80.

³⁰ Less serious, yet important enough to be considered, is the shape of their shields. According to Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Roman Antiquities*, II, 70, 3, the shield of the kouretes was the Thracian type of oblong shape, whereas the warriors in all the reliefs shown in Walter's article carry very prominent circular shields. On coins of Asia Minor, showing the three kouretes surrounding the divine child, the shape of the shield is predominantly circular. See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I, pp. 151 ff., figs. 121-129.

³¹ Inventory of Inscriptions, No. 1024. Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.215 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.; height of letters, 0.014 m. A photograph of this fragment is, unfortunately, not obtainable under present conditions.

³² The zeta is not preserved, and it would be epigraphically possible to read Εὐξίπποι, but no such name seems to be known, although the feminine form Εὐξίππη occurs.

relief was dedicated to some hero named Zeuxippos, or to a deity with such a cult name. In either case, the meaning of the name is significant, since it points to an equine element in the cult. The conclusion reached on the basis of the terracottas and sculptured representations, that the rider reliefs and the hero feasts belong together,³³ is thus confirmed by the inscription.

Nor is this an isolated dedication to Zeuxippos. A similar relief in Trieste, in a better state of preservation, carries a dedicatory inscription to Zeuxippos and Basileia.³⁴ This relief, which was once in the church of St. Elias in Athens, is probably to be connected with some cult in Attica.

In mythology we hear of Zeuxippos in connection with early legends of Athens and Sikyon. He succeeded Phaistos as king of Sikyon and was in turn followed by Hippolytos, a grandson of Phaistos, in whose reign Sikyon came under the sway of Mycenae. All this belongs to the pre-Dorian history of the city. It is significant that Zeuxippos, who was unrelated to the royal line of Sikyon, is given a place in the history of the city between two descendants of Herakles. For to judge from his parentage—he was the son of Apollo and the nymph Syllis—one gets the impression that he was no mortal man but a god. Moreover, Zeuxippos had a feminine counterpart, Zeuxippe, who also figures in Sikyonian and Attic legend. She appears in Pausanias³⁵ as the daughter of Lamedon and the wife of Sikyon, eponymous hero of the city, who had come to Sikyon, previously called Aigialeia, from Attika. Other writers state that she was the mother of Erechtheus and of Boutes. Corinth enters the legend through Korinthos, eponymous hero of the city, whom the Corinthians fathered upon Zeus. But his human father was Marathon, and Sikyon was his brother. Zeuxippe thus becomes the sister-in-law of the eponymous hero of Corinth.

The important fact to be gathered from these legends is the association of the horse and of horse taming with the deities and heroes of the myths. These ideas are inherent in the names of Zeuxippos and Zeuxippe. Some significance may lie in the fact that Zeuxippos, harnesser of the horse, was succeeded by a king with a name of the opposite meaning, Hippolytos, who lost the kingdom to a foreign power. The feminine counterpart of Hippolytos is Hippolyte, queen of the mounted female warriors, the Amazons. Her connection is with Athens and with Thebes, for she was

³³ In the case of certain late tomb monuments, the two kinds of reliefs appear together on the same stone: cf. Collart and Devambez, *B.C.H.*, LV, 1931, p. 177, fig. 4. A deposit of terracottas from a sanctuary in Aitolia contains numerous examples of the reclining figure with a woman seated on the couch, but no rider reliefs. Some of the figurines from the deposit appear to be importations from Corinth, and the types at any rate are mostly of Corinthian origin. The deposit indicates the worship of a divine pair, and an inscription is interpreted by the excavator as pointing to a female equine deity who gave her name to a fountain. See K. A. Rhomaios, *Δελτίον*, VI, 1920-21, pp. 66 ff.

³⁴ Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Malten, *loc. cit.*, p. 187, fig. 7; *I.G.*, II², 4645. The inscription reads: ——— σιος τῷ Ζευ<ξ>ίππῳ καὶ τῇ Βασί<λ>είᾳ.

³⁵ Pausanias, II, 6, 5-7.

the mother of Antiope, or according to other sources, Antiope and Hippolyte were different names for the same person. But in Pausanias' account the legend of Antiope is also connected with Sikyon. Famed throughout Greece for her beauty, she was carried off to Sikyon by Epopeus, father of Marathon and grandfather of the eponymous heroes, Sikyon and Korinthos. Epopeus came originally from Thessaly, the reputed home of the horse. After his death Antiope was restored to Thebes by Lamedon, the father of Zeuxippe, and on the way she gave birth to the twins Zethos and Amphon, "lords of the white steeds."³⁶

On the Attic relief in Trieste the woman who appears with Zeuxippos is called Basileia, a name of general meaning, but implying chthonian cult significance. She has with good reason been identified with Basile, who was worshiped in Athens in association with certain other male deities.³⁷ On the well-known relief from Phaleron³⁸ in the Athens Museum, she is being carried off in a four-horse chariot by her youthful ravisher Echelos, whose sanctuary was connected with the Hippodrome.³⁹ The ancients, whether rightly or wrongly, derived the name Echelos from the word for swamp (ἐχλω + ἔλος), a suitable appellation for a hero whose shrine was situated in the marshy ground along the outflow of the Ilissos into the Bay of Phaleron. The importance of the relief for the purpose of the present inquiry is the relation of Basile to a hero associated with the horse races in the Hippodrome. The analogous relation of Basileia to another hero, Zeuxippos, whose name implies the harnessing of the horse, can hardly be accidental. It is not unlikely that the Corinth relief, like that in Trieste, was dedicated both to Basileia and to Zeuxippos, but this must remain a conjecture.

³⁶ Euripides, *Herakles*, line 29.

³⁷ The divergent views on the identity of Basileia are discussed by A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, III, pp. 60 ff.; cf. Albert Klinz, *Τερός Γάμος*, pp. 26-27.

³⁸ This relief has most recently been studied by Otto Walter, *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1937, pp. 97-119, who suggests very plausibly that it may refer to the legend relating to the founding of the Panathenaic chariot races. The name inscribed above the female figure appears as ΙΑΞΙΑΗ, and Walter admits that this may be the correct form. It seems preferable, however, since no such name is otherwise known, to assume that the first letter is an unfinished beta. This explanation seems justified in view of the other errors on the relief. In inscribing the name of Hermes the stonecutter added two unnecessary iotas, one before the name and another between the rho and the mu. For comment on these strokes and on the rough breathing at the beginning of the name see Walter, *loc. cit.*, p. 113.

³⁹ *Etym. Mag.*, s. vv. *Έχελος* and *Ένεχελιδώ*. The cult of Echelos was probably connected with that of Poseidon Hippodromios; see William S. Ferguson, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 5 and 25 ff. The association of the latter with heroes of navigation, Nausithoos-Nauseiros and Phaiax, need not imply that Hippodromios was merely a descriptive epithet, as Ferguson assumes, *loc. cit.*, p. 25, note 5. Such titles, even when derived from cult practices, do not imply a rigid departmentalization of the god's functions. In the cult at Kolonos, for example, to which Ferguson refers, Poseidon was primarily god of the horse; but there too he was worshiped under the cult names *Γαίφοχος* and *Πόντιος* as well as *Ίππιος*, and he was associated with Athena, harnesser of the horse and builder of the first vessel. See below, p. 139, note 41.

It is somewhat of a surprise to discover evidence in Corinth for the cult of Zeuxippos, a hero who, according to legend, was at home in Attica and in Sikyon. But the functions over which he presided, as indicated by his name, are those usually assigned to Poseidon, who was supreme in the Corinthia. It is a strange paradox that at Corinth, one of the most active earthquake centers in Greece, there are but slight traces of the cult of Poseidon the Earthshaker.⁴⁰ As such he was honored in Athens, where earthquakes are rarely violent, in Lakonia, in some of the Aegean islands, and elsewhere. At Corinth he appears as god of the sea and of the horse, and his associations are with Athena Hippiia-Chalinitis and with Bellerophon, the horse-tamer par excellence.⁴¹ The latter may have been a foreigner, at home in the east, who had acquired legitimacy as a Greek hero by being fathered upon Aiolos, the son of the horse-god, Poseidon.⁴²

At the Isthmos there was a very ancient cult of Poseidon in conjunction with that of Palaimon. Poseidon was there honored as the god of the sea, and Amphitrite was his divine consort. But even there his connection with the Hippodrome and the equine elements in his cult were very prominent. On the terracotta tablets from Penteskouphia, which probably refer to the Isthmian cult of Poseidon, he appears holding his sea emblem, the trident, and riding horseback or in a chariot, either alone or accompanied by Amphitrite.

The functions implied in the name Zeuxippos⁴³ are exactly those suggested by the epithets of Poseidon at Corinth, such as *Δαμαῖος* and *Ἴππιος*. Moreover, the cult names given by the Corinthians to Athena, *Χαλινῆτις*, *Ἴππία*, and perhaps *Δαμάσιππος*,⁴⁴ have similar meanings, and the two deities were worshiped together. The mythological explanation for these names was furnished by the legend of Bellerophon and the harnessing of Pegasos, but the origin is probably to be sought in some primitive theriomorphic conception of the deities, or at least in religious practices in which the horse was prominent.

⁴⁰ In Pindar's *Olymp.*, XIII, 116, Poseidon bears the epithet *Γεάοχος*, but his association is with Athena Hippiia; and his function, like that of the goddess, is with the horse. The name *Γαίολχος* was so commonly connected with cults in which the equine element was prominent, that the lexicographers derived the word from *ὀχέομαι* (ὁ ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ὀχούμενος, Hesychios, *s. v.* *Γαίολχος*). See M. P. Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 64 ff. Earthquakes, on the other hand, were believed to be set in motion by waves in the depth of the sea; cf. Cook, *Zeus*, III, pp. 18 f.

⁴¹ At Athens, too, Athena Hippiia and Poseidon *Γαίολχος* were associated; see Sophokles, *Oid. Kol.*, lines 1070-73: οἱ τὰν Ἴππιαν | τιμῶσιν Ἀθάναν | καὶ τὸν πόντιον Γαίολχον | ῥέας φίλον νιόν. Cf. Ailius Aristeides, *Athena*, 20: μετέχει [ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ] δὲ καὶ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τῶν ἔργων τῷ τε Ἴππῷ καὶ τῷ Ποντίῳ, πρώτη μὲν τὸν χαλινὸν εἰροῦσα, πηξάμενη δὲ τὴν πρώτην ναῦν.

⁴² See L. Malten, *Jahrbuch*, XL, 1925, pp. 121-160. In the *Iliad*, VI, 155, Bellerophon is the son of Glaukos, whose father Sisypheos was the son of Aiolos.

⁴³ Zeuxippos belongs to the same class of functional cult names as Taraxippos, a hero whose grave was shown in the Hippodrome at Olympia, and who was also worshipped at Isthmia. Such cults are likely to be of comparatively late date. An illuminating discussion of their origin is found in L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality*, chapter IV, pp. 71-94.

⁴⁴ Odelberg, *Sacra Corinthia*, etc., p. 28, note 8.

At Corinth Athena, the horse-tamer, was also worshiped as Athena Hellotis, and an annual festival, the Hellotia, was celebrated in her honor. From a scholion on Pindar,⁴⁵ which is our chief source of information on the festival, we learn that it was in the nature of a purification and expiation, and that a torch race was held in honor of the goddess. The aetiological explanation for these rites is furnished by the myth of Hellotis and her sisters, who were the daughters of Timandros. Two versions of this story are preserved in the scholion. In the first of these we hear of four daughters, Hellotis, Eurytione, Chryse, and Kotyto. When the city fell into the hands of the invaders Hellotis seized her youngest sister Chryse, entered the temple of Athena, and there threw herself and her sister into the fire. In the other version the two sisters Eurytione and Hellotis together with a boy perished in the flames of the temple when the Dorians destroyed the city. A famine, which followed as a punishment for the crime, was averted at the advice of Apollo by the institution of expiatory rites for the sisters and by the founding of a shrine to Athena Hellotis.

It cannot be doubted that the legend arose as an explanation for the peculiar rites associated with the cult at Corinth. Both versions of the story connect the crime against the girls with the temple of Athena. Which temple this was is not specified, and we are left to infer that it was the famous temple of Athena Chalinitis which Pausanias saw close to the theater. This may be inferred also from the etymological explanation offered by the scholiast which connects the harnessing of Pegasus with the legend of Hellotis.

Hellotis was at home in Crete, especially at Gortyn, where she was identified with Europa. But if the cult came from Crete to Corinth, and there became merged with the Athena cult, it may seem surprising that the male attendant became Poseidon rather than Zeus. The explanation is not far to seek. If we accept the view that Poseidon was originally a specialized form of Zeus,⁴⁶ it follows that the role played by Zeus in the Europa myth could at another time, or in a different locality, have been attributed to Poseidon.⁴⁷ Not only does the ride over the sea present Zeus in an incongruously intimate relation to Poseidon's own element, but the theriomorphic aspect of the myth connects Europa with the animal commonly associated with the cult of

⁴⁵ Pindar, *Ol.*, XIII, 56, and *Etym. Magn.*, s. v. Ἑλλωτίς. See discussions by Odelberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-30; and M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, pp. 94-96; and especially A. Lesky, "Hellos-Hellotis," in *Wiener Studien*, XLV, 1926-7, pp. 152-173; XLVI, 1928, pp. 48-67, 107-129.

⁴⁶ This thesis is convincingly developed by A. B. Cook in several articles and in his *Zeus*, especially in vol. II, pp. 582 ff., and III, p. 20. On a fragment of a Corinthian pinax (*Ant. Denkm.*, II, 6, pl. 29, 13) Zeus appears together with Poseidon, riding in a chariot. Both hold the reins of the horses. Cf. Athenaios, II, 42 a, quoting Theophrastos, who says that there was a sanctuary in Caria to Zenoposeidon, a god combining the attributes of Zeus and Poseidon.

⁴⁷ The myth of Europa, like that of Hellotis, doubtless reflects an early stage in religious evolution. See Axel Persson, "Legende und Mythos in ihrem Verhältnis zu Bild und Gleichnis im vorgeschichtlichen Griechenland," in *ΔΡΑΜΑ*, Martino P. Nilsson dedicatum, pp. 379-401; and cf. Malten, *Jahrbuch*, XLIII, 1928, pp. 125 f.; Albert Klinz, *Ἱερὸς Γάμος*, pp. 9-13.

Poseidon. The white bull, ἀργιμήτας ταῦρος,⁴⁸ who wooed Europa and carried her over the waves to Crete we meet again at Corinth—as a victim sacrificed to Poseidon Damaios,⁴⁹ whose function is the taming of the horse.

At Marathon, where Athena bore the same epithet, Hellotia was explained as deriving from ἔλος, the Marathonian swamp.⁵⁰ Mention has already been made of the fact that the Athenians also derived the name of Echelos, the hero of the Hippodrome, from the same word. This may be of no significance, and the explanation in either case is generally regarded as based on false etymology. The fact remains, however, that Athena Hellotis in Corinth was the horse-tamer goddess, who was otherwise distinguished by the epithets Chalinitis and Hippia. Hence the name Hellotis at Corinth was explained as deriving from ἐλών, because Bellerophon with her aid caught and harnessed the winged Pegasus. Etymologists will dismiss such explanations as of no value; but to students of Greek cults they are not without significance, for while trying to explain these terms on the basis of mythology and ritual the ancient lexicographers gave important information with regard to the cults of the deities concerned. I can see no reason in this case for rejecting the information given by the scholiast that Athena Hellotis and Athena Hippia were considered identical, although the cult doubtless had a dual origin.

The aetiological myth connects the cult of Hellotis at Corinth with the Dorian invasion. Does this indicate an early date for the beginning of the cult and the institution of the Hellotia as a public festival? I do not think it does. The historical event around which the myth centers has nothing to do with the origin of the cult. The myth, at whatever time it assumed the form recorded by the scholiast, was not a new creation. It was made up of old legends which were refashioned and combined with tales of different localities, so as to fit the practices it was intended to explain. It is obvious that such a process would introduce elements which had no connection with Corinth or with the particular cult there associated with the myth.

Three important facts may be gathered from the ancient references to the cult of Hellotis: (a) the rites were in the nature of a purification and expiation, originating in a cult of the dead; (b) a torch race was held at the annual festival; and (c) the Corinthians associated the festival with the worship of horse-taming Athena.

In our discussion of the terracotta deposit it was pointed out that the nature of

⁴⁸ Or is Hesychios right in explaining this word as meaning "quick-witted"? On the white-ground kylix in Munich from the Aphaia temple the bull on which Europa rides is painted black, no doubt, as Cook remarks (*Zeus*, I, p. 526 and pl. XXXII), "for aesthetic rather than religious reasons." In the myth of the Cretan bull as related by Apollodoros (III, i, 1-4), the animal first appeared to Minos as a sacrifice to Poseidon. See A. B. Cook, *op. cit.*, I, p. 464.

⁴⁹ Pindar, *Ol.*, XIII, 99.

⁵⁰ The appearance of the comparatively rare epithet Hellotis in the cult of Athena both at Corinth and at Marathon, points to a cult connection between Attica and Corinth, paralleled by the myth of the eponymous heroes of the two cities.

the figurines and their similarity to the hero reliefs indicate that they had some connection with a hero cult or with deities associated with such a cult. Furthermore, the equine element indicated by the prominence of the horse and the name Zeuxippos

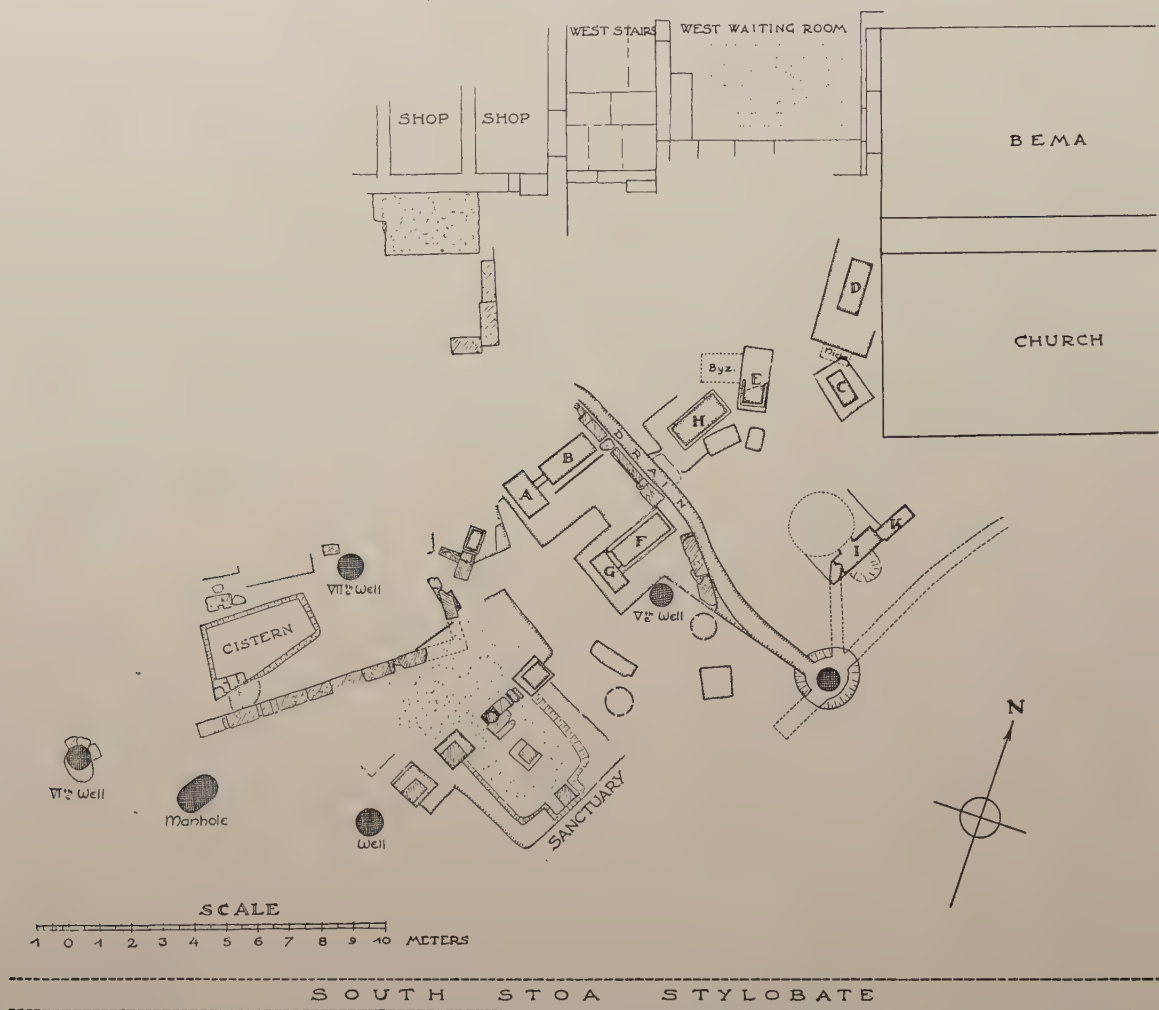


Fig. 2. Cemetery and Chthonian Shrine in the Corinthian Agora

(From *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pl. XIII, 2)

points to a connection with Poseidon Hippios and Athena Hippiia. Now we find that Athena in this same aspect of her worship was also called Hellotis and that the festival Hellotia was celebrated in her honor.

It would be reasonable to assume that equestrian contests, perhaps chariot races, played a prominent role in the festival of such deities. If, as seems likely, the cult of the dead became associated with the cult of the two horse deities, this would offer

further explanation for the importance of the horse motive. Its prominence among the cult objects would be an allusion to the races that formed part of the funeral ceremonies and of festivals held in honor of the dead and of the deities in the underworld. Such celebrations are not to be thought of in connection with the organized contests of Panhellenic character at the Isthmia, but would be of purely local significance and celebrated at Corinth itself.



Fig. 3. Chthonian Shrine in the Agora

We must now turn to the excavations at Corinth in order to discover, if possible, what further traces have been left by the cults whose existence is vouched for by the terracottas and marble reliefs as well as by literary testimonies. In one of the recent campaigns in the Corinthian Agora a late Geometric cemetery was discovered beneath the buildings and streets of later times. A remarkable feature of this burial ground is a shrine containing an altar and a niche that may have held a small cult image (Figs. 2 and 3). That this chapel had some direct connection with the cemetery is likely enough from its position in relation to the graves, and the strange arrangement

of the columns, which were sunk below the floor level, would befit a cult place of chthonian character.⁵¹ The lower part of the shrine was cut out of virgin soil, and was thus essentially subterranean. Bones of sheep and pigs, found in a layer of ash on the floor near the altar, give evidence of sacrifice.

The underground shrine with its altar recalls the circumstances of the Roman festival Consualia, at which sacrifices were offered on a subterranean altar to Consus, identified with the Greek Poseidon Seisichthon. The name Consus was said to have been given to him "because he holds the earth," *ὅτι τὴν γῆν ὁ θεὸς ἔχει*, which is really the meaning of Poseidon's epithet *Γαίωχος*. Horse races in honor of Equestrian Neptune constituted an important feature of the Consualia. Here, too, a dual origin of the cult is indicated, for Dionysios of Halikarnassos states⁵² that the underground altar, which remained concealed except at the festival, was erected, not to Poseidon, but to a certain divinity whose name could not be uttered, apparently an equivalent of Hades. The high antiquity of the Roman cult is attested by the fact that its institution was ascribed to Romulus.

The suggestion comes near to hand that the altar at Corinth, perhaps the whole shrine, was buried in earth and uncovered once a year at the time of the festival. This would admirably explain the provisional and unfinished appearance of the structure. Since it has no walls or foundations for walls, except in front where there are individual foundations for the columns, it is difficult to imagine how it could have been roofed. Yet, despite the fact that it was obviously in use for a long time, the cuttings in the soft rock were sharp and unweathered at the time of discovery.

The chapel does not appear to be earlier than the sixth century, and its construction seems to coincide with the latest evidence of burial in the cemetery.⁵³ It is probable that religious observances of a general nature took place in the cemetery from the time when the first interments were made, at least as early as the eighth century B.C. At that time the area must have lain outside the limits of the public square. At some later period, possibly in the time of the tyrants, it became necessary to extend the Agora and then the cemetery had to be abandoned. This would have been considered an infringement upon the domains of the dead and their divine patrons, for which compensation had to be made. The construction of the chapel, which would

⁵¹ The chapel is described by C. H. Morgan, *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 543-546, pls. XIII, XIV. Where the cult of a hero expressed itself in sacrifices at his grave, it was customary to let the blood of the victim flow into a hole in the ground so as to come into direct contact with the hero's bones. See M. P. Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion*, p. 250. The same sense of physical actuality as the expression of religious belief is manifested in the subterranean character of the shrine in the Corinthian Agora.

⁵² *Ant. Rom.*, II, 31, 2-3. Cf. Livy, I, 9, 6. See also articles *s. v.* Consualia, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, and in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*.

⁵³ Most of the graves found undisturbed were of earlier date, but one sarcophagus contained vases of the early sixth century; cf. C. H. Morgan, *loc. cit.*, p. 543, note 1.

raise the importance of the cult, may have been intended to placate the spirits and avert disaster from the city.⁵⁴

There is evidence for a continuation of the cult over a long period, at least till the beginning of the fourth century, when a new reorganization of the Agora took place. Beyond that point all further traces are lost. The sanctuary in its original form was then abandoned and covered up, but it is not impossible that the cult was perpetuated in some form until the destruction of Corinth by Mummius. When the Roman colony was established under Caesar the cemetery together with the sanctuary was again buried under a fill of rubbish, thrown in to raise the Agora level before a new pavement was laid down.

This tantalizing bit of evidence for a cult of the dead in the center of the city may have some connection with another surprising discovery at the eastern end of the Agora. Buried deep beneath a fill of late Hellenistic and Roman date was found a well preserved starting line for a race track (Figs. 4 and 5), and at a slightly lower level is a similar starting line with a different orientation.⁵⁵ To the south of the race-tracks is an irregular semicircle (Figs. 4 and 6) which appears to have served as the support for a grandstand. A water channel is cut into the retaining wall of the semicircle, and at one point the water flowed through a clearing basin (Fig. 6 *b*) in which was discovered a deposit of terracottas (Fig. 7) similar to those found in the South Stoa.

In the rear of the semicircle and close to its eastern edge stood a prominent monument, which in its last phase is of Roman date.⁵⁶ In the center was a circular column with a lower diameter of 2.15 m., supported upon a rough foundation. Only the lowest drum is left in place, but pieces of a second drum were found built into a modern garden wall in the vicinity. The foundation for the column was hidden by a circular socle, *ca.* 9 m. in diameter, which is lined with orthostates resting on a moulded base. Within the orthostates was a filling of rubble and re-used material, but most of that had been removed during one of the alterations that appear to have been made from time to time.

The later of the two starting lines has been tentatively dated in the third century B.C. and the earlier one in the fourth century. Since no detailed study has yet been made the evidence for these dates is not conclusive, but one point of evidence is offered by the terracotta deposit referred to above (Fig. 7). The pieces are of exactly the same kind as the terracottas from the deposit in the South Stoa. The lower date, indicated by the coins, is the first decade after the middle of the third century.

⁵⁴ Cf. scholion on Euripides' *Medeia*, line 1381: ἀσεβὲς γὰρ τὸ ἀνορύττειν τάφους. There are many instances of temples being built to atone for offence to some divine power, and such compensatory or expiatory acts were often enjoined by the Delphian oracle.

⁵⁵ A brief description appears in the excavation report by C. H. Morgan, *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 549-551, pls. XV-XVIII.

⁵⁶ See *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 554, and pl. XLI, 1.

An interesting feature is the clear evidence of wheel traffic in the hard surface of the race track. The ruts curve significantly close to the later starting line, indicating that the vehicles followed a given course which was determined by the arrangement in the race course. It was observed by the excavators that the retaining wall of the

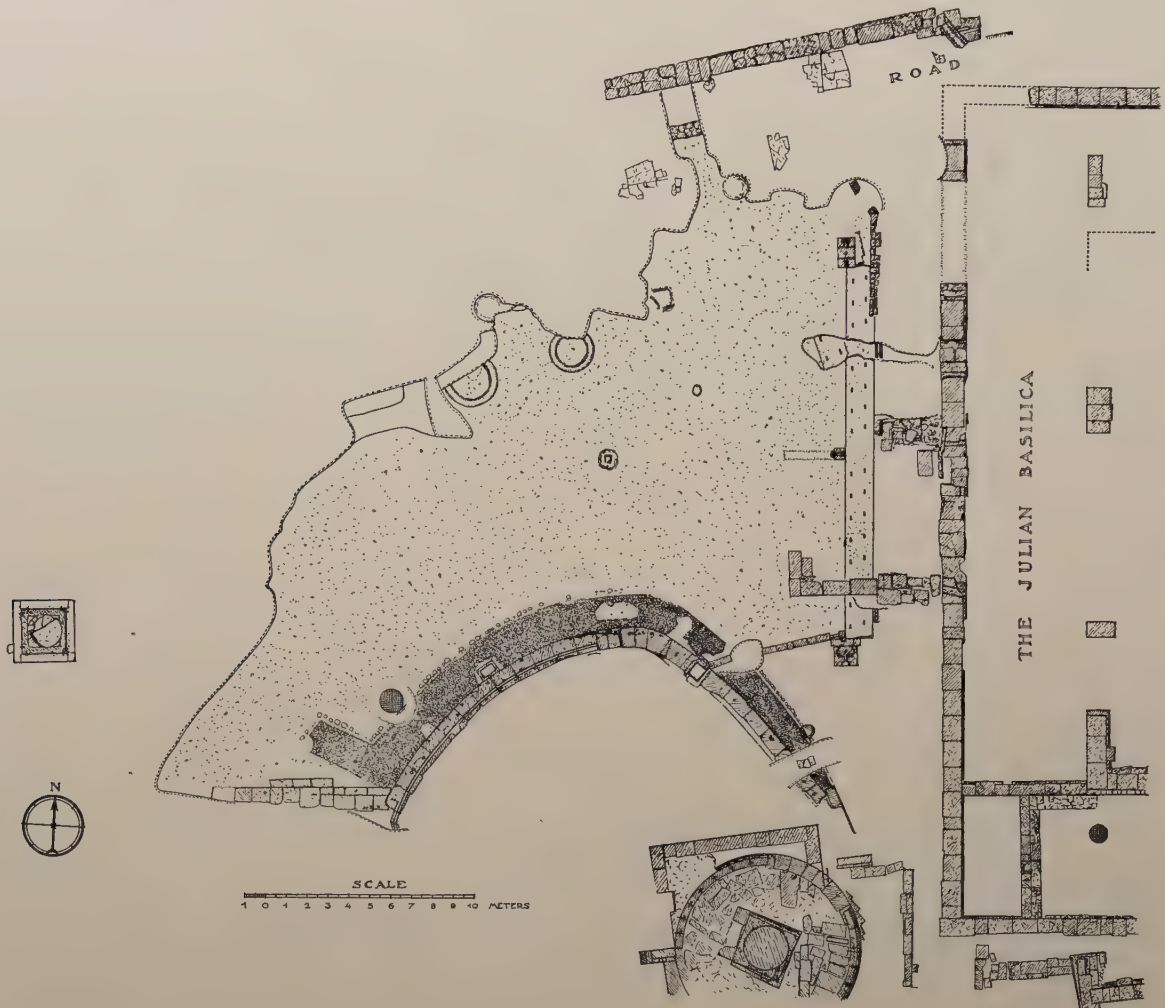


Fig. 4. Race Track and "Grandstand" at Corinth

(From *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pl. XVI)

grandstand, where this juts out farthest into the area of the track, had been cut back slightly to prevent the crowding of the southernmost competitor. It seems more likely that this was done by or for the chariots which had to negotiate a turn at this critical point.

It is highly improbable that the wheel ruts at this point of the city were caused through ordinary traffic, even if it were conceivable that the Agora was open to wheel



Fig. 5. Starting Lines of Race Track



Fig. 6. "Grandstand" with Water Channel and Tank;
Roman Columnar Monument in Left Center

traffic in the Greek period. The curve described directly at the center of the starting line seems to indicate that chariot races of one kind or another took place in the area otherwise used for foot races.⁵⁷ There was a similar arrangement at Elis, where the agora served as training ground for horses and was actually called Hippodrome. This was, according to Pausanias, an ancient type of market place (*τρόπος δὲ πεποιήται*



Fig. 7. Terracotta Figurines from Deposit in Tank

τῷ ἀρχαιοτέρῳ, VI, xxiv, 2) with colonnades separated by streets. No traces of the Hippodrome were recognized in the excavations of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, which were not carried beyond the exploratory stage. It is possible that the Greek agora at Corinth, which in Pausanias' time lay buried under the Roman market, was of the same general type as the agora at Elis.

⁵⁷ The wheel marks, faintly visible in Figure 5 to the left of *b*, are not mentioned in the excavation report, which was written directly after the close of the excavation. They became prominent only after rain had washed the excavation and dissolved the earth trodden down onto the hard metal of the race track. If the Agora seems too small to accommodate horse races, it may be pointed out that contests with four-horse chariots were held on festival days in a very restricted area on the Capitoline Hill in Rome. See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXVII, 45.

This peculiar location of a combined race track and Hippodrome in the center of the city seems to require special motivation, and it is tempting to connect the games with the funeral cult centered about the shrine in the cemetery on the south side of the Agora. It is highly probable that the torch race at the festival of Athena Hellotis took place in the race track of the Agora, and even the disposition of the footrests in the starting lines may be explained as implying that the contestants held a torch in the right hand at the start of the race.⁵⁸ There may have been other contests at the Hellotia besides the torch races, and from the wheel marks we may conclude that chariot races were held either at the same festival or in connection with some other local celebration.

The conjecture connecting the race course with the chapel in the cemetery and with a cult of the dead is further confirmed by the information that the festival of the Hellotia was in the nature of a purification. If the supposition is justified that the chapel was constructed and the cult instituted to give satisfaction to the spirits of the dead for the encroachment upon their domain, it is obvious that the area had to be purified before it could be turned over to secular use. Such acts of purification are, in the nature of religious evolution, likely to be annually observed in connection with hero cults and as such become joined to festivals of the gods. In similar instances the hero, or the lesser of the two divinities, usually receives an initiatory sacrifice at the festival of the major god, and it has been suggested⁵⁹ that this probably took place at the Hellotia at Corinth.

The two purifying elements that entered into purification rites were fire and water, and the sacrifice of a pig is frequently prescribed. It is tempting to see in the torch race an original purification rite by fire,⁶⁰ and the fact that the race took place in the Agora, i. e., in the area polluted by the graves, would be in keeping with such an explanation.⁶¹ At Athens, too, where a torch race formed part of the Panathenaia,

⁵⁸ See Morgan, *loc. cit.*, p. 549.

⁵⁹ M. P. Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 95.

⁶⁰ For the significance of the torch in funeral rites, see J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient-Greek Religion*, p. 505. The torch race shows that the celebration took place at night, which is in keeping with the funeral character of the cult. Sacrifices to heroes were commonly held at night; see Eitrem, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Heros, col. 1125. The torch race at the Panathenaia (A. Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 106) relates to the need for artificial illumination, because the festival was held during the dark of the moon (τρίτη φθίνοντος).

⁶¹ That the origin of the torch race is to be sought in the realm of cult rather than in that of sport has been pointed out by many writers on the subject. See N. Wecklein, "Der Fackelwettlauf," *Hermes*, VII, 1873, pp. 446 f.; E. N. Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, pp. 142, 143. Cf. A. Martin in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, III, ii, 913 f.; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 230. Purification rites were frequently connected with torch races (cf. the relighting of the fires at Plataia after the war with the Persians, Plutarch, *Aristeides*, XX; and the fire rites on the island of Lemnos, which were also in the nature of an expiation for the crime committed by the women, N. Wecklein, *loc. cit.*, pp. 447 f.), but in such cases it is usually the fire that has to be cleansed from pollution; cf. L. Deubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 211 ff. The torch itself seems to have been endowed with purificatory significance, especially in the Eleusinian mysteries; cf. Deubner, *op. cit.*,

the route followed by the contestants apparently led through the Agora.⁶² We are not specifically told by the scholiast that water was used in the purificatory rites, but this may be taken for granted.⁶³ And if we are justified in our conjecture that the torch race at the festival took place in the race course of the Agora, there is interesting material evidence to show that water played a prominent role in the celebration. This is furnished by the deposit of terracotta figurines discovered in a water tank at the edge of the race track. These are similar to the terracottas found in the South Stoa, but unlike those they show unmistakable signs of burning, a further indication of the use of fire at the festival. Having passed through this most rigorous process of purification, the terracottas were deposited in the tank where they were exposed to the lustral qualities of water.

Nor was this water of an ordinary kind, but was doubtless regarded as possessing specific properties of sacral value. It was brought to the race course from a southerly direction, and then by a round-about way to the opposite side of the Agora. After passing through the tank the channel ran along the east edge of the starting line to its north end, and from there it skirted the northern edge of the Agora and finally emptied into a square basin near the Triglyph Terrace. This basin appears to be the last version of the Sacred Fountain, which for two or more centuries had continued to operate as an essential part of the cult apparatus belonging to the small apsidal temple to the north of the fountain. With regard to the date and function of the basin I quote a passage written several years before the discovery of the race track.⁶⁴

"After the Old Spring had thus been buried, water still continued to be required in this spot. It was brought from a great distance in a well constructed stone conduit, lined with cement and covered chiefly by stone slabs; and almost directly over the ancient reservoir, but more than 7 feet higher in level, a small square basin was built. From this basin jars could be filled and carried straight to the door of the shrine across the buried spring and triglyphon. This last period, in which other water was substituted for that of the Old Spring, beginning perhaps about the middle of the third century B.C., continued till the Roman conquest and the destruction of the city in 146 B.C.

Since no detailed study of the Sacred Fountain with its accessories has yet been published, this general description must suffice for the purpose of the present study.

p. 78; M. P. Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 360 ff. Torches also belong to the cult apparatus of the Eumenides (Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 214) and of other chthonian deities (Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 395, 2; p. 396, 4). In Hellenistic times there were torch races connected with the celebration of the Epitaphia and the Theseia at Athens. See also J. R. Sitlington Sterrett, *A.J.P.*, XXII, 1901, pp. 393-419.

⁶² Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. *Λαμπαδηδρομία*.

⁶³ The joint use of fire and water in such ceremonies is very common. Both were used by Odysseus in cleansing his house after the slaying of the suitors. Here the pragmatic and ritualistic uses of the two elements are combined. At Plataia, the fires polluted by the presence of the Persians were extinguished and pure fire was brought from Delphi. The runner who brought the fire was cleansed by lustral rites, and the tombstones of the dead were ritually purified with water every year. Cf. note 61.

⁶⁴ Rhys Carpenter, *A Guide to the Excavations of Ancient Corinth*, first edition, 1928, pp. 28-29.

It is interesting to note that the proposed date of the channel, based on a study of the Sacred Spring, is approximately the same as that suggested for the second starting line. It is clear that the channel with its basins belongs to the last alteration of the race track before the Roman period, and the terracotta deposits indicate that this took place before the middle of the third century. If we are justified in concluding that the water served some ritual purpose, we must assume that it was brought in some other way, perhaps carried in pitchers, during the period of the first race track. The construction of the channel would indicate that a more abundant supply was required, perhaps for practical use, in the second period, but the same water would also fill the needs of religious observances.⁶⁵

Regarding the function served by the Sacred Fountain and the deity or deities worshiped in the apsidal temple several theories have been propounded which need not be discussed here. It is sufficient to enumerate them, in the order in which they have appeared in publication. The temple has been regarded as the seat of an oracle presided over by an unnamed deity;⁶⁶ as a cult place of Dionysos, in which water was used in the performance of a wine miracle;⁶⁷ as a shrine of some chthonian deity, perhaps Ge, preceding Apollo, in which water may have served a variety of purposes;⁶⁸ as a sanctuary of Zeus Chthonios;⁶⁹ and, most recently, the whole complex has been explained as serving the joint cult of Dionysos and Apollo in which wine was used to inspire utterances of prophecy.⁷⁰

Where so much uncertainty prevails it would be futile to propose new candidates for the cult. And yet, the evidence implicit in the material remains leads inevitably from the race track to the fountain. If there is any basis for the information resulting from the present inquiry into the cult associated with Athena and Poseidon in the Corinthian Agora, we are forced to conclude that the heroes and deities of this cult had something to do with the cult centering about the Sacred Fountain. And this conclusion does not necessarily conflict with any or all of the theories already proposed. The water, which at one point in the Agora was used to cleanse from pollution the worshipers and their gifts in the cult of one pair of deities, could at another point—if miraculously re-inforced with wine—endow the priests of some other gods with prophetic power. Gods, and heroes, like their present day exponents, could co-operate as well as disagree.

⁶⁵ There would be no conflict in such combined use of the water. Most fountains sacred to the gods served the practical needs of every day life. In some cases, as at Argos (Kallimachos, Hymn V, *On the Bath of Pallas*, 45 ff.), water was temporarily withdrawn from secular use at the time of a festival.

⁶⁶ *Art and Archaeology*, XIV, 1922, p. 194; *A Guide to Ancient Corinth*, 3rd ed., p. 61.

⁶⁷ C. Bonner, *A.J.A.*, XXXIII, 1929, pp. 368-375.

⁶⁸ S. Eitrem, *Serta Rudbergiana*, 1931, p. 23; *Phil. Woch.*, LI, 1931, col. 765.

⁶⁹ J. de Waele, *Gnomon*, VIII, 1932, pp. 366-367; *Phil. Woch.*, LIII, 1933, cols. 111-112.

⁷⁰ G. W. Elderkin, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 125-132.

A welcome confirmation of the interpretation offered here comes from a vase discovered in a well at the western end of the Agora.⁷¹ On an oinochoe of Corinthian manufacture are drawn in outline technique the figures of two runners in vigorous motion (Fig. 8). Each carries a vase, held in such a way as to indicate that it is filled



Fig. 8. Corinthian Vase with Figures in Torch-and-Pitcher Race

with some liquid. One is a kantharos, the other an oinochoe. One of the runners holds a lighted torch. A heavy cloak partly conceals the figures, and the exact position of their arms is not clear. For our purpose the action of the two men and the objects held in their hands are the important features of the scene. Here we have a picture

⁷¹ R. Stillwell, *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 42, fig. 20; M. Z. Pease, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 310-312, no. 235, fig. 40. The suggestion offered by Humfry Payne (see M. Z. Pease, *loc. cit.*) that an obstacle race, the equivalent of our egg-and-spoon race, is depicted, may be correct, but such a race could well have originated within the frame-work of religious practices. The intermixture of gaiety and reverence in religious observances, baffling as it is to the more solemnly inclined western Europeans, was as characteristic of the ancient as it is of the modern Greeks. Cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion*, pp. 40, 100-101.

of a torch race of a very peculiar type,⁷² in which not only the torch but liquid of some kind played a part in the contest. The shapes of the two vases, it is true, are suggestive of wine rather than of water, but there is no reason to believe that their use was restricted to one kind of liquid or to a particular function. That the race in which the two men engage has ritualistic significance is indicated not only by the objects in their hands but also by the strikingly prominent fillet worn by the younger of the two. We cannot wish for a better illustration of purification rites, such as we are led by other considerations to believe took place at the festival of Hellotis in the Corinthian Agora.

The action depicted on the Corinth vase is analogous to the ἀμφιφορίτης ἀγών at the festival of Apollo in Aigina.⁷³ Here the contestants placed on their shoulders earthen vessels filled with water from the spring Asopis and ran a race "in imitation of heroes," φιλονεικοῦντες κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν ἡρώων. Nilsson compares this performance with the torch race and points to the expiatory and purificatory use of water in sepulchral rites and hero cults. The race with water jars in Aigina, like the combined pitcher-and-torch race at Corinth, appears to have originated from the common practices at funeral celebrations.

During the interval of a century, between the destruction of the city under Mummius and its rebuilding by Caesar, many of the lesser sanctuaries fell into decay and some of them may have been abandoned.⁷⁴ But religious beliefs lie too deeply rooted in the human consciousness to disappear during the course of three generations, and the cult is likely to have been revived in some form after the rebuilding of the city, even if its original nature and significance was no longer apparent.

When the Corinthian Agora was made over to conform to Roman tastes and requirements, the race course and the grandstand became buried beneath a deep layer of earth, and a new market, paved with marble slabs, was created. Rows of shops fronted by splendid marble colonnades lined the market on all sides, and a similar row of buildings bisected it from east to west. At the eastern end of the central complex a conspicuous monument arose, the remains of which have been described above (p. 145). A picture of this monument, preserved on coins of Corinth

⁷² It is obvious that the scene on the Corinth vase does not represent a common form of torch race. Representations of such races on Attic vases follow, for the most part, a particular pattern, so much so that the suggestion has been made that most scenes of that kind draw from a common source of inspiration. For a brief discussion of the torch race and the important bibliography see Robinson and Freeman, *C.V.A., U.S.A.*, Fasc. 6, pp. 34-35, pls. XLVII, XLVIII.

⁷³ See *Etym. Mag.*, s. v. ἀμφιφορίτης, and cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 172 f.

⁷⁴ In the case of Medeia's children Pausanias, II, iii, 7, states specifically that the sacrifices in their honor were no longer performed after the destruction under Mummius, although the tomb and the image of Terror still remained. But from Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, V, 21, we get the contradictory information that the cult continued: μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐναγίζουσι τοῖς παισὶ Κορίνθιοι. It is, of course, possible that the cult declined in the brief interval between the periods of the two writers. See R. L. Scranton, *Corinth I*, ii, *Architecture*, p. 164.



Fig. 9. Coin of Lucius Verus, Showing Columnar Monument

from the period of the Antonine emperors, may contain a possible allusion to the once important races in honor of the dead and their horse-taming patron deities. One of these coins (Fig. 9) is figured in the *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* by Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner.⁷⁵ A tall column, tapering somewhat toward the top, is surmounted by a nude male figure holding a spear or scepter, perhaps the statue of an emperor in the guise of a god. At the base is a parapet divided into panels, and on either side are a horse and rider facing away from the column. The monument has been interpreted as part of a stadium or hippodrome. Its features fit remarkably well the remains of the columnar structure with its spreading socle at the east end

of the Agora, and the horses would be suitable emblems of a monument the significance of which may hark back to pre-Roman contests in honor of gods and heroes of the underworld.

In this connection another Roman monument sheds further light upon the survival of earlier cults into Roman times. There is a fountain⁷⁶ at the south edge of the Agora which may possibly have some connection with the cult whose history we have attempted to trace. It is built over the ruined shops of the South Stoa, a little to the east of the paved Roman roadway which has been called the Kenchrean Road. If this fountain had a predecessor, it must have been situated in some other place. It is obvious from its construction that it could not have served as a public fountain, and the architectural features (Fig. 10) point to its use in connection with some cult.

The fountain proper consisted of a large basin, in the front and rear of which water flowed over parapets in a series of cascades. To the right and left of the basin was a small room with a shelf in the rear. The conjecture made by R. Stillwell that these rooms may have served as small shrines is highly plausible. It may be further suggested that the two bases which flank

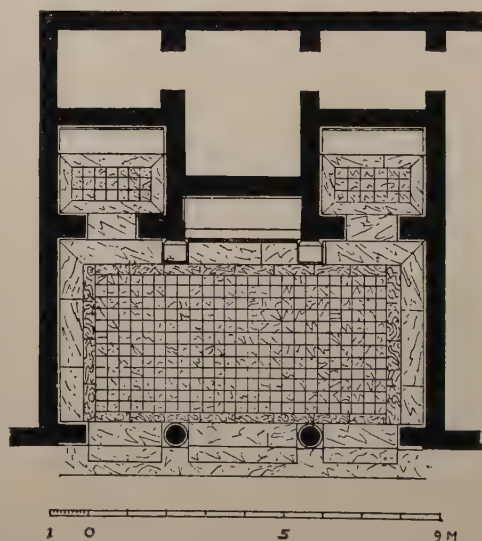


Fig. 10. Roman Fountain with Double Shrine in South Stoa

(From *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 32, fig. 10)

⁷⁵ *J.H.S.*, VI, 1885, p. 64 and pl. LI: C, Corinth, XLVIII.

⁷⁶ A preliminary architectural description of the fountain was published by R. Stillwell, *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, pp. 31-39, and pls. I and II.

the fountain may have held statues of the deities worshiped in the shrines. The most important indication that the fountain served some religious purpose is furnished by the terracotta simas from the roof of the building⁷⁷ (Fig. 11). They have in the center a spout in the form of a lion's head, and on either side a human head in relief. On the left is a bearded, male head, and on the right a youthful head, probably female. There are two varieties of the latter. In one the hair is gathered in a bun at the top



Fig. 11. Fragments of Sima with Heads of Deities in Relief

of the head, in the other there is a similar bun at the neck. In both varieties a fillet is worn. The two heads face away from the spout in the center, so that on two adjoining sections of sima the male and female heads would have confronted each other.

What names should be applied to these figures? Although no attributes are indicated, it goes without saying that they cannot be ordinary mortals, and it is highly probable that they are intended to represent the deities whose cult was connected with the fountain.⁷⁸ The architectural plan points to a dual cult and the same is indicated

⁷⁷ Scattered fragments of these simas came from a restricted area along the southeastern section of the South Stoa, but by far the largest number came from the débris of the fountain. See Broneer, *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 562, 563, fig. 7; XXXIX, 1935, pp. 58, 59, figs. 4 and 5.

⁷⁸ A comparable indication on the sima of the deity worshiped in the building is found on the temple of Artemis at Epidauros, which has dog's head instead of lion's head spouts. It was a common practice in Roman times to indicate on the terracotta roofing the nature of the building. Roof tiles stamped with the word $\Sigma\text{KANO}\Theta\text{HKA}\Sigma$ have been found in the theaters at Megalopolis and Sparta. The Metroon in Athens was likewise labeled by stamped tiles. At Corinth have been found antefixes and simas bearing the stamp $\text{A}\Phi\text{PO}\Delta\text{EI}\Sigma\text{IOY}$, which has been interpreted as the name of a maker; see Hill and King, *Corinth*, IV, i, *Decorated Architectural Terracottas*, pp. 16, 36. But in view of the recent discovery of a temple of Aphrodite in the Agora, C. H. Morgan, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 265, it seems more likely that the stamp gives the name of the temple. The use of plastic representations of deities on simas is more common in Italy than in Greece. See N. Breitenstein, *Cat. Terracottas in the Dan. Nat. Mus.*, p. 96, and pl. 124, no. 916.

by the two heads on the simas.⁷⁹ It may be the same divine pair, whose cult was practised in the Agora in pre-Roman times, and the connection with the fountain strengthens this conjecture. But in the multitudinous changes which the cult underwent throughout the centuries it may be questioned how much was retained in its original form beyond the bare names, or whether even these remained unchanged. And if the heads on the sima were deliberately made without distinguishing labels, it is preferable that their anonymity should be respected.

In the evolution of the cult whose history I have attempted to trace with the help of the monuments and the meager literary references preserved to us two factors are of prime importance. In the first place the hero cult practised in Hellenistic times appears to have originated in a cult of the dead; and, secondly, this cult was somehow joined to the worship of Athena Hellotis and Poseidon. The first point requires no elaboration. There is no fundamental distinction between a hero cult and the common veneration accorded the dead,⁸⁰ except in the relative importance of the worshiped and in the number of worshipers. It is more difficult to understand how a cult of this kind became associated with Athena, the horse-tamer, and how Hellotis, a Cretan goddess, had intruded herself into Corinthian mythology. The simplest explanation may be the correct one. With the gradual disappearance of the physical objects around which the cult originated, the origin and meaning of the religious observances fell into oblivion. At this stage the aetiological myth was formulated in explanation of the cult rites, and in this way the foreign goddess was introduced.

It is futile to speculate on the reason why the myth took this particular form. It may have been composed by priests in charge of the cult or by some poet or local bard. The names and characters in the myth were not picked at random, but neither is it necessary to suppose that they were chosen after profound deliberation. Hellotis is obviously a foreigner at Corinth and the same is true of Kotyto, another of the daughters of Timandros who was at home in Thrace and was there associated with Artemis. The motive of the self-sacrificing maiden is a common one in popular beliefs, and it was here appropriately applied as an explanation for the use of fire at the festival. Hellotis, elsewhere—except at Marathon—identified with Europa and through her connected with the worship of Hera, at Corinth became associated with Athena Chalinitis. The incongruity in the association of the two cults was left for the etymologists to explain.

In view of the probable connection of the race track and the various contests with the hero cult in the Agora certain features of the terracotta deposit and the hero reliefs acquire special significance. Chief among these is the prominence of the circular

⁷⁹ A dual cult is also indicated at the Sacred Fountain, cf. *A Guide to Ancient Corinth*, 3rd ed., p. 50, and G. Elderkin, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 129.

⁸⁰ Cf. Furtwängler, *Collection Sabouroff*, Introduction, p. 19; Eitrem, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Heros, col. 1126; and see above, note 25.

shield. Shields were frequently used as dedications both in sanctuaries of the gods and in the cults of the dead,⁸¹ and in some cases these represented the prizes distributed to victors at the festivals of gods and heroes.⁸² At Delos, for example, a shield was given to the leader of the torch race, and the circular "Argive shield" is frequently mentioned in the lists of victories.⁸³ Such instances would justify the conjecture that the shields from the deposit may have been dedicated on the occasion of victories won in the contests that were held in the Corinthian Agora, and this view receives additional confirmation from the presence of the wreath on all the examples of the smaller type of shields.⁸⁴ The fact that the festival, at which the torch races were run, was joined to the worship of Athena might be considered as further reason for the prominence of the circular shield.⁸⁵ At Argos, for example, where the shield played a prominent role in the cult of Hera, a sacred shield, reputed to have belonged to Diomedes, was ritually cleansed in the waters of Inachos together with the image of Athena.⁸⁶

Other representations of armor, though less prominent than the shields, may also be explained as referring to the contests held at the festivals. This is especially true of the helmet on the snake stele. The stele itself may be nothing more than a support for the helmet, but it may also have been thought of as the terminus in the race track or palaestra. It is commonly represented on red-figured vases depicting athletic contests.⁸⁷ It may be questioned whether any profound religious significance was attached to it, but the presence of the snake is symbolic of the sepulchral and chthonian character of the cult. A similar stele, without the helmet, is found on terra-

⁸¹ Paul Wolters, *Jahrbuch*, XIV, 1899, pp. 118 ff. Votive shields have been found in other terracotta deposits at Corinth, notably in the small sanctuaries, "stelai enclosures," in the Potters' Quarter; cf. Agnes Newhall, *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, pp. 27-28, pls. I and II.

⁸² W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 183.

⁸³ *I.G.*, II², 3145; 3162, 3169/70; I. R. Arnold, "The Shield of Argos," *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 436-440.

⁸⁴ The wreath is a common device on shields figured on vases (see G. H. Chase, "The Shield Devices of the Greeks," *Harvard Studies*, XIII, 1902, p. 127), but the fact that it is invariably found on the small shields from the deposit would seem to lift it out of the class of devices "chosen purely from individual fancy or caprice."

⁸⁵ Shields are common among the dedications to Athena on the Athenian Acropolis and at other sanctuaries of the same goddess. Cf. Hetty Goldman, *Festschrift für James Loeb*, pp. 67-72. On coins of Corinth a figure of Athena appears, either holding the shield or with the shield leaning against her side; cf. Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm.*, J.H.S., VI, 1885, pl. LII: E, XCI, XCII, XCIII. In one instance she confronts a seated figure of Poseidon, *ibid.*, pl. LI: D, LV. Cf. Odelberg, *Sacra Corinthia*, p. 26. A partly preserved painting of a similar figure with the shield was found in the Odeion, Broneer, *Corinth*, X, *The Odeum*, p. 63, fig. 40 and pl. XIV.

⁸⁶ This primitive Argive custom, described by Kallimachos (Hymn V, xi, 35), seems to me to disprove the contention of M. P. Nilsson (*Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, pp. 349 ff.) that the shield was not regarded among the Greeks as an object of cult.

⁸⁷ E. N. Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, figs. 88, 97, 99, 144, 188, 210.

cotta reliefs from Tarentum,⁸⁸ which have other features in common with the Corinth figurines. The large circular shield, too prominent to be explained as accessory without cult significance, the snake crawling up a stele, and the figure of a horse in association with a male divinity or hero and his female partner, are characteristic of the deposits both at Corinth and Tarentum. The similarity in this case is of particular importance, in view of the prominence of Poseidon and of his son Taras in the cult history of Tarentum.

It is a matter of interest for the religious history of Corinth that the principal elements in the cult of Athena Hellotis are duplicated in another Corinthian cult, that of Hera Akraia. Medeia, whose children had a monument near the fountain of Glauke, became intimately associated with the indigenous cult of the goddess.⁸⁹ In one version of the legend the Corinthian women, in order to free themselves from the domination of Medeia, who was a foreigner, laid a plot against her and her fourteen children. The latter, seven boys and seven girls, took refuge in the temple of Hera, and there were slain upon the altar. The pollution of the sanctuary brought a pestilence upon the city, which was expiated by special sacrifices and with the dedication of seven boys and seven girls of distinguished families who spent a year in the temple of Hera. The more familiar story is that of Euripides, in which there are only two children, both boys, who were put to death by Medeia after they had brought the poisoned robe to Glauke. To quench the fire Glauke threw herself into the fountain which bore her name as a consequence of the event. This, too, is clearly an aetiological myth, probably based upon the practice of throwing terracotta images into the fountain. And the myth seems to indicate that these figures were first burned and then plunged into the water.

The elements common to both cults are: pollution caused by a crime against children;⁹⁰ expiation and purification through fire and water; an annual festival instituted for the observance of these rites; and the funereal character of the celebrations. A significant feature of the myths relating to the two cults is that in each case a subordinate female deity or heroine is joined to the worship of a major goddess. One is an outright foreigner, the other has little if any cult connections with Corinth.⁹¹ Such myths are usually explained as originating from a contamination of foreign

⁸⁸ See Renato Bartoccini, *Notizie degli Scavi*, XII, 1936, pp. 151-171, and especially figs. 64, 65, 69-79. Cf. the column on the tomb of Epaminondas, Pausanias, VIII, 11, 8.

⁸⁹ Our information about the Hera-Medeia cult comes chiefly from a scholion on Euripides' *Medeia*, 264, and from Pausanias, II, 3, 11. An interesting study of the cult in connection with the topography of Corinth has recently been made by Robert Scranton in *Corinth*, I, ii, *Architecture*, pp. 149-165. See also Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 57-61; J. G. O'Neill, *Anc. Corinth*, pp. 104-107.

⁹⁰ The same motive: outrage against a child (Apsyrtos), and pollution followed by calamity averted through expiation, we meet again in the story of the Argonauts where, too, Medeia is the slayer. Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 59, has pointed out that the chief characters in the Hera-Medeia cult at Corinth are the children and Hera Akraia. Medeia herself played hardly any role in the cult.

⁹¹ For the connection of Medeia with Corinth see Lesky, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. *Medeia*, col. 44; Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

elements of worship with native religious practices. It is always the more crude and inhuman rites that are regarded as foreign. May it not be that in some instances the opposite is the case, or that the two types of rites merely point to different stages of religious evolution or to a distinction in the religious practices observed by different strata of society?

There can be no doubt that Hellotis was a foreigner in Corinth, but the myth points to an indigenous cult which somehow had become associated with Athena. The name Hellotis was merely borrowed from without and introduced into the legends of the city. For there is nothing in the Corinth cult that suggests any connection with the Hellotis cult at Gortyn, except that both appear to have originated in cults of the dead.⁹² A similar development seems to have resulted in the cult of Medeia's children. Whereas the mother, for all her adventures in Corinth, played a very minor role in the cults of the city, the cult of the children appears to have been at home there.⁹³ The crude observances in their honor: the cutting of the hair and the wearing of black robes, are simple funeral rites raised to the status of cult practices and attached to one of the major shrines of Corinth.

The two cults, of Hera and Medeia and of Athena-Hellotis, are so similar, both as regards their respective aetiological myths, and the functions served by fire and apparently also by water, that both may have originated in the same primitive rite. Both are specialized forms of cults of the dead.⁹⁴ In one the element of mourning is the most prominent, in the other the celebrations attendant upon the funeral and the annual contests held in commemoration of the deceased.

There is, however, one important difference in the two cults. In the case of the Hellotia, the festival was called after the foreign deity whose name became an epithet of Athena. In the other case it was the major goddess who gave the name to the celebration. For it appears from a scholion on Euripides' *Medeia*⁹⁵ that the festival was called Akraia, an epithet of Hera. This would indicate that the Hellotia originated as an independent festival, later joined to the cult of Athena, whereas the Akraia was from the very beginning connected with the worship of Hera.

⁹² This is denied by some scholars, who regard the festivals both at Corinth and at Gortyn as consisting primarily of fertility rites. See M. P. Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 96; A. Lesky, *Wiener Studien*, XLV, 1926, p. 170. While this is doubtless the more prominent aspect of the Cretan festival, there is nothing in the Corinthian Hellotia to suggest such an explanation. Even at Gortyn, where the bones of Hellotis are said to have been carried about in a huge wreath, the funeral element is not absent. There is in reality no antithesis in the two points of view, since fertility rites and the worship of the dead are often joined in the same cult.

⁹³ Cf. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁹⁴ Graves, apparently dating from the same period as that of most of the graves in the Agora, have been found in the area later occupied by the Odeion, which was close to the monument of Medeia's children. See Broneer, *Corinth*, X, *The Odeum*, pp. 10-11.

⁹⁵ *Medeia*, 1379: 'Ακραία πένθιμος ἑορτὴ παρὰ Κορινθίων. See also Lesky in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. *Medeia*, col. 44, and cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 58, note 3, where the scholiast is quoted as giving the name 'Ηραία to the festival.

It would be useless to pretend that the present study is anything more than an attempt to interpret hypothetically some material data from the excavations at Corinth in the light of certain known cults of the city. To those who are satisfied with nothing short of conclusive proof and unambiguous statements concerning the nature of the cults the results will seem meager indeed. But if our purpose is to gain a better insight into the intricate pattern of ritual and belief which we call Greek religion, such a ramble among the scenes and objects that once formed an integral part of this pattern is not without value.

To recapitulate the chief points in the discussion, if it will not render the picture any clearer, may at least serve the purpose of emphasizing the inner coherence of the religious ideas which have found their expression in the objects and the myths upon which the study is based. Among the material objects the terracotta figurines from the deposit in the Stoa and the marble reliefs to which they are related give us the most comprehensive picture of the cults in the Hellenistic period when they appear to have reached their greatest prominence. From the contents of this illustrative material we learn that a hero, or a pair of heroes, were the objects of veneration. This would suggest that the cult took its origin from a cult of the dead.

Furthermore, the prevalence of the horse-and-rider motive and the name Zeuxippos indicate that the horse played an important role in the cult. In accordance with the common trend of development in Greek religion we should expect a cult of this kind to be merged with the worship of one or more of the major deities, and the choice must fall upon those gods whose functions correspond most closely to those of the hero or heroes in question. The sepulchral character of the cult and, more especially, the equine element point to its connection with the worship of Poseidon Hippios and Athena Hippiia.

That such a merger had taken place is clearly indicated by the festival of Hellotia, the name of which is derived from Hellotis, a cult name of Athena, associated by the Corinthians with the legend of Bellerophon and Pegasus. At this festival there were purification rites by fire, and probably by water, and a torch race formed an important feature of the celebration. Such practices are likely to have originated in a cult of the dead, as is also shown by the legend of the sisters who were burned to death in the temple of Athena. In this way we may trace the connection between the hero cult and the cult of the goddess. The male companion can be none other than Poseidon, who was worshiped at Corinth since earliest times as god of the horse.

In the excavations of the Corinthian Agora we find further evidence of these cults in the existence of a small subterranean funeral chapel constructed at the edge of an early cemetery. The encroachment of the civic section upon the consecrated area would have been regarded as a curtailment of the prerogatives belonging to the dead, and the desire to placate the spirits for this inconvenience added to the customary rites instituted for the dead would sufficiently explain the origin of the cult in the Agora. The games, especially the torch race, originally part of the funeral celebra-

tions, would acquire additional significance as purification rites and in course of time become annual events attached to an already existing festival of Athena and Poseidon. These contests, celebrated in the area at one time occupied by the graves, have left evidence of their existence in the race track and hippodrome situated in the very center of the ancient city.⁹⁶

With the gradual disappearance of the physical objects around which the cult came into existence, the original reason for the festival would fade into oblivion. This is the stage at which the legends would be composed in explanation of the ceremonies attendant upon the cult. Tales of native gods and heroes were combined with myths of foreign origin and woven together into a variegated fabric in which the cult practices, no longer understood, became effectively enveloped and adorned. Through such a process new elements were introduced, totally foreign to the original conception, and these in turn would give rise to a variety of observances which had no part in the original celebrations.

The continuity of the cult was certainly interrupted through the destruction of the city at the hands of the Romans, and only vague recollections can have remained at the time of the rebuilding. But many of the new settlers were doubtless descendants of the original population,⁹⁷ and these may well have brought back with them some of the religious life of the Greek city which had been perpetuated by the refugees on foreign soil. Moreover, the more important temples were probably not altogether abandoned, and there are reasons to believe that a few settlers began to move in shortly after the destruction.⁹⁸ In this way it is possible to account for the survival of some of the early cult practices, and the reflection of their continued existence may be traced among the remains from the Roman city. These remains, far more difficult to interpret than the objects from the Greek period, show the final stage in the evolution and decline of the hero cults in the Corinthian Agora.

OSCAR BRONEER

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

⁹⁶ The analogy of the Roman Consualia has been pointed out above. The identity of the male deities, Poseidon Hippios at Corinth and Equestrian Neptune at Rome, the physical relation of the subterranean altar with the race track and hippodrome, and the chthonian character of the celebrations are striking points of similarity in the two cults. To this may be added that at Rome too, as at Corinth, a female deity, Ops Consiva, goddess of wealth and of the underworld, was associated with the male god (see G. Rhode, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Ops, col. 750). The comparison is significant in view of the legendary relation of the Corinthian Bacchiads with the Tarquini of Rome. For it was Tarquinius Priscus, the son of Demaratos, to whom tradition ascribed the institution of the great games and the original foundation of the Circus Maximus in which the shrine of Consus was situated.

⁹⁷ Strabo, VIII, 381, states that most of the colonists belonged to the class of freedmen, ἐποίκους πέμψαντος τοῦ ἀπελευθερικοῦ γένους πλείστον, and doubtless many of these were Greeks of Corinthian stock. Cf. Allen B. West, *Corinth*, VIII, ii, *Latin Inscriptions*, pp. 89, 108; O. Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, p. 98; Katharine M. Edwards, *Corinth*, VI, *Coins*, p. 6.

⁹⁸ Cf. J. de Waele, *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, pp. 410-411; J. M. Harris, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 158.

ROMAN RELIEF BOWLS FROM CORINTH

The excavations at Corinth over a period of years have yielded a large number of fragments of the type of clay vessel herein described as Roman Relief Bowls.¹ Among those who have published this particular kind of bowl are Courby,² Pagenstecher,³ Kern,⁴ Orsi,⁵ Baur,⁶ and Philadelphus.⁷ The quantity of fragments, the quality of the fabric and glaze, and particularly the discovery of a mould, combine with other factors to support the hypothesis that Corinth itself was an important centre of production of these bowls. Nowhere else have specimens been found in such abundance as at Corinth.⁸ No adequate proof of manufacture elsewhere has as yet been established. It is conceivable then that Corinth's commercial energy may have been responsible both for the origin and for the wide distribution of this ware. The following notes on the examples from Corinth also throw interesting light on the period in which the ware was made. And finally, in further substantiation of the

¹ I am indebted to Charles H. Morgan, former Director of the American School of Classical Studies, for permission to publish this material from Corinth. Many helpful criticisms and suggestions during the course of its preparation were offered by Oscar Broneer, Gladys Davidson, Arthur Parsons, and Lucy Talcott, and I am very grateful to each of them for their patience and advice. Wulf Schaefer drew the profiles in Fig. 2.

A *corpus* of this ware is to be published by F. Eichler of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. Therefore the content of this article is confined to material from Corinth with supplementary reference to similar material from museums or excavations in other places, namely, Athens, Eleusis, Patras, Nikopolis, Delphi, Tanagra, Melos, Antioch, Alexandria, Pergamon, Spalato, Syracuse, Rome, Klagenfurt, Paris, Brussels. In the light of Eichler's comprehensive knowledge of provenance and character many problems concerning these bowls will be solved. No attempt has here been made, therefore, at a complete compilation of all examples of this ware; neither has a list been made of all the occurrences of each scene, except in so far as the extra-Corinth material is of value in interpreting the scenes on the Corinth fragments.

² *Les vases grecs à reliefs*, pp. 438-447. A bowl from Alexandria, from the Musée de Ravestein in Brussels, from Melos in the British Museum, from Eleusis in the Eleusis Museum, two fragments from Delphi in the Museum at Delphi, two fragments from Tanagra and Patras in the National Museum, Athens.

³ *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin*, II, pp. 197, 198, and pls. XXII, XXIII. The bowl from Alexandria and the bowl from Brussels, same as Courby.

⁴ *Eleusinische Beiträge*, Halle, 1909 and 1910. The bowls from Eleusis and Melos; discussion of interpretation of scenes. Also Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. *Mysterien*, cols. 1304 ff.

⁵ *Notizie degli scavi*, 1913, p. 271, fig. 13. Description of scenes on a bowl from Syracuse.

⁶ *The Stoddard Collection of Greek and Italian Vases*, pp. 130, 131. A bowl, No. 209, from Corinth, in the Yale Gallery of Fine Arts; description of scenes. See Figure 12. Also *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 243-245, fig. 14.

⁷ *Πρακτικά*, 1913, p. 100, note 1 and fig. 9. Description of scenes on a bowl from Nikopolis.

⁸ I owe this information to F. Eichler.

place of manufacture I venture to set forth heretofore unsuggested interpretations for some of the scenes which decorate these bowls.⁹

The shape of the Roman Relief bowl is that of a pyxis, most closely resembling Dragendorff's Form 30.¹⁰ The floor is nearly flat; the low ring foot is inset and the bottom frequently decorated with one or more concentric incised circles within the foot ring and a raised dot in the centre. The lip is generally finished with a single or double moulding (Fig. 2). The main zone of decoration is bounded at the bottom by a moulding which may be merely incised and rounded, striated, or adorned with beading (Fig. 3). The moulded relief decoration is undoubtedly derived from a metallic prototype.¹¹ The question of the origin of the decoration, however, as well as of the shape will be left to Eichler whose study of the entire *corpus* of this ware will enable him to reach a more satisfactory conclusion than may be drawn from the material at my disposal.

None of the examples known to me bears any trace of a handle, with the exception of a fragment in the Museum at Pergamon (Fig. 4). Unfortunately a close examination of this sherd was not possible. If it is rightly identified with Corinth's Group III, it should be noted



Fig. 1. Group II. Battle Scenes

⁹ I have avoided the use of the term 'Homeric' which has sometimes been applied to these bowls. A single example among the Homeric bowls published by Robert ("Homerische Becher," Berlin *Winckelmannsprogramm*, 50, p. 64, e) is decorated with scenes from the labors of Herakles, as are the Corinth bowls of Group I. But with this exception the Corinth bowls are as distinct in subject as they are in shape, style, and date from Robert's relief bowls of the Hellenistic period.

¹⁰ *Bonner Jahrbücher*, XCVI, 1895, pl. II, 30. This has been pointed out by Oswald and Price, *Terra Sigillata*, p. 88.

¹¹ Baur, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 245, reports that Zahn believes that "this class was influenced by Roman relief bowls in glass which were blown into moulds."

for its several outstanding deviations from the usual characteristics. It has definite evidence for a vertical handle which broke off at the two joins. The side flares slightly to meet the base moulding. The closest parallel is the mould from the Louvre (Fig. 19).

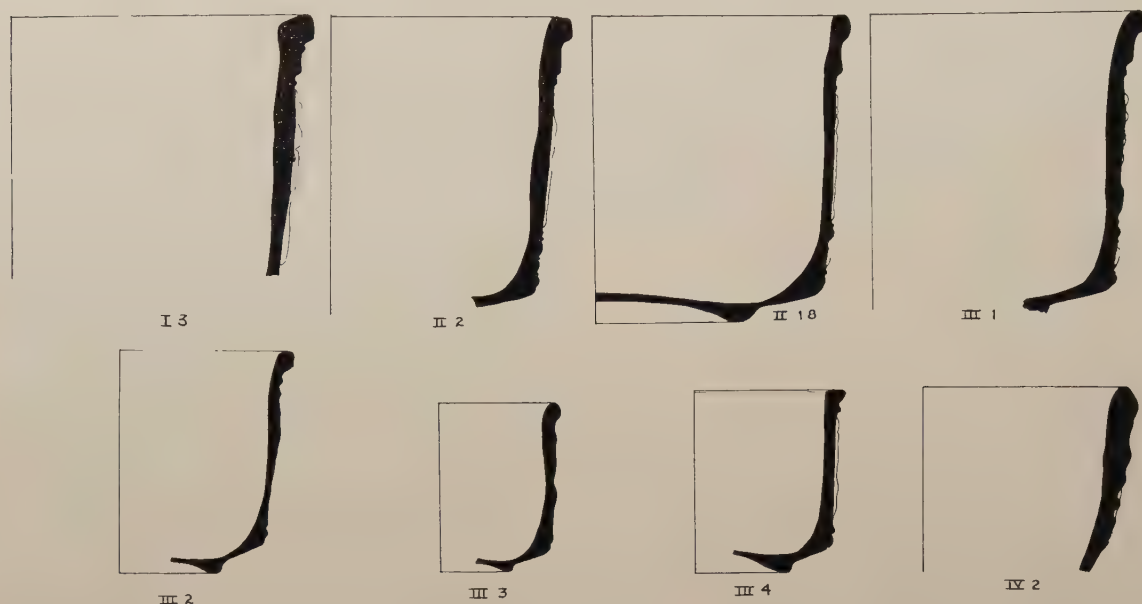


Fig. 2. Profiles of Roman Relief Bowls at Corinth

The clay, almost universally in the Corinthian examples of this ware, is a fine soft yellowish buff which sometimes has a pink tinge, sometimes is greyish and harder where the firing has been overdone. The glaze is for the most part a dull red-orange, subject to frequent brownish-black blotches due to imperfect firing. On certain examples the glaze has a distinctly metallic appearance, particularly in the hollows of the moulded relief where it collects thickly. The glaze appears to have been applied evenly on the exterior by dipping, on the interior with a brush, the strokes of which are evident in the bottom as well as on the sides.¹²

¹² The procedure of glazing must have been somewhat as follows: the bowl was held by spread fingers on the inside and lowered into the glaze until the rim was submerged and some of the liquid began to drip down inside. These drip marks occur frequently. They were painted over by swift and careless brush strokes. The bowl then was placed on the wheel and the interior painted as it revolved. This accounts both for the evenness of the stroke following the grain of the wheel-turned clay and for the occasional rough-finish brush strokes applied in the bottom after the wheel stopped turning.

The decoration consists of a frieze of scenes in low moulded relief. The matrix for each scene was made separately so that the relative positions of scenes in the mould could be varied in an infinite number of ways. The sequence of scenes, in so far as it is possible to determine from the examples known to me, seems to be without significance, but it is important for the purpose of identifying bowls from the same mould. Figures may be from the same matrix but have been arranged in varying positions in each mould. Thus *f* of Group II (Fig. 8 *f*), a running warrior, has been placed lower down in the decorated zone on the bowl from Tanagra¹³ than he appears on the Corinth examples (Fig. 9, II 2 and II 11). Again scene *m* of Group III, a satyr carrying off a maenad (Fig. 16 *m*) on the bowl from Athens¹⁴ is placed on its side, so that at first glimpse it looks like a wrestling match. The club, now at the top, is obliterated among vine tendrils, the feet project over the vines on the right. Whether this phenomenon is accidental or intentional is uncertain—probably the former, although *m* in its new position is quite convincing if not altogether apropos. All variations in arrangements of scenes have been noted in the catalogue for each group.

The decoration, in an impressionistic style, which is the particularly distinctive feature of these Corinth bowls, falls into four categories: scenes representing the labors of Herakles, Group I 1 to 4; scenes of a battle, Greeks *versus* Barbarians, Group II 1 to 18; scenes of a Dionysiac character, Group III 1 to 21; and scenes of hunting, Group IV 1 to 3.

¹³ Courby, *Les vases grecs à reliefs*, p. 444.

¹⁴ National Museum no. 15306. Unpublished.

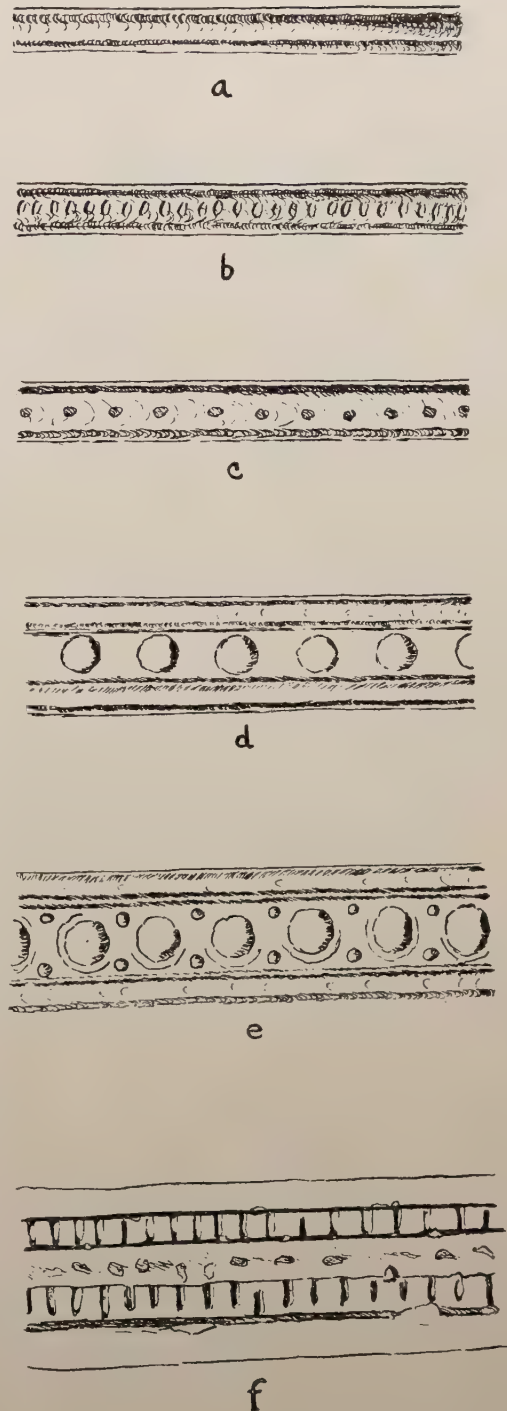


Fig. 3. Base Mouldings

GROUP I. LABORS OF HERAKLES

Four fragments of Roman Relief bowls at Corinth are decorated with representations of eight of Herakles' labors (Fig. 5). There are no duplicates in the collection, but a few examples from elsewhere aid in substantiating our interpretation.¹⁵

I 1. CP 523. Figs. 5 and 6. Fragment, nearly half the bowl, preserved to base moulding. Fine yellow buff clay, blackish orange metallic glaze. Preserved height, 0.067 m.; diameter of rim, 0.142 m. Nothing of the lower moulding or the foot is preserved; the upper moulding is separated from the decorated zone by a slight sharp ridge and another similar ridge separates the flat moulding from the faceted rim.

The first scene, *a*, shows Herakles killing the Stymphalian birds. Herakles, wearing the lion's skin, is leaning back as he lets fly an arrow. The birds here resemble ducks, judging from wings and head. The two uppermost are about to join their pierced and falling companions.

Next is Herakles about to dispatch a nude woman who falls back against her dying steed (Fig. 6 *b*). She is holding out a long garment which is undoubtedly the girdle Herakles has come to seize from Hippolyta, Queen of the Amazonš; presumably this is Hippolyta herself. The object directly above her averted head remains unidentified until a less blurred example of this scene from the same mould may be found.

Herakles carries the lion skin on his left arm while brandishing the club in his right hand. The bow is cast behind him, and the quiver is out of sight. The two figures in this scene are slightly smaller than the two figures of the hero *a* and *c*, in order to fit within the same allotment of space. Three rather sketchy trees in the background indicate a wood.

The third scene on this fragment represents Herakles in the act of cleansing the stables of King Augeus, by diverting the Alpheus river from its channel into the stalls (Fig. 6 *c*). With his lion's skin floating back from his shoulders, bow and quiver on the ground beside him, he lunges forward, one knee on a basket,¹⁶ to cut



Fig. 4. Pergamon Fragment of Roman Relief Bowl Showing Scene *f*? and Traces of Handles

¹⁵ The inventory number, preceded by C(orinth) P(ottery), follows the catalogue numbers; the latter will be used throughout for the sake of convenience. Group I receives an Arabic number prefixed by I, Group II an Arabic number prefixed by II, and so forth. The Arabic numbers are consecutive only within the group.

¹⁶ Concerning the basket, Pagenstecher suggests (*Expedition Ernst von Sieglin*, II, p. 198) that it "dem lysippischen Herakles von Tarent als Ruhesitz nach vollbrachten Arbeit zugeteilt war." But here it is obviously intended for a more practical usage.



Fig. 5. Group I. Labors of Herakles

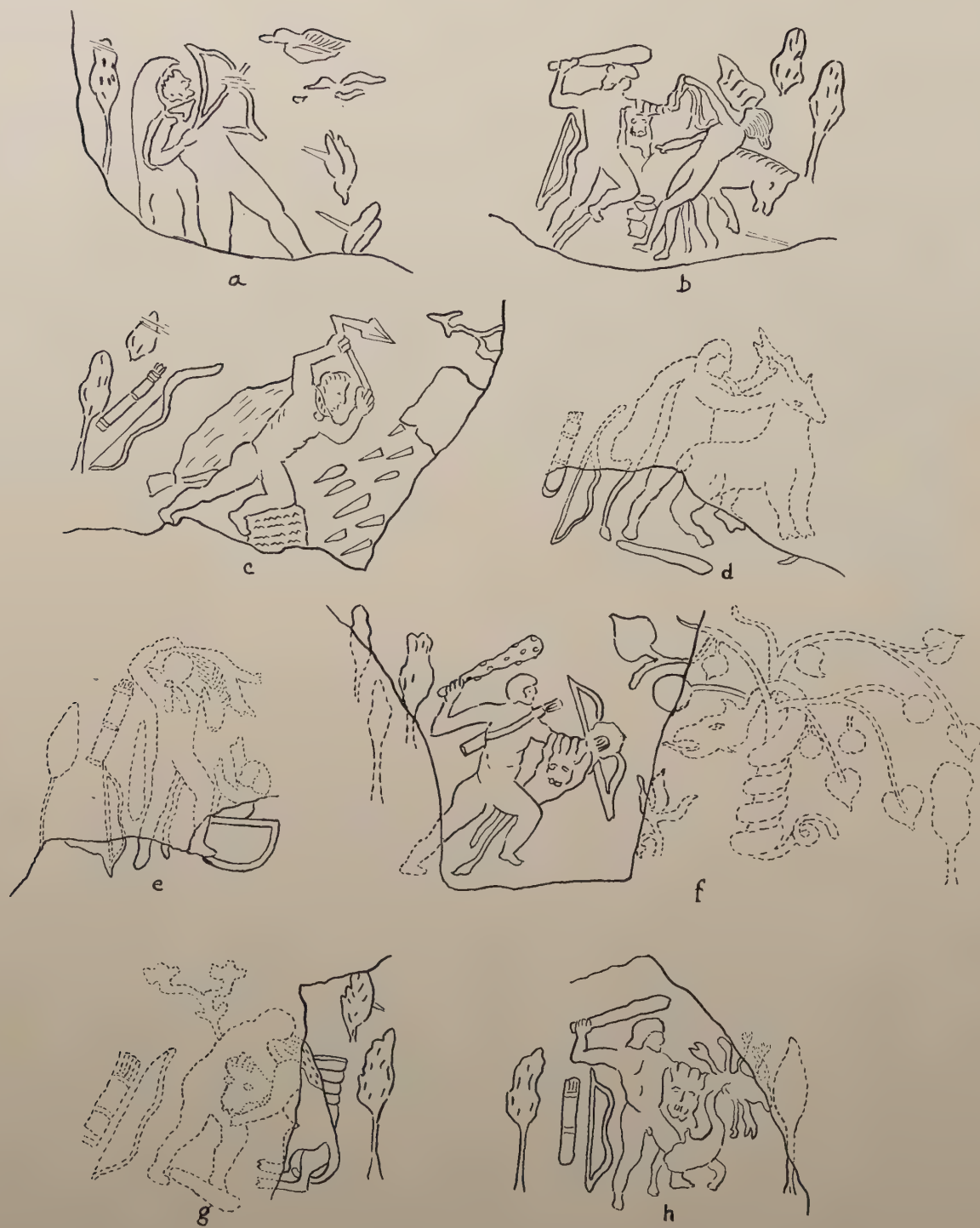


Fig. 6. Scenes from Group I. Labors of Herakles

the new channel for the river. The instrument he uses resembles the hoe or mattock with spade-like point in use today. The basket is probably intended for collecting and removing dirt, as is the custom in modern excavations. The pile of small objects before him probably represents the chips and clods of dung flying before the energy of his labor.

These three scenes occupy one half of the bowl. Another three which were placed on the missing half undoubtedly were the Lion, the Hydra, the Cerynean Stag or the Erymanthean Boar, for that is the combination following this same sequence on a bowl from Alexandria,¹⁷ which is the only complete bowl known to me to be identical with I 1, and quite possibly from the same mould.

I 2. CP 1860. Fig. 5. Base fragment including foot to centre. Fine dull buff clay; metallic purplish-brown glaze, much worn. Preserved height, 0.035 m.; diameter of foot, 0.09 m., of base 0.124 m. The foot is a low rounded ridge sloping gradually to a flat base decorated with three concentric circles and a raised dot in the centre. The base moulding is set off by incised grooves and decorated with a row of parallel slanting lines (Fig. 3 b).

Of the labors represented only a very small portion is preserved. On the right is the Cerynean Stag (Fig. 6 d). Here the hero has laid aside his bow and quiver, the lower ends of which we see. He is bestriding the stag from behind, reaching to grasp its golden horns and throw it to the ground.¹⁸ Next to the bow hangs a long tufted tail, dangling from the lion skin over Herakles' shoulder. A human leg from just below the knee appears treading on the club which also Herakles has flung aside in this hand-to-horn grapple with the creature. Just to the right of Herakles' foot are the hind hooves of an animal of the deer family.

The episode of the Boar is recognizable from the scanty clues appearing to the left of the above scene (Fig. 6 e). An object like a basin rests on the ground; a human foot stands in front of its left edge; farther to the left is another foot; next to it rests Herakles' bow. Scenes showing Herakles stuffing the boar into a large jar, on top of Eurystheus, whose frightened face peers out over the top, are common in black-figured painting. On the Corinthian fragment there is a small trace of a figure above or within the pithos, probably the harrassed monarch Eurystheus himself.

I 3. CP 1638. Figs. 2, 5, and 6. Fragment from rim to base moulding. Soft fine orange-buff clay; dull light orange glaze. Preserved height, 0.069 m.; diameter of rim, 0.15 m. Found with lamps of Type XXVII. The moulding is exactly the same as that of I 1, except that the lip is straight outside and slopes down inside, making the actual rim a dull point instead of a faceted surface (Fig. 2). The clay has a similar fine texture, but is more of a cinnamon color and the glaze tends to flake from the clay surface as in Corinthian fabrics of all periods.

¹⁷ Pagenstecher, *op. cit.*, II, 3; pls. XXII, XXIII, p. 197. Subject: Lion, Hydra, Boar, Stag, Birds, Amazon, Stables.

¹⁸ Cf. Pagenstecher, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII, from which this and the following restorations are made.

The quest of the Apples of the Hesperides is here represented (Fig. 6 *f*). The scene has a few trees at the extreme left. Herakles in full panoply strides to the right. His right arm brandishes the club behind his head; his left arm, outstretched, holds the bow with lion skin draped over arm and hand in such a way as to mask and protect them. His quiver, with arrows protruding from it, is slung over the



Fig. 7. Roman Relief Bowl in Brussels

left shoulder. The lion's head and its shaggy hide are clearly indicated, and the tail is shown trailing on the ground between Herakles' feet. The club itself is quite realistic, studded with large knots. Of Herakles' adversary not much remains, but the single leaf and branch are enough to indicate a special kind of tree, and the large round blob is clearly one of the golden apples. We may assume that the guardian serpent Ladon is coiled around the trunk waiting for Herakles to strike the first blow. The complete bowl in the Musée de Ravestein¹⁹ comes to our assistance in reconstructing the remainder of the scene. Herakles here is in the same position as

¹⁹ Courby, *op. cit.*, pp. 438, 439, fig. 94, and p. 441. This bowl was first published by Klügmann, *Annali dell' Inst.*, 1864, pl. U. It is no. 524 in the "Notice" of the Musée de Ravestein, a collection within the Musée Cinquenaire (Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, Brussels). I am indebted to Prof. C. L. Morey for the photograph of this bowl shown in Fig. 7.

on the Corinth piece. Just below and to the right of his arrow is a small plant with long leaves, an infinitesimal trace of which remains on our example. The dragon is curled four times around the tree trunk, the rest of his tail coiled artistically at the right. The tree bears five large leaves and as many apples. At the extreme right is a tree of the cypress species, intended perhaps, by reason of the contrast in size, to lend depth of focus to the landscape. To the six of Herakles' labors thus far represented on the Corinth fragments of Group I may then be added two more: Herakles bringing Kerberos from the lower world and the taming of the wild horses of King Diomedes of Thrace, which, as represented in the bowl, Figure 7, follow scene *f*.

I 4. CP 1637. Figs. 5 and 6. Fragment from centre base nearly to rim. Fine orange-buff clay; dull light orange glaze, slightly metallic in the hollows. Preserved height, 0.061 m.; diameter of base, 0.12 m.; of foot, 0.09 m. Found with lamps of Type XXVII. The base is identical with that of I 2, with the addition of a slight groove in the bottom of the foot itself; the centre is lacking. The lower moulding also is similar to I 2, but lacks the striated decoration.

Two other exploits of Herakles are here shown. At the extreme left we see a part of the first labor, the capture of the Nemean Lion (Fig. 6 *g*, restored according to the Alexandria bowl; see note 18). The beast is half crouching on its hind legs, tail curving down between its paws, thick bushy mane along its back. We must restore the figure of Herakles at the left, leaning forward and wrestling closely with the lion. The section of well-built wall that appears behind the animal cannot be interpreted except as a topographical background to this famous episode, and may have been intended to represent the rocky den at Nemea where Herakles is reputed to have bearded the lion.

Two cypress trees separate this scene from the next which shows Herakles in combat with the Lernean Hydra (Fig. 6 *h*). Bits of clay adhering to the bowl have detracted from the otherwise unusually careful modeling and precise detail of this scene. Herakles, his bow and quiver laid aside in the usual pictorial manner, is about to bring his club down on the serpentine heads of the monster while he takes a step forward with his left foot to strengthen the power of his blow. With his left arm protected by the lion's skin, the head and dangling paws of which are visible, he holds the writhing Hydra in his left hand preparatory to striking it. One of its heads appears to be biting at his upraised foot. The scene terminates in another group of trees of which one trunk is seen at the right.²⁰

As Courby suggests,²¹ the krater found at Tenea and now in the Berlin Museum, dating from the fourth century B.C., shows Herakles and the lion in nearly the same pose as on this Corinth bowl of some five hundred years later; the Kerberos episode is nearly exact, as is the Hydra, except that in the latter the figures are reversed.

²⁰ The sequence of these scenes is identical also with the bowl from Alexandria, Pagenstecher, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIII.

²¹ Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

The scheme of "laying aside" certain attributes merely by hanging them in the air was introduced by the early vase painters, and continued to be used throughout the evolution into a more plastic manner of representation of scenes. While progress was made in certain lines such as suggesting perspective of trees by varying sizes, and by attempting third dimension as in the scene with the Stag where Herakles is shown astride—this is even more admirably illustrated in scenes of Group II—the problem of showing the necessary attributes such as Herakles' bow, quiver and club, particularly when they were not in use, was not so easy to solve in this new technique, and consequently here the pictorial method still prevailed. Courby suggests Theodorus, Panainos, and Theon of Samos as original painters from whom the toreutic artists might have derived their inspiration for the forerunner of this Roman Relief bowl. These men were known to have painted scenes from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as well as the exploits of Herakles.²² It is interesting to note, by comparison with black and red-figured representations of the same theme, that the classical arrangement of the exploits of Herakles continues to be followed clear into late Roman art. That the subject of Herakles' labors should be treated in this later, local technique is logical enough, in view of the importance and significance of the Herakles tradition in the Corinthia.

GROUP II. BATTLE SCENES

Eighteen fragments of Roman Relief bowls are decorated with representations of battle scenes which appear to commemorate some specific martial event. What this might be we shall surmise after a brief description of the fragments. A complete catalogue of Group II will be found following the description.

The bowl II 18 (Fig. 1) is the most completely preserved though not the most carefully made specimen of the entire collection, lacking only scenes *i* and *l*²³ which are supplied on several other fragments. The scenes are described as they appear on II 18, with reference to other examples for clarification of individual scenes where necessary. Sample sketches of each scene appear in Figure 8. The background is sometimes treated as a meadow with long wavy grooves in the clay to represent the terrain. At other times the ground is quite plain, but in both cases a forest is always indicated, usually by a cypress tree, as in Group I, occasionally also by the spreading frond-like tree found in Group III.

Scene *a* shows a warrior dressed in a loose blouse, holding a shield in his left hand as a protection for the nude and wounded man whose limp body he is supporting with his right hand.

Between *a* and *g* there is a section missing, probably scene *b*.

²² Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

²³ I have adopted throughout the lettering of scenes used by Kern, *Eleusinische Beiträge*, pp. 14 ff., with the addition of *h1*, *h2*, and *k*.



a



b



c



d



e



f



g



h1



h2



i



k



l

Fig. 8. Battle Scenes of Group II

Scenes *b* and *d* are very much alike. In each a mounted rider gallops to the left in a realistic show of great haste, his cloak streaming from his shoulders, his left hand grasping the reins while the right holds his spear aloft, poised for release. He wears a cuirass and short tunic. These figures have emerged so crudely from the mould that it is impossible to tell if they issued from the same matrix or two separate matrices. The differences in the horses' tails, and relative position of riders' arm to horses' head are so slight as to give ground for the belief that these are one and the same scene perhaps retouched after leaving the mould. On II 2 (Fig. 9) as well as on II 18 both forelegs of the horse appear, whereas in others, notably II 4 (Fig. 9), though there is ample space, one leg has been omitted. On II 4 a curious circle appears, incised or moulded beneath the horse.²⁴

On the other side of the break the frieze continues with scene *g*. This is an odd group, and unique among the Corinth examples of this ware. A nude seated figure supports himself with one hand while with the other he presses his wounded side. The figure behind him is standing dressed in a blouse like that of the warrior in *a*, and blows a large trumpet which he holds in both hands. This scene suggests a significance similar to that of Charlemagne's Roland and his horn. It appears more clearly on II 6 (Fig. 9) where the trumpeter is obviously blowing hard with puffed cheeks. In this case the details must have been sharply retouched after removal of the bowl from the mould.

Next appears one of two figures that are not found on any other examples from Corinth. The scene *h1* appears to be a rider in the act of reining in his horse, while *h2*, which occurs farther around in the frieze, is a similar rider who is spurring on his steed to escape a pursuer whose horse is seen in the background. Each of the figures wears the tunic and cuirass; each has a helmet and mailed sleeves.²⁵

Scene *h1* is followed by *d*, described above, which in turn precedes *e*. This is a group of two combatants. The nude conquered figure at the right is half sitting on the ground with his left arm above his head, yielding to his adversary who grips him by the hair and appears about to run him through with the dagger. The victor is attired in a short tunic, cuirass and helmet like those of the rider in scenes *b* and *d*.

Scene *k*, following *e*, shows two warriors, one nude, the other wearing tunic and cuirass. The latter holds a club poised to strike; his opponent holds a similar weapon

²⁴ This occurs also on a bowl from Tanagra (Athens, National Museum, no. 2106, Courby, *op. cit.*, pp. 443-444) between *b* and *g* and in the middle of the decorated zone. It is too small for a fallen shield and too carefully indicated to be an accident of manufacture. This scene occurs also on two fragments from Antioch, the clay and glaze of which are so like the Corinth pieces as to make it appear that they came originally from Corinth. The opportunity of examining the Antioch sherds was courteously granted by F. Waage, at Princeton.

²⁵ On the bowl from Patras (Athens, National Museum, no. 2115, Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 443) a rider pulls up his horse as he gallops to the right; a second figure has fallen, and his horse has come to its knees in the foreground.

in the same attitude and protects himself by a round shield, roughly decorated with a quartering. This scene too is unique on II 18 from Corinth though it occurs twice in the Agora in Athens,²⁶ the two contestants being separated on each of these and therefore deriving from separate matrices.

Scene *c*, following *k* on II 18, shows a fallen horse whose rider lies in a limp attitude across the animal.²⁷ The wood is canonically represented; the large object which rises from the ground directly in front of the horse may be intended for a tree, or for another figure striking the fallen man. Scene II 6 (Fig. 9) is the only

other fragment from Corinth with this scene preserved, showing the man's leg over the rear of the horse and his shoulders above, a position which could conceivably be blurred into such an anomaly as that on II 18.²⁸

Scene *c* is followed by *h2* and *b*, the only scene to be repeated. This completes the frieze of scenes on II 18.

Bowls II 2 and II 11 (Fig. 9) furnish scene *f*, a nude warrior with bushy hair running to the right with a sword held high in his right hand and a large shield on his left arm. On II 2 the figure



Fig. 10. Roman Relief Bowl No. II 8

is placed so that he appears to be running very rapidly, on II 11 he is kneeling on the ground.

II 5 (Fig. 9) introduces a new scene, unique among the Corinth pieces. Scene *i* represents a standing woman holding a baby to her breast to protect it, by an enormous shield in her left hand, from the battle raging in the forest around her.

Scene *l* occurs twice in Corinth on II 8 (Fig. 10) and II 9 (Fig. 9). An apparently nude man, smaller than the other figures, is crouching forward on his shield, either as one wounded, or preparing to charge. This figure is most recognizable on the bowl from Patras where it is placed in the background and gives a fine conception of spatial depth to the scene. On each of the Corinth fragments it is crowded to the foreground beneath *b* and is poorly moulded.

²⁶ Inv. Nos. P 3152c and P 8319. The latter fragment has additional decoration of several small crosses (+) between *h* and *b* and preceding *f*. These appear to have been scratched on the bowl as an afterthought and may have some early Christian significance, though I should hesitate to hazard such a suggestion further unless these symbols appeared more consistently.

²⁷ On the bowl from Patras (see note 24) a shady tree spreads its branches above the dying warrior.

²⁸ In the Museum of Antiquities at Alexandria is a fragment (No. 6628, unpublished) of this ware showing parts of scenes *b* and *c*.

As Courby has suggested,²⁹ it seems evident, in all these examples of combat which characterize Group II, that the scenes reflect a battle of no little consequence with a barbarian people. The blouse worn in scenes *a* and *g*, the coiffure of *f* and *a*, the nudity of six of the figures, and particularly the poignant episode of the woman nursing her child in the midst of such adversity, all incline toward the hypothetical motive of a conflict between a savage and a civilized race, perhaps Romans, perhaps Greeks, who wear armor and fight on horseback with swords and spears. It seems logical that the event which furnished the inspiration for this was an important historic episode that really occurred. It remains to find the actual historical occasion which could have interested and affected the people sufficiently to find a place on their pottery. The conflict between Roman and barbarian is a familiar theme throughout the Roman world. Monumental records of such battles and conquests appear on triumphal arches, columns and sarcophagi.³⁰ However the use of these scenes by the Corinthian mould-makers indicates some event nearer home, rather than the mere adaptation to small scale of a theme developed purposely for large scale decoration. Such an event might be found in the invasion of the Costobocs, a tribe of barbarians living in the region north of Dacia and outside the then boundaries of the Roman empire.

The Costobocs³¹ sided with the confederacy of German and Sarmatian tribes which made war on the Roman Empire in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The invasion of the Costobocs probably took place during the course of that war, i.e., between A.D. 168 and 175 or 180, when Commodus succeeded to the throne. Frazer suggests that the invasion was probably due to an attack by the Astingi which drove the Costobocs from their lands and compelled them to seek new territory for which they turned south to Greece. They are reported to have gone "through Macedonia to the very heart of Greece where they plundered and destroyed the Periclean temple of the mysteries at Eleusis."³² Pausanias' own record is as follows: "The robber horde of the Costobocs, who overran Greece in my time, came to Elatea, among other places: but here a certain Mnesiboulos collected a band of men, and, after slaughtering many of the barbarians, fell in the fight. This Mnesiboulos won various victories in running; in particular at the 235th Olympiad (in the year 161) he won the foot-race and also the double race with the shield. There is a bronze statue of him at Elatea in the Street of the Runner."³³

²⁹ Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 445.

³⁰ A perusal of Reinach's *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains* (e. g., pp. 99, 1; 261, 1; 331, 1) reveals that there is abundant corroborative material of this sort, which it is not the function of this article to list.

³¹ Pausanias, X, 34, 5; Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, V, pp. 429-430; Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Kostoboken, cols. 1504-1507.

³² *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. XI, p. 354.

³³ Pausanias, X, 34, 5.

It is, then, plausible that the hectic and realistic scenes of combat represented on these bowls may be the influence of the consternation wrought in Greece by this invasion of the Costobocs, and the lasting reminder of a sudden onslaught which cost the life of a famous athletic hero. Mnesiboulos must have been well known throughout the country, for it was only a short time before, in 161, that he won his Olympic victory. Further indication of the likelihood of this supposition is to be found in the record of a prefect of a battalion³⁴ that had fought in Achaia, Macedonia, and Spain against the Costobocs. His presence shows that the invasion was serious enough to necessitate the presence of regular troops, and therefore quite possibly of sufficient local importance to be featured on local pottery.

LIST OF BOWLS OF GROUP II, BATTLE SCENES

II 1. C-35-898. Figs. 8, 9. Fragment of rim. Sandy light buff clay; smooth rather shiny red glaze. Preserved height, 0.04 m.; diameter of rim, 0.104 m. Scene: *d*. Found in stratum above that containing coins of Augustus, providing loose *post-quem* date for the ware.

II 2. CP 1647. Figs. 8, 9. Fragment of rim to foot. Hard sandy orange-buff clay; dull orange glaze worn off on projecting surfaces. Preserved height, 0.078 m.; diameter of rim, 0.12 m. Scenes: *d*, *e*, *f*.

II 3. CP 1645. Figs. 8, 9. Fragment of rim to foot. Hard fine buff-orange clay; dull light orange glaze. Preserved height, 0.066 m.; diameter of rim, 0.104 m. Scenes: *d*, *g*.

II 4. C-34-319. Figs. 8, 9. Fragment of base. Sandy orange-buff clay; dull light orange glaze. Preserved height, 0.05 m.; diameter of base, 0.10 m. Scenes: *a*, *b*. Found in Roman fill with lamps of Type XXVII.

II 5. C-29-40. Figs. 8, 9. Rim fragment. Fine sandy yellow-buff clay; metallic brown-red glaze. Preserved height, 0.057 m.; diameter of rim, 0.12 m. Scenes: *i*, *a*.

II 6. C-34-2424. Figs. 8, 9. Fragment near base. Sandy light buff clay; metallic purple-brown glaze. Preserved height, 0.04 m.; preserved width, 0.027 m. Scenes: *g*, *c*.

II 7. C-34-331. Figs. 8, 11. Fragment of rim to foot. Sandy orange-buff clay; dull light red glaze. Preserved height, 0.035 m.; diameter of rim, 0.10 m. Scene: doubtful, probably variant of *b*. It occurs on such a small scale and so poorly moulded as to be hardly recognizable. The horseman has no spear, but his costume is the same. The trees toward which he rides are dissimilar, having long branches with leaves. The rim and base moulding, as well as the fabric of this piece, indicate its affinity with the Roman Relief bowls as a class, though the scene itself appears to be unique.

II 8. C-27-80. Figs. 8, 10. Fragment of base with lower part of relief. Soft orange-buff clay; thin light orange glaze, nearly all worn off. Preserved height, 0.055 m.; diameter of base, 0.116 m. Scenes: *a*, *b* with *l* below. From Roman tomb with lamps Type XXVII and some imitation Arretine pottery.



Fig. 11. Roman Relief
Bowl No. II 7

³⁴ *C.I.L.*, VI, 31856.

II 9. C-37-1495a, b. Figs. 8, 9. Fragment near base and fragment near rim. Sandy yellow-buff clay; dull light orange glaze. Preserved height, 0.034 m.; diameter of base, 0.12 m., of rim fragment, 0.038 m. Scenes: *l* with *b* above, and *b* alone.

II 12. C-29-43. Figs. 8, 9. Fragment including part of foot and relief near base. Hard pink-buff clay; smooth dull orange-red glaze. Preserved height, 0.02 m.; diameter of base, 0.066 m. Scene: *a*? This fragment seems to be an exception to the canonical shape of these bowls, for the foot is sharply edged and stands higher and squarer than the others.

II 13. C-27-43. Figs. 8, 9. Fragment of relief. Sandy yellow-buff clay; dull red-orange glaze. Preserved height, 0.038 m.; preserved width, 0.035 m. Scenes: *d*, *a*. Found with lamp Type XXVIII.

II 14. CP 1647 a. Figs. 8, 9. Fragment of relief. Soft orange-buff clay; thin dull red-orange glaze. Preserved height, 0.04 m.; preserved width, 0.044 m. Scene: *d*.

II 15. C-36-1804. Fragment of relief to base moulding. Fine yellow-buff clay; dull orange glaze. Preserved height, 0.04 m.; preserved width, 0.04 m. Scene: *b*, Fig. 8.

II 16. C-37-1613. Fragment of relief to foot. Sandy yellow-buff clay; shiny slightly metallic red glaze. Preserved height, 0.03 m.; diameter of base, 0.10 m. Scenes: *b*, *c*? Fig. 8.

II 17. C-37-1467. Fragment near rim. Hard sandy orange-buff clay; shiny metallic red glaze. Preserved height, 0.043 m.; preserved width, 0.03 m. Scene: *c*? Fig. 8.

II 18.³⁵ Figs. 1, 8. Nearly complete bowl, lacking only segment of rim and side, and chip of side. Sandy light red clay; harsh shiny orange-red glaze, interior a dull buff. Height, 0.08 m.; diameter of rim, 0.138 m., of foot, 0.09 m. Scenes: *a*, *b*, lacuna, *g*, *h1*, *d*, *e*, *k*, *c*, *h2*, *b*.

GROUP III. RITUALISTIC SCENES

The scenes of this group have been discussed in detail by Kern,³⁶ whose lettering is followed throughout. Of the fifteen scenes which he enumerates all occur on the fragments from Corinth. This group has either a background of long vertical tendrils twisting and spiraling across the top, or a fringe of grasses along the foreground, and often both motives occur. The only complete bowl of this group and of this ware as a whole, from Corinth, is in the Stoddard Collection in the Yale Gallery of Fine Arts, Fig. 12.³⁷ The best preserved fragment, however, III 1, gives seven of these ritualistic scenes. (Fig. 13, scene *g* does not show in the photograph.)

Scene *g* (Fig. 16), occurring only once at Corinth, shows a partly draped man or woman carrying a pitcher (?) in the right hand and a plate (?) in the left. The

³⁵ Found in a dog's grave, Corinth excavations of 1926, and included in this article through the courtesy of T. Leslie Shear.

³⁶ *Eleusinische Beiträge*, Halle, 1910. Courby (*op. cit.*, p. 440) derived his pastoral interpretation of these scenes of Group III from the bowl in the British Museum, from Melos, and the Eleusis bowl, both of which were previously described by Kern.

³⁷ See Note 6.



Fig. 12. Roman Relief Bowl from Corinth in the Stoddard Collection, New Haven

(Courtesy of the Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University)

figure approaches a pillar having a round object at the top, possibly intended for a herm. Scene *e*, following, shows a figure, perhaps a satyr, attired in a short kilt, pulling the bough of a tree or vine toward him to pluck the fruit. Beside him stands a curly-legged table on which are objects resembling fruits or other foods. The object on the table at the left, clearly visible in III 11 (Fig. 14) is a pine cone, symbolic attribute of the Dionysiac cult.³⁸

Scene *e* seems consistently to be followed by *f*, implying perhaps some intentional connection between the two, although the figure in *e* has his back turned to *f*. This scene is the strongest clue to the character of these motifs. A bearded figure with draped garment stands before a curiously shaped altar or pedestal on which is a macrophallic statue, possibly Priapus.³⁹ On III 7 (Fig. 15) the priest appears to be holding a knife in his left hand while his thyrsos lies on the ground before the statue. In III 11 (Fig. 14) a graceful tendril of ivy is draped over the foot of the statue.

Scene *n* shows two women with long skirts, engaged in suspending some long narrow objects. The one on the right kneels toward a pile on the ground while her companion, with a bundle on her back, stoops to pick it up. Large loops of material are hung from the trees behind. A thyrsos garlanded with a fillet has been stuck into the tree at the left. This ceremony is undoubtedly connected in some way with the Dionysiac ritual. In sculptural representations of this character such scenes occur not infrequently.⁴⁰

On III 1 (Fig. 13) *n* is followed by *c*. A woman walks with drapery billowing behind her and a thyrsos over her left shoulder. A male figure,

³⁸ Reinach, *Répertoire des peintures grecques et romaines*, XXII, p. 118, 6. Statue of a bearded Dionysos with offerings such as a pine cone on a table.

³⁹ *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1908, pl. IV, 2. A painted stele from Pagasai shows a similar statue on a pedestal.

⁴⁰ Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains*, III, p. 309, 1, 2; p. 529, 8.

again a satyr, nude but for a sort of belt, strides to the right, one arm uplifted in a gesture of revelry.⁴¹

On a fragment of III 1 which does not join occur two scenes, *m* and *l*. Scene *m* represents a satyr carrying off a nymph or maenad. In III 3 (Fig. 17) as well as III 1 a thyrsos is visible over the shoulder of the captive. The large club leaning against the background much as it does in Group I suggests that the figure might be Herakles, but this interpretation is very doubtful in view of the character of the other scenes.

Scene *l* appears always to come next to *p*, so we may assume the adjoining section to start with *p*. Scene *l* is a shepherd wearing a sort of kilt, a petasos on his head and carrying a crook in his left hand. A sheep stands behind him. Scene *p* appears most clearly on III 15 (Fig. 14 and Fig. 16). This shepherd wears a short sheep-skin garment and extends one hand as though offering something to *l*.

Bowl III 12 (Fig. 17) shows scene *a* about the nature of which there is some controversy. However the goat-drawn chariot, the thyrsos protruding from it, the figure with his peaked head-dress standing on the back of the cart all indicate a Dionysiac theme.

Bowl III 3 (Fig. 17) supplies scene *b*, a figure standing before a round altar holding a cornucopia (?) in one hand and a cup in the other. Courby⁴² interpreted this altar as a bee-hive and considered it an argument for his pastoral attribution of this scene. The round altar is fairly common and need not pertain to any specific cult ritual.⁴³

Bowl III 2 (Fig. 13) shows scene *d*, a woman with a long garment, draped around the waist, reaching one or both hands up toward the branch of an olive tree or a vine. In III 7 (Fig. 15) another figure seems to be behind the first. Before



Fig. 13. Group III. Ritualistic Scenes

⁴¹ A similar scene occurs on a Roman sarcophagus in the Glyptothek Museum, Munich. no. 223. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*, p. 216.

⁴² Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

⁴³ Déchelette, *Les vases ceramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine*, II, 90, fig. 552.

this priestess, if such she be, there is another type of altar placed at an angle, with a round object (possibly an omphalos, or intended to represent flame) upon it; behind her a calyx-krater rests on the ground.⁴⁴



Fig. 14. Group III. Ritualistic Scenes

Bowl III 8 (Fig. 17) shows scene *h*, a nude woman (?) holding a basin over the head of a nude youth. Kern interprets this not as Kore but as a "baptism" by a nude priestess of Dionysos.

Bowl III 10 (Fig. 14) gives scene *i*, a nude youth with a basket on his back who is either shaking the tree above him with a long stick, as it appears on the Melos bowl, or reaching toward another nude figure who stands against the tree trunk

⁴⁴ This scene occurs also on the Eleusis bowl between *f* and *b* and on a fragment in the Agora, Athens, Inv. No. P 3151c, where the woman has one hand on the altar. Her thyrsos lies on the ground beside her. The scene does not occur on the Melos bowl in the British Museum.

leaning on a tall staff. This is one of the three scenes that occur on the mould from Corinth in the sequence *e o i*.

Bowl III 14 (Fig. 14) shows *k*, a figure walking to the right with one hand on his hip and the other supporting a large basket full of grapes (?)⁴⁵ which is carried on his head. The figure is passing through a thick forest, to judge from the stout trunks on each side of him and from the intertwining branches overhead. He seems, in the two Corinth fragments, to be carrying a thyrsos in the crook of his right arm.⁴⁶

Scene *o* appears only on the mould (Fig. 18) with scenes *e* and *i*. Courby interprets this as a man carrying a large fagot. Probably this object is a torch, one of Dionysos' attributes, and the figure is the leader of the Dionysiac procession, as Kern assumes. In the mould an object is visible on the ground by the feet of the figure. This has been overlooked, or is blurred out of recognition, on the Melos bowl. It looks like a large acorn, and may be the head of a thyrsos.

The presence of this mould establishes Corinth as a centre of manufacture of this type of ware, and the large number of fragments from Corinth confirms this hypothesis. The mould is made of the same clay as the bowls though the fabric is of course thicker. A mould from the Louvre (Fig. 19)⁴⁷ is similar in fabric and color and appears to belong to this category of scenes, Group III, although the three figures represented are not exactly like any found on the Corinth fragments. The bearded man at the right, however, holding out an offering, corresponds very closely with the figure on the fragment from Pergamon (mentioned on page 163) which has been included in this group. The Louvre mould has been used to decorate a vessel of different shape which flares out at the bottom like the Pergamene fragment. Its provenance is unknown. It is quite possible, in view of the similarity of fabric and style, size and technique, that it, as well as the Pergamene fragment, is of Corinthian origin. The figure at the left, in the Louvre cast, is reminiscent of *l*, and the bearded man of *f*, while the background with its vines and clusters is very similar to that of Group III in general.

In the Museo Sacro of the Vatican Library is a complete bowl belonging to



Fig. 15. No. III 7

⁴⁵ The sacred "winnowing basket" carried on the heads of celebrants in the Dionysiac festivals. Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, 2, 6. Also Liddell and Scott, *s.v.* *λίκνον* for derivation of meaning.

⁴⁶ Kern identifies this figure with Silenos and refers to a sarcophagus in the Munich Glyptothek, no. 365, on which Silenos appears with the mysterious basket on his head. Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, p. 344; Déchelette, *op. cit.*, p. 57, fig. 322: Silenos, seminude, walking right carrying basket of fruit on head and kantharos in hand, from Gaulish bowl in Lezoux (no. 37, Musée de Roanne). *Ibid.*, fig. 323: similar subject, basket held in left hand while right holds grapes.

⁴⁷ CA 272. Unpublished.

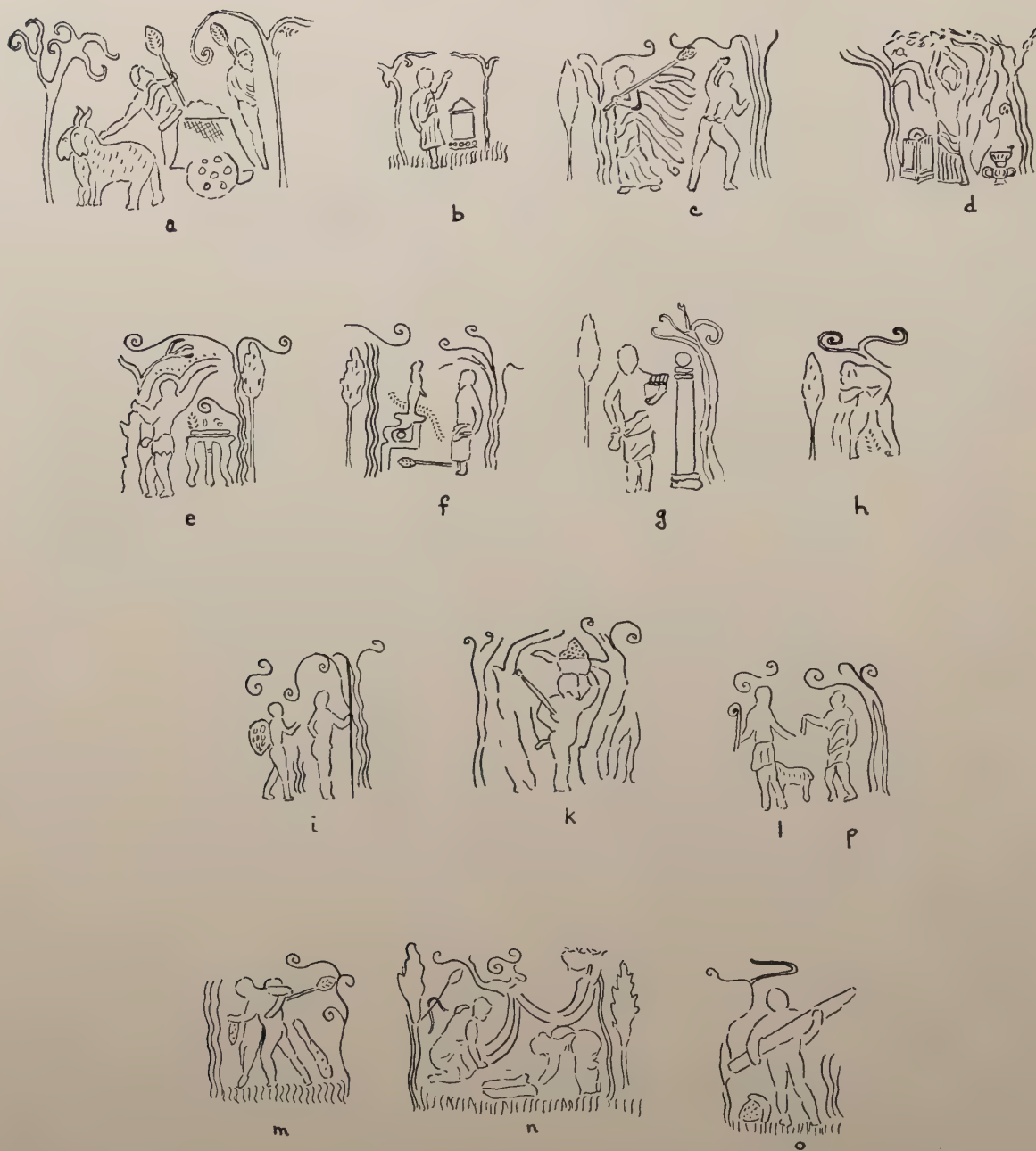


Fig. 16. Scenes from Group III

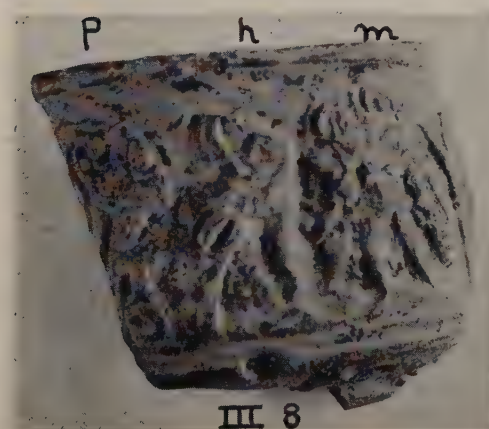


Fig. 17. Group III. Ritualistic Scenes

Group III (Fig. 20).⁴⁸ The scenes represented are all those which have appeared on fragments found in Corinth, and occur in the following order *d, g, b, h, l, p, c, m, e, f*. It will be noted that *l* and *p, c* and *f* are adjacent here as well as in all other examples

but one, III 17, where *l* is followed by *h*. Scene *c* has been placed rather high, probably due to carelessness in stamping the mould with the individual matrices. The grassy foreground characteristic of a number of the other fragments of Group III has been omitted altogether from this bowl. The imperfections in clay, casting, and glazing that characterize this type of ware are not lacking, but this is the only complete bowl of Group III known to me outside Corinth, and as such it is a valuable addition to this article.⁴⁹

Courby interpreted this series as one of purely pastoral events, but it is obvious that a considerable proportion of the scenes had some ritualistic content. This is Kern's view⁵⁰ endorsed by the evidence from Corinth. Possibly there may be some ritual near Corinth which would justify the localization of Group III, as Group II was localized. It is not difficult to see in these scenes a reflection of the traditional country worship of



Fig. 18. No. III 9. Mould (Below) and Cast (Above)

Dionysos, whose popularity in second-century Corinth is particularly attested by Pausanias. We know that in the market place of Corinth, where Pausanias says "most of the sanctuaries are," were "wooden images of Dionysos, which are covered with gold with the exception of their faces; these are ornamented with red paint. They are called Lysius and Bacchus."⁵¹ There must have been a sanctuary for the

⁴⁸ I am very grateful to Professor C. L. Morey for bringing this bowl to my attention, and for rendering available his notes and the photograph, Fig. 20.

⁴⁹ The provenance of this bowl is dubious. Its label reads 1884. The heavy plaster incrustation still adhering to it gives credence to the probability that it came originally from the catacombs, perhaps among the catacomb finds turned over to the museum by Pius IX.

⁵⁰ Kern (Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. *Mysterien*, col. 1304) states that these scenes present a lively picture of the Dionysos mysteries with the procession headed by the goat-drawn figure of Bacchus (*a*), the Thyrsos, the altar tables, pine cones, oinochoai, herm, maenads, and satyrs.

⁵¹ Pausanias, II, 2, 5.

god as well. Pausanias goes on to tell the story of Pentheus spying on the Dionysiac festival, as Euripides dramatizes it in the *Bacchae*. After the destruction of Pentheus, "as the Corinthians say, the Pythian priestess commanded them by an oracle to discover that tree [in which Pentheus hid to observe the orgiastic ceremonies] and to worship it equally with the god. For this reason they have made these images from the tree."⁵² This importance attached to the tree may be reflected in the wooded and



Fig. 19. Mould, with Cast, Louvre Museum CA 272

ivied background of Group III.—The image, in scene *f*, may represent one made of wood, for images of Dionysos often occur on Herms garlanded with ivy, as here,⁵³ and form a special feature of the Dionysiac cult. As this cult grew in popularity former celebrated occasions were made over in the name of this god and the cult became closely associated with the idea of immortality.

LIST OF BOWLS OF GROUP III, RITUALISTIC SCENES

There are more variations in clay, glaze, and size of bowls than were noticeable in the other groups. The fabric however is quite consistent throughout: fine-grained yellow-buff with a touch of pink and medium hard.

⁵² *Ibid.* Roscher, *Lexikon der Mythologie*, I, 1, col. 1093: "Das Holz der Bilder sollte von dem Baume stammen, in welchem sich einst Pentheus versteckt hatte." This is confirmed here.

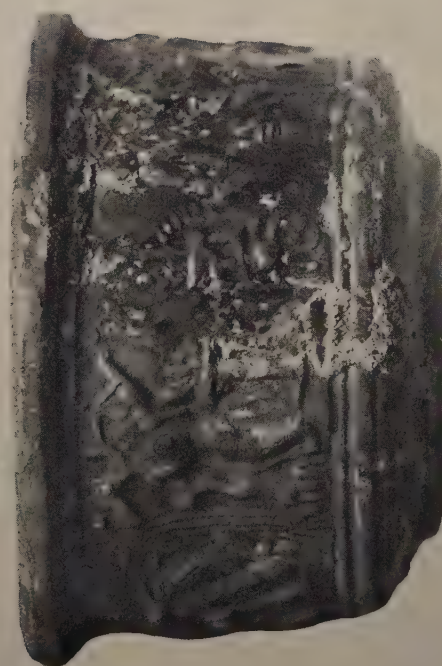
⁵³ Boetticher, *Baumkultus der Hellenen und Römer*, figs. 43-44.



d g b h l



l p e m



m e f d



f d g b

Fig. 20. Roman Relief Bowl in Museo Sacro, Vatican Library

III 1. CP 1640. Figs. 2, 3e, 13, 16. One third of the bowl, from rim to foot; two fragments. Hard fine buff-pink clay; orange brown glaze, slightly metallic, thin and coarse. Preserved height, 0.08 m.; diameter of rim, 0.144 m. Scenes: *g, e, f, n, c, m, l*.

III 2. CP 943. Figs. 2, 13, 16. Two fragments from rim to foot. Fine hard buff clay, darkened in firing; dull greenish-buff glaze. Height, 0.059 m.; diameter of rim, 0.094 m. Scenes: *a, c, d, e*.

III 3. CP 1642. Figs. 2, 16, 17. One third of the bowl, from rim to foot. Fine dull buff clay; dull reddish-brown glaze. Height, 0.045 m.; diameter of rim, 0.063 m. Scenes: *b, m, c*.

III 4. CP 1859. Figs. 2, 16, 17. Fragment from foot to rim. Fine hard light buff clay; dull light red glaze. Height, 0.049 m.; diameter of rim, 0.084 m. Scenes: *c, m*.

III 5. C-29-48. Figs. 16, 17. Fragment from foot to rim. Hard fine grey clay, due to over-firing; dull black glaze, nearly all worn off. Height, 0.055 m.; diameter of rim, 0.10 m. Scenes: *p, e*. Probably the same mould as III 7, having identical moulding and scene *e*, although walls are thicker than III 7.

III 6. CP 1644. Figs. 16, 17. Fragment from rim to base moulding. Soft fine buff clay; thin dull reddish-black glaze. Preserved height, 0.055 m.; diameter of rim, 0.10 m. Scenes: *c, k*. This could have been cast from mould III 9. The sequence of scenes is unique among known examples of this ware.⁵⁴

III 7. CP 1643. Figs. 15, 16. Fragment of rim to foot. Fine buff-pink clay; slightly metallic orange-red glaze. Preserved height, 0.051 m.; diameter of rim, 0.082 m. Scenes: *e, f, d*. Probably the same mould as III 5; see above.

III 8. C-33-339. Figs. 16, 17. Fragment from foot to rim. Sandy dull buff clay; black glaze nearly all worn off. Preserved height, 0.038 m.; diameter of rim, 0.07 m. Scenes: *p, h, m*. Inscription on exterior bottom, partially preserved (see p. 191).

III 9. C-33-445. Figs. 16, 18. Mould, about one quarter preserved from rim to base moulding. Soft buff-pink clay, aerated but fine. Scenes: *i, o, e*. III 6 is probably from another section of this same mould, following no strict order of sequence. Found with lamp fragments Type XXVII and coin of Septimius Severus, A.D. 193-211.

III 10. CP 1641. Figs. 14, 16. Fragment of relief near base. Fine greenish-buff clay; dull brownish-black glaze. Preserved height, 0.042 m. Scene *i*. Found with lamp Type XXVII.

III 11. C-33-161. Figs. 14, 16. Fragment of relief. Fine thin buff clay; metallic brownish-red glaze. Preserved height, 0.035 m.; preserved width, 0.041 m. Scenes: *e, f*.

III 12. C-36-2392. Figs. 16, 17. Fragment of relief to base. Slightly micaceous buff-pink clay; thin dull orange glaze. Preserved height, 0.047 m.; preserved width, 0.06 m. Scenes: *a, m*. Found in pithos below floor of a room destroyed in the time of Gallienus in A.D. 268.

III 13. C-28-1. Fragment of relief near base. Fine slightly micaceous buff clay; thin light red glaze. Preserved height, 0.03 m.; diameter of base, 0.054 m. Scenes: *f, d*. Found with coins of late third century after Christ, lamps of Types XXVII and XXVIII.

III 14. C-35-136. Fragment of relief with base moulding. Soft light buff clay; thin orange-red glaze, much worn. Preserved height, 0.045 m.; preserved width, 0.04 m. Scene *k*.

⁵⁴ I owe this information to F. Eichler. On a bowl in Athens, National Museum no. 15306, the sequence occurs reversed: *l, p, k, c*.

III 15. C-28-78. Figs. 14, 16. Fragment of relief and rim. Fine hard light buff clay; light brownish-red glaze. Preserved height, 0.038 m.; diameter of rim, 0.09 m. Scene *l*. Possibly from mould III 9.

III 16. C-33-1223. Fragment of relief and rim. Fine light buff clay; slightly metallic brownish-red glaze. Preserved height, 0.033 m.; diameter of rim, 0.06 m. Scene *d*. Found with pottery of the late third century after Christ.

III 17. C-33-1115. Fragment of relief with base. Fine dull buff clay; light purplish-brown glaze. Preserved height, 0.024 m.; diameter of base, 0.10 m. Scenes: *l*, *h*.

III 18. C-37-2125. Fragment from upper to lower moulding. Slightly micaceous pink-buff clay; thin dull orange glaze, much worn. Preserved height, 0.057 m.; diameter of base, 0.10 m. Scene *a*. Possibly from mould III 9. Found with coins of the late second century after Christ.

III 19. C-36-1342. Foot ring fragment. Thin light orange-buff clay; thin purplish-orange glaze, much flaked. Diameter, 0.045 m.

III 20. C-33-1148. Fragment of relief with foot. Fine yellow-buff clay; dullish red glaze, slightly metallic. Preserved height, 0.027 m.; diameter of base, 0.09 m. Scene *n*.

GROUP IV. HUNTING SCENES

Of this group there are but three fragments. These are included in this article because they are similar in fabric to the other groups. Unfortunately nothing of the lower part of the bowl is preserved; the rim (see profile IV 2, Fig. 2) is somewhat modified; the decoration is mould made but what remains of the scenes is unlike any of the three preceding groups. No such examples are known to me from other sites, which lends further credence to their Corinthian origin.

IV 1. C-28-39. Fig. 21. Fragment of relief with rim. Fine sandy orange-buff clay; smooth dull red glaze. The scene seems to represent a hunter with a pole across his shoulder on which is slung the day's catch, possibly a boar or a hare. The other end of the pole is presumably supported by his companion. Ivy and other shrubbery form the background. Preserved height, 0.044 m.; diameter of rim, 0.104 m. Found with coin of mid-second century after Christ.

IV 2. C-33-1258. Fig. 21. Fragment of relief with rim. Sandy orange-buff clay; dull light orange-red glaze. The plain ridged moulding on the rim is similar to IV 1, but thicker. Under a spreading bough a man leans back, extending his right hand which holds a club or perhaps a gardening or hunting instrument. Preserved height, 0.05 m.; diameter of rim, 0.12 m.

IV 3. C-34-2239. Fig. 21. Small rim fragment. Fine hard dull buff clay; smooth dull red-orange glaze. The fragment is so small that nothing is recognizable of the motif of decoration beyond a leaf and bunch of grapes (?). Preserved height, 0.03 m.; diameter of rim, 0.08 m.

On a fragment of a lamp⁵⁵ from Corinth appears a figure wearing the same sort of blouse as that of *a* in Group II. The resemblance is so close as to suggest that the same mould might have been used for both. It has been pointed out that

⁵⁵ Type XXVII, similar to *Corinth*, IV, ii, pl. XXVII, no. 633.

the matrices used for making lamp moulds were made by special artists and sold to the various shops.⁵⁶ In view of this fact it is not unlikely that some matrices might have been used for both lamps and bowls in Corinth. Further parallels with the lamp industry are apparent in the correspondence of the fabric and glaze of lamps of Type XXVII to these bowls. The glaze is a metallic thin substance resembling that on the

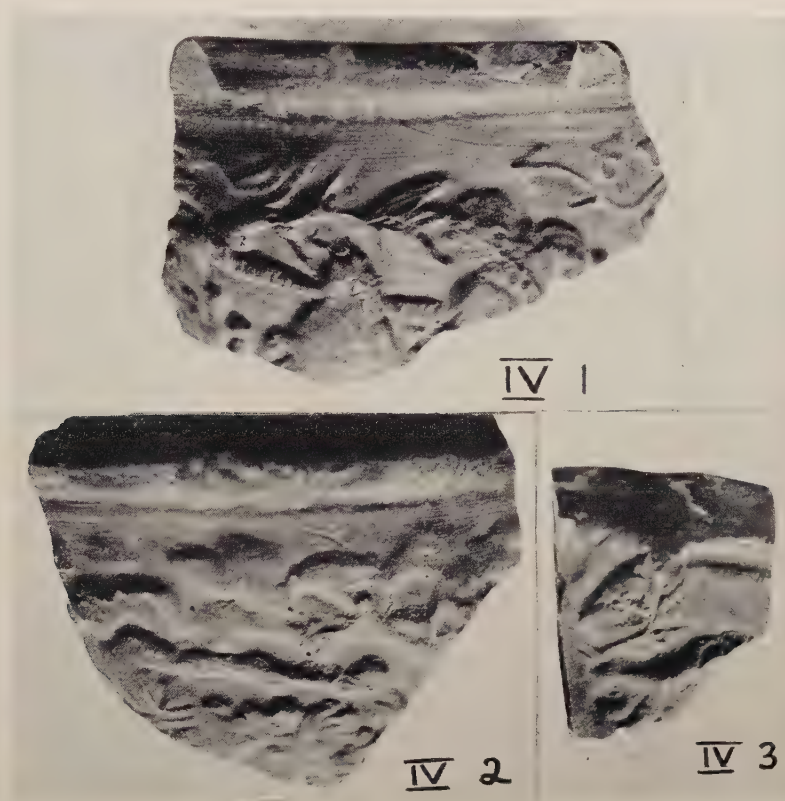


Fig. 21. Group IV. Hunting Scenes (ca. 1:1)

few late specimens of Type XXVII lamps which are painted.⁵⁷ An important and rare point of similarity is to be found in the smallest bowl, III 8 (Fig. 17), which bears what appears to be an attempt at signature (Fig. 22). On the bottom just above the base ring are traces of three letters, scratched in the unfired clay with a sharp tool that pushed up a little ridge around each letter. The letters are preceded probably by I. The style of incision is analogous to that on lamp bases,⁵⁸ and it is

⁵⁶ Broneer, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

⁵⁷ Broneer, pp. 96, and 196, no. 625. The potters met with the same difficulty in trying to make paint adhere to the clay of their vessels which made the lamp makers give up trying to paint their lamps.

⁵⁸ See Broneer, pl. XXX, 566.

possible that the same artist made both lamps and bowls—if this is the name of the artist and not merely a subsequent owner of the bowl.⁵⁹ Supposing this to be the case the signature on III 8 might be restored to read [Πρε]ῖμον or [Ὀνησ]ῖμον which occur on lamps of Type XXVII.⁶⁰ The former name is an especially good possibility, for the lamps signed by this artist are indisputably of local Corinthian manufacture.⁶¹



Fig. 22. Signature
on No. III 8

The dating of the Roman Relief bowls is based on information derived chiefly from excavation evidence, the abundance of which has recently become available. Not only on the grounds of the Type XXVII, and frequently Type XXVIII lamps with which these bowls are nearly always found (not only at Corinth but elsewhere: as Nikopolis, Athens, Antioch, Spalato), but also because of the coins, the ware appears to date between the middle of the second century and the end of the third century after Christ. The mould, found with a coin of Septimius Severus, indicates that the manufacture was at least well under way by A.D. 211 when his reign ended. Evidence from the Agora in Athens is corroborative; the few fragments of this ware found in Athens undoubtedly came from Corinth. When considered with the sherds of the same group found elsewhere, this crude though elaborate ware probably adequately reflects the taste of the Corinthians of the second and third centuries after Christ. Its wide distribution over the Roman world⁶² indicates the prosperous trade relations Corinth enjoyed during this period of her commercial power.

DOREEN CANADAY SPITZER

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

⁵⁹ The only other instance of writing or graffiti of any kind known to me in connection with these bowls is on a fragment in the Agora, Inv. No. P 12127. Here the letters are in the same position on the base of the bowl, and the entire name is preserved but so worn as to be unintelligible.

⁶⁰ Broneer, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁶² Kern (*op. cit.*, p. 14) speaks of a piece of this ware found at Magnesia on the Meander and now in the archaeological museum of Halle; he states also that Hiller von Gaertringen brought back another fragment from his first trip to Rhodes.

THE AIGALEOS-PARNES WALL

Not the least service of R. L. Scranton's recent *Greek Walls* is to focus attention on the neglected 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ -mile wall which runs from Aigaleos to Parnes¹—"one of the most amazing and mysterious monuments of Greek antiquity." Dating it in the eighth century B.C., he adds to its inherent interest by claiming that it is "the most ancient example of the art of fortification as practiced by the classical Greeks." His treatment is necessarily brief, but all others have been briefer;² nor can a full publication be

¹ Some scholars have called it by the name under which it is known to the modern natives, (τὸ) δέμα; they are said to call it also (ἡ) δέσις. Scranton calls it "the Epano-Liosia wall," after the nearest modern settlement, which however is three kilometers away. The ancient deme in or very near which the wall lies was Κρωπία (Thucydides, II, 19).

² The following descriptions are referred to hereinafter by the names of their authors:

W. M. Leake, *Demi of Attika* (*Topography of Athens*, II; ed. 2, London, 1841), pp. 143-144, drawing on 144.

A. de Rochas, *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics*, XXXVII, 1880, col. 54.

E. Curtius und J. A. Kaupert, *Karten von Attika* (Berlin, 1881-1903), map VI; A. Milchhoefer, *Erläuternder Text*, Heft II, pp. 44-46, 49. A certain Hauptmann Siemens made a careful study of the wall for Milchhoefer, who quotes him extensively. This military inspection resulted in the best all-round account thus far published.

A. Skias, *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*, 1919, p. 35.

G. K. Gardikas, *Πρακτικά*, 1920, pp. 66-71.

L. Chandler, *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, XLVI, 1926, pp. 19, 21, and figs. 13 and 14 on p. 20. Pl. I is the best map of the forts of Attica, but the wall itself is inaccurately shown.

W. Wrede, *Attische Mauern* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, 1933), pp. 11 and 43, nos. 28 and 29 (the two photographs are excellent for the best parts of the wall, but they show only the front face).

R. L. Scranton, *Greek Walls* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), pp. 39-42 and 154-155, with mentions on pp. 147, 161, 186. (Reviews by L. T. Shoe, *Am. Journ. Archaeol.*, forthcoming; S. Dow, *Class. Week.*, XXXV, 1941/2, pp. 104-107.) It is to be hoped that the author's knowledge of comparative materials from other cultures—hinted at once or twice in *Greek Walls*—may have more scope in his further studies. Similar problems were faced elsewhere. I happen to have before me at the moment a panoramic photograph of the fairly stupendous Inca fortress of Sacsahuaman (near Cuzco, Peru). The triple wall, when its extent and the size of the blocks are considered together, surpasses anything the Greeks ever did; but apart from its scale, the masonry is a familiar-looking polygonal, and the whole has a certain resemblance to the Aigaleos-Parnes wall, since the plan makes full use of the system of "indented trace," with the accompanying (and natural) omission of towers. It is notable further that this system as used at Sacsahuaman, just as in the Aigaleos-Parnes wall (*infra*), is designed for enfilading the right flank of the attackers.

The following references give opinions but do not add information:

J. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* I, 1² (Strassburg, 1912), p. 207, note 3.

A. R. Burn, *The World of Hesiod* (London, 1936), p. 196.

S. Solders, *Die ausserstaedtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas* (Lund, 1931), p. 104, note 2 pp. 128-9.

expected soon.³ It may be useful meanwhile to add a few photographs to the two good ones (Wrede's) which have thus far been published, and to discuss the date in connection with such descriptive notes as are available.⁴

I. PERIODS FROM WHICH THE WALL IS EXCLUDED

Throughout its length the wall varies somewhat in height, in plan, and (if it can be said to have style) in style of masonry. For the masonry, there is only one side of



Fig. 1. Western Face of Part of the Wall on Aigaleos. Lesbian Masonry with Stack Work and Small Fillers

the wall to consider, namely the exterior, i. e., the western face. Scranton, whose opinion must supplant all others, takes the fundamental pattern of the joints to be Lesbian—i. e., a system of curvilinear joints (Fig. 1; Wrede, nos. 28, 29). He knows no significant example of this style after 480 B.C.; a presumption therefore exists that the wall belongs in the pre-Persian period. But as Scranton makes clear, the wall is not carefully constructed, thorough-going Lesbian. Rather it displays throughout signs of cheap and hurried workmanship. "Stack work," i. e., thin stones piled like bricks, to fill spaces, is common. Odd corners are cheaply filled by small stones. In places there is a tendency toward horizontal courses; but that too may be due to haste, and anyway some approximation to courses is likely to appear in any low wall.

³ Wrede announces such a work, but his method of dating is such as to suggest that a discussion is needed prior to the publication; and neither Wrede nor any other scholar has tried to envisage the whole strategic situation which the wall presupposes.

⁴ Excavation is desirable, needless to say, but significant fill may be hard to find. The absence of an exact surveyor's plan is also regrettable.

At the corners especially parallel horizontal joints are probably the easiest and best (Fig. 2).

From these cheapenings of the Lesbian style, it could perhaps be argued that the wall was built after 480. It could even be urged that the wall is really not, as Scranton terms it (I think accurately), "rubble with Lesbian influence," but just rubble with

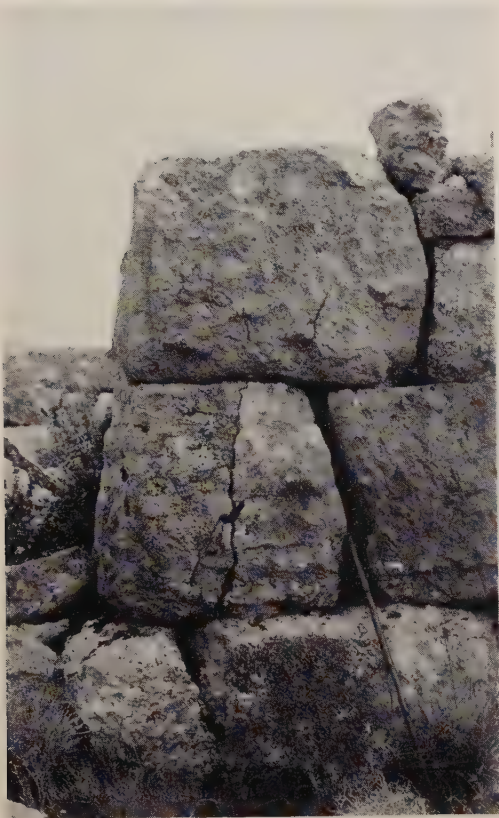


Fig. 2. Outside Corner at a Jog, i. e., Northern (left) and Western Faces

joints; that some joints *happen* to be curved, merely because some stones when found had rounded contours; in short that any hastily built wall of any period whatever would look much the same. In some of the less easily accessible parts, the wall is hardly better than mere rubble (Figs. 3 and 7). Yet if Scranton's work has any meaning at all, surely that meaning is that general habits of constructing military walls underwent changes, successively from Lesbian to polygonal and then to trapezoidal and ashlar. Scranton has raised a strong presumption that any military wall which was not mere rubble—and in its better sections (Wrede, photographs 28 and 29) the Aigaleos-Parnes wall certainly is far from being *mere* rubble—would be built in parallel horizontal courses if the time of construction were after *ca.* 400 B.C.⁵

Before examining other aspects of the wall itself, we may conveniently glance at the general strategic situation in relation to the whole range of possible dates. We must first anticipate the closer study by noting that the wall, whenever it was built, is definitely not part of any general scheme of fortification, designed to protect all the approaches to the Athenian plain, carried out at leisure in time of peace when no definite threat was in sight. The situation before 600 B.C. will be treated presently. After 600 B.C., when Attika was certainly united, any scheme of fortification would call, not for the defense of the Athenian plain alone, but for forts on the frontiers, e. g., beyond Eleusis. In the latter half of the fifth, and in the

⁵ The situation would be almost the same if the wall *were* considered to be rubble. The fact that a wall is of (dry) rubble "gives a strong indication of, if it does not prove, an early date" (*Greek Walls*, p. 155).

fourth, century such forts were in fact built.⁶ After they were built, the Aigaleos-Parnes wall would have no meaning *except* in some emergency after the frontier forts had fallen (or been abandoned) and when it had been decided to defend the plain of Athens rather than to retire behind the city walls themselves. The Peloponnesian War had shown that except after a catastrophe, Athens was difficult to capture when the city walls were intact. The route north of Parnes and down through Dekeleia is surely too wide and open ever to have been effectually blocked. A decision to defend the Athenian plain at the Aigaleos-Parnes pass would therefore have to have been



Fig. 3. Western Face of Part of the Wall on Aigaleos. Rubble Masonry. (The same part appears also in Fig. 7.)

reached under quite extraordinary circumstances. It would be a difficult task absolutely to exclude the possibility that such a peculiar contingency did arise in some year between the extreme limits conceivable, viz., 400 and 88 B.C.,⁷ but it is so unlikely that we may omit further consideration of it.

From 403 until they were conquered in 401, the remainder of the Thirty Tyrants and their followers were settled in Eleusis. It has been conjectured by Skias that the wall was built against them. They were too few, however, to call for the building of four kilometers of wall even if in 403 the other Athenians had been able to pay for such a work.

⁶ J. H. Kent, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 343-350, is the most recent study bearing on them; his references to older studies will be found in p. 343, note 1. See also Scranton's index.

⁷ Wrede assumed that this was quite possible, but he suggests no occasion, nor has any other scholar done so. Beloch thought such a date unlikely enough to be excluded. In the period 400-394 Athens lacked city walls, and the frontier forts were impaired, but there is no reason to believe that any invasion of the Athenian plain took place or was threatened in these years. During several crises in the Hellenistic period (Kent, *loc. cit.*, p. 347 gives a convenient list), Athens itself, not the frontiers, was defended.

Thucydides and Xenophon make no mention of the wall or of any action in its neighborhood. By itself their silence may not exclude the bare possibility that the wall was built during the war years 431-403, and Wrede has lightly assumed that that could have been the case. The wall, to repeat, was not part of a permanent system of defense: unlike the Long Walls, it was not suitable for being held by a garrison, but was merely a field-work for a single action. An Aigaleos-Parnes wall built in those years would have meant the abandonment of the strategy which had led to the building of the Long Walls. The Athenians never reversed their decision not to face the Peloponnesian army in Attika. Hence the wall is excluded from the years 431-403.

Indeed on this reasoning the Aigaleos-Parnes wall is virtually unintelligible not only in 431-403 but for the whole first period during which the Long Walls existed, viz., *ca.* 457-403, since in building those walls, the Athenians certainly contemplated the abandonment of the Athenian plain to the enemy. *If* the Athenians had nevertheless determined, during some emergency in 457-403, to defend their plain, an occasion was provided in 446 when King Pleistoanax led the Spartan army to Eleusis hesitated, and withdrew from Attika without a battle. Back in Sparta, Pleistoanax and the ephor who had accompanied him were exiled on the charge that they had accepted bribes from Perikles. An argument might be made (and I confess that for long it seemed to me persuasive) to the effect that the real reason why the Spartans retreated when, so far as can be judged from our sources, they could have menaced Athens gravely, was that the Athenians threw up the Aigaleos-Parnes wall. After their recent ten years besieging Ithome, the Spartans, never good at sieges, probably hated the very sight of a wall. This argument cannot be demonstrated to be false; but apart from the reasons given *supra*, I doubt whether the Spartans would have punished their leaders if the real reason for a retreat was a substantial military obstacle. (Conceivably Perikles tricked Pleistoanax, detaining him with negotiations—later described as bribery—while the Athenians raised the wall.) On the other hand, if, as will be argued, the wall already existed, the Athenian army was probably posted behind it. Something like the earlier situation (*infra*) may have obtained, with this difference, however: namely, that in 446 the Spartans must have known that the wall was there, and they must have taken it into account before they decided to invade Attika via Eleusis.

In the years 480-457 Athens and Sparta were at peace; there is not the slightest reason to believe that the plain of Athens was menaced. Thus strategic and historical considerations have brought us to the same conclusion which, as we have seen, Scranton reached on the evidence of the style of the masonry, viz., that the wall is pre-Persian.

Seeking a date, then, earlier than 480 B.C., we are met first of all by the historical argument put forward by Milchhoefer, Beloch, Solders, Burn, and Scranton. This argument is simple. Athens and Eleusis, it runs, were separate states, and doubtless at times hostile states, until *ca.* 700 B.C. (Solders would say 600 B.C.). *Ergo*, the wall

belongs before 700 B.C., and hence probably in the eighth century. This is not the place, even if the material were fully prepared, to argue for or against this view concerning the uniting of Attika, a view which at the moment, so far as published works go, is almost universally held. But the evidence is far from being decisive in favor of the view that Eleusis was independent as late as 700 B.C., and there is, I think, some reason for believing that a thorough and unbiased study would move the date of the union of Attika back indefinitely. If this is ever accomplished, then this historical argument for dating the Aigaleos-Parnes wall earlier than 700 or 600 B.C. will vanish.

But there is no inducement to cling to a very early date. According to Scranton no other wall can be positively dated as early as the eighth century, nor does he date any in the seventh. Athens before Peisistratos was not a major power. It is hard to imagine the citizens of this second-rate city, at a time when fortifications of stone were something of a novelty—and when the Akropolis itself still relied on its old Mycenaean wall—undertaking to build 4200 meters of wall out in the open; and to man those walls with the thousands of hoplites which they require. For we shall see that the wall was built against hoplites; yet regular hoplite forces probably do not ante-date the second half of the seventh century.

A city which had a hard tussle in the sixth century to take Salamis from little Megara surely had a force of only modest size. Expansion began under Peisistratos; but his policy was one of friendship toward the neighbors of Athens: the wall may be excluded from his reign. Again, in the years 490-480 no need for the wall is known, or is likely to have arisen. The years 528-490 remain; but it would be encouraging to find in just those years a particular occasion which was suitable in itself, quite apart from the negative considerations thus far proposed.⁸

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE WALL AND ITS OUTWORKS

Before seeking such an occasion, it will be helpful to examine the wall itself and the particular reasons for its location. It may not be amiss to state positively first of all that the outer face of the wall is the face toward Eleusis, i. e., the western face; it was not built to be defended, and for the most part it could not be defended, by a force posted on its westerly side, against an attack from the east. It was built, un-

⁸ There is not much comparative material, but one famous field wall is now known. The wall of the Phocians at Thermopylai, repaired and used by Leonidas in 480 B.C., has recently been excavated (Marinatos in *Am. Journ. Archaeol.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 699-700 and 698, fig. 2; Scranton, pp. 147, 161, 186; Herodotus, VII, 176). In general this wall is similar: the masonry is rubble influenced by Lesbian, chinks are filled by small stones, and more or less rectangular blocks appear on corners; it is fairly low; it has jogs.

doubtedly by Athenians, to defend the plain of Athens against an enemy in the Thriasian plain.⁹

There are two passes between the Thriasian (Eleusinian) plain and the plain of Athens. One pass is that of the Sacred Way, immediately south of the northern half of Aigaleos. A narrow, easily defensible route winding between Aigaleos and what is now called the Σκαρμαγκά ὄρη, and usually known as the pass of Daphni,



Fig. 5. Southern End of Wall: Looking South Toward Summit of Aigaleos

it will require only brief notice *infra*. The other pass, if it can be called a pass, is immediately north of Aigaleos, between Aigaleos and Parnes. Midway in this gap there are two hills. One of these hills, the northern, reaches a summit at 231 meters above sea level (map, Fig. 4); the other, the southern hill, at 227 meters. Three possible routes lie open through the pass: (1) between Aigaleos and the southern hill; (2) between the two hills; and (3) between the northern hill and Parnes. Routes 2 and 3 are off the direct route from Eleusis, the terrain is rough, and they could more easily be blocked. Route 1 is the easiest and most direct route. Nearly all the way it consists of an open and fairly wide valley. This valley slopes up gently from the east on the Athenian side and descends with no perceptible break at the watershed down into the Thriasian (Eleusinian) Plain on the western side. (The southern hill and part of the down-slope of the valley are visible in Fig. 6.) A force of cavalry could ride through the pass with greater speed than that of the modern

train, which crawls up the grade slowly to save coal and not because the slope is steep. Here then, in this valley, also of course on the immediately adjoining slopes (*viz.*, the lower part of the northern slope of Aigaleos, and across the valley on the southern slope of the southern hill), was the area where the strongest defenses must be built. The other hill, the other valley, and the slope of Parnes must also be defended. It was a long stretch of terrain, but there is no narrower stretch between Parnes and Aigaleos which could be considered.

In fact everywhere in the whole area of the pass the slopes are fairly gentle, and the problem was to select the line which best took advantage of what slopes there

⁹ A glance at a map will show that it is much too far to the west to have any relation to the most direct route from Thebes to Athens, the road which ran past Phyle.

were. The line actually selected was chosen because it offered slopes which in the main are westerly throughout: it is west of the descending northern ridge of Aigaleos, west of the watershed in the valley, west of the crests of the two hills; but fairly near all these high points, so that the enemy were forced to climb almost to the top before attacking.

The wall begins on Aigaleos as a rampart which never consisted of more than three or four low courses and which originally stood no higher at most than a man's



Fig. 6. Southern End of Wall: Looking North Toward Parnes.
Continuation of Wall on Southern Hill in Middle Distance

shoulders (Figs. 5, 6, 7). In fact the wall peters out as one ascends, though a definite end can be fixed. The fact that so low a rampart was built shows that no (or almost no) soil then existed in that spot; otherwise a wall so low would protrude only a little above the ground. If this reasoning is correct, whenever the wall was built, the trees had already gone and the soil after them. Aigaleos was then as it is today: barren, rough, rocky. The wall begins at a considerable height on the slope.¹⁰ Cavalry could never reach this point, in fact cavalry could not operate on any of the terrain facing any part of the wall except in the valley alone. The wall was built for defense by foot-soldiers against foot-soldiers.¹¹

¹⁰ The wall has the appearance of having been carried, with waning enthusiasm, as far up the slope as seemed necessary. A force of men willing to take a few easy steps further could out-flank the wall. Since there are no cliffs (*pace* Scranton) it could be out-flanked no matter where on Aigaleos it ended.

¹¹ Though he admitted its value for infantry defenders, Col. Leake wrote, "It is obvious that such a rampart was an effectual defense against incursions of cavalry from the Thriasian Plain." The wall *could* serve against cavalry, of course; but there is *no* reason to suppose that it was built for that purpose or ever served it.

From the point of view of construction, the wall may be divided into two parts. One is the part in and adjacent to the principal valley, as already mentioned: this will be described presently. The other is the entire long remainder of the wall, in two



Fig. 7. Face of Wall at Southern End (Visible Also in Fig. 6). Rubble Masonry

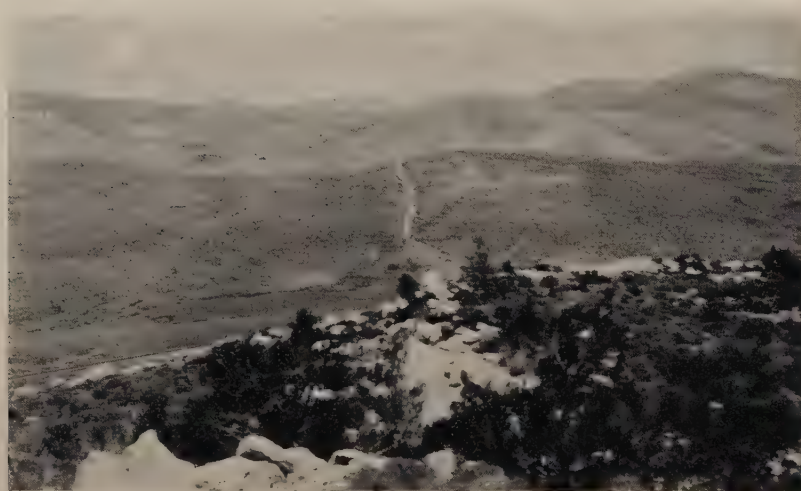


Fig. 8. Section of the Wall on Aigaleos, Part Way Down. In Middle Distance, the Principal Valley with Modern Road and Railroad

sections: (1) the section high on Aigaleos, of which we have just examined the unimpressive beginning; and (2) the whole stretch, roughly the northern half of the entire wall, from the summit of the southern hill to the end on Parnes. These two sections may be described together, since in both the wall has the character mainly of a low rampart. On some of the slopes (Fig. 8) it takes the form of a low sloping terrace, a platform on which the defenders could stand, and which afforded no cover.

Especially in the northern section, the plan, though not careless, does not follow the contours with all possible exactitude (Siemens). Both sections, but again more especially the northern, are comparatively ill preserved.

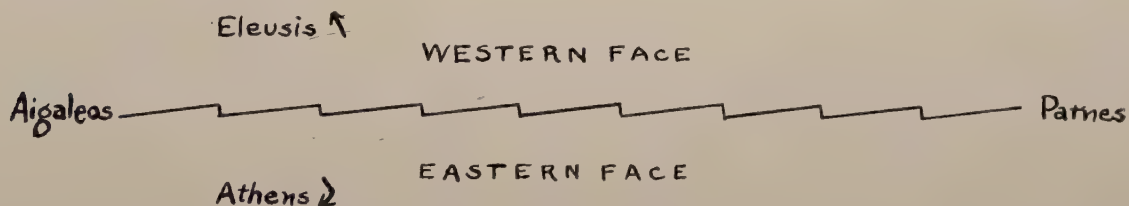
The main attack was expected in the principal valley and on its slopes up to the southern hilltop. Here the wall, much of it still well preserved, stands to a height of two to three meters. This part was built to afford good cover for troops, but ramps



Fig. 9. Jog in Wall, on Aigaleos ; Return at Left (For Continuation to Right, see Wrede, No. 28)

set against it on the inner side seem intended to enable troops to mount to the top. It is in this part also that the system of jogs, from which Scranton has derived a chronological argument, is most evident. This argument deserves to be studied.

The wall is built not in a continuous line but in a series of straight stretches interrupted by jogs (Figs. 9, 2, 6, 7, 8).¹² The purpose of these jogs, he alleges, was to enable the defenders to hurl weapons from the corners against the flank of the enemy. All the jogs run the same way throughout the length of the wall, thus (the diagram is simplified) :



¹² Technically, this is the system of "indented trace" or *tracé à crémaillère* (*Greek Walls*, Appendix II; list of examples, p. 186). The presence of this feature with its invariable and natural concomitant, the absence of towers, increases considerably the probability that the wall is earlier than the Persian Wars (*Greek Walls*, p. 157).

This means that from the corners the defenders would be hurling weapons toward the north, since the jogs all face north. In those parts of the wall where the slope is downward toward the north, this design is advantageous for the defenders, since the range of their weapons will be increased by the slope as they fire downhill. Contrariwise, as Scranton points out, on slopes which face south, the defenders will be firing uphill with consequent loss of range. Accordingly it is argued that the plan of the wall is faulty, that the fault is due to inexperience, and that the inexperience betokens a very early date.

Inexperience, so to speak, is not one but many. The sixth-century sculptors, for instance, were inexperienced in the habits of marble. The builders of the Aigaleos-Parnes wall, if they were really inexperienced, were inexperienced not in anything as difficult as the carving of marble but (for this is what the argument amounts to) in the action of gravity. Quite simply they could have altered the plan at any point to enable the defenders to fire downhill, by the following scheme:



I find it incredible that military engineers of any period, no matter how early, should have been obtuse enough not to do so, if range of fire was what they chiefly wanted.

Seeking, then, some other explanation of the jogs, we may inquire what advantages were secured to the defenders by jogs facing north against the enemy, who were headed east. One great advantage is obvious. The enemy were attacking with their unshielded right sides exposed to flanking fire throughout the entire length of the wall. The slopes along which the wall marches are nowhere precipitous. The advantage of shooting at the exposed side of the enemy may well have outweighed the disadvantage of a certain loss of range.¹³ Moreover, only a very few men—some six at most, in two rows of three each—could hurl weapons at any one time from the corners at the jogs, since the amount of projection is small.¹⁴

Some of the jogs served another purpose. Many of them (unhappily I lack the figure of just how many; Milchhoefer says about 15 to 20) are pierced by sally-ports simply and neatly designed to let the defenders out without letting the attackers in (Fig. 10). These sally-ports give access to the enemy, again, on his undefended side. They also permit the defenders to defile from behind the wall with their shielded side

¹³ Scranton points out that most if not all other walls—the facts are not stated with precision because of the scarcity of accurate plans—which are built on the system of indented trace are designed so that the jogs take advantage of the slopes. If this is so, the decisive factors with the Athenians were those discussed *infra* in the following paragraphs.

¹⁴ Milchhoefer gives the average thickness as only *ca.* 1.50 m.

toward the enemy.¹⁵ Jogs facing north were needed to accomplish these ends, though to be sure the sally-ports could not be set in them so as to allow the defenders also to withdraw back within the wall with their shielded side toward the enemy. The plan of the wall should therefore be shown, in simplified diagrammatic form, as follows:



The sally-ports vary somewhat in design; and study is needed to determine why in certain jogs no sally-ports were constructed.¹⁶



Fig. 10. Sally-Port on Southern Hill. View Looking South. In Middle Distance, Valley, and Continuation of Wall on Aigaleos

But the argument can be still more conclusive. In recognition of the fact that the terrain made attack easiest in the principal valley itself, the plan was altered to provide in this one crucial sector just that which Scranton rightly felt to be a desideratum, namely the opportunity for downhill fire. This was effected by drawing the line of the wall back at an angle near the bottom of the southern hill (visible most

¹⁵ I owe the point in this sentence to De Rochas, whose works on ancient fortifications and siege tactics still have some value because they are based on a knowledge of military architecture in various periods.

¹⁶ The hypothesis which should first be tested is that sally-ports were omitted where the wall was so low that the defenders could easily jump down outside it. (Again it is to be observed that the slopes are so gentle that the ground is nowhere much lower outside the wall than inside.) To Milchhoefer, in fact, it appeared that all the sally-ports were in the well-preserved middle part of the wall. Alternatively, the variation in plan which caused the omission of sally-ports may have been due merely to the different notions of many different builders.

clearly in Fig. 6), so that not the jogs but the whole wall faced down the slope. By itself this is sufficient to prove that the engineers who designed the wall were aware that some advantage could be gained by downhill fire, and that they knew how to secure it where they desired it. More than this: they went on to construct a protrusive angle on the floor of the valley itself (best seen on the map; also visible in Figs. 11 and 12). This gives the effective plan known to military engineers as the *tracé à tenaille*.

Altogether, then, it appears that, as Capt. Siemens specifically concluded, the

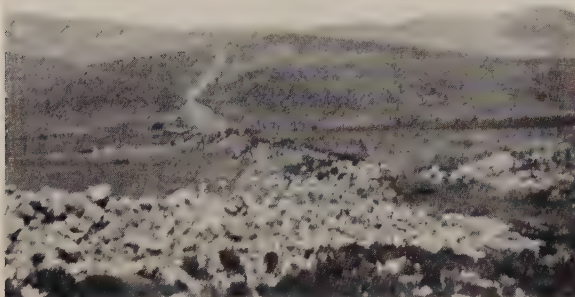


Fig. 11. Wall at Foot of Aigaleos Slope, in Valley, and on Southern Hill

plan of the wall, so far from attesting stupidity, inexperience, and a very early date, is intelligently conceived. Making due allowance for the simplicity of the plan, we may say that the Athenian engineers worked in the spirit of the great master of fortification, Vauban, who invented and developed the *tenaille* trace, and who advocated flexibility in adapting plans to needs. "One does not fortify by systems," declared Vauban, "but by common sense."¹⁷

So much for the wall itself.¹⁸ In connection with it three outworks were thrown up which have been even more neglected than the main wall. A prime necessity was a signal post for communication with the plain of Athens. Conceivably either hill might have served as a site; the southern hill was of course nearer the important part of the wall, and its summit was chosen. Here a low round solid tower, little more than a mound, was piled up (Fig. 13). A sort of temenos wall, not visible in the photograph, circled the tower. This wall is low, too low for purposes of defense; probably it merely supported a terrace. Doubtless this whole rude and hasty structure served also as the general's headquarters, since it commands a view of much of the wall.¹⁹

¹⁷ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ed. 11, vol. 10 (1910), pp. 686, 688.

¹⁸ I regret having no reliable opinion, based on my own inspection of the wall, or on anyone's inspection, as to whether the wall at present has the appearance of ever having been attacked. The ruinous condition of the northern half might be due to this cause, but equally it might be due to vandalism through the ages. The fact that much of the most important part of the wall is still extensively preserved suggests that no determined and successful attack on it was ever made. But the part in the main valley (Fig. 10) does seem to have been demolished as if by a tidal wave: more industriously, that is, than if vandals had done it. I suspect that this was done by the Spartans when Archidamos led them through the pass in 431. Surely if the wall were standing at that time, they would not have left it uninjured.

¹⁹ The structure is indicated on the Curtius-Kaupert map; but either because its possible function was not grasped, or because its contemporaneity with the main wall is not proved, it has never

Some three kilometers southwest down the valley toward Eleusis, Siemens located what he described as a *Vertheidigungsmauer* ca. 400 meters long; he thought that it



Fig. 12. Remains of the Wall in the Valley, Looking North



Fig. 13. Watch-Tower on Southern Hill, Looking Northeast.
Pentelikon (with Quarries Showing White) in Background

was probably part of the plan which produced the main Aigaleos-Parnes wall. This lesser wall needs further study.

been commented upon except by Gardikas, who perceived its uses. Yet the style of construction is quite similar: a face roughly built up, and loose rock thrown in behind. Since it is precisely located to fill an obvious need, there seems no reason to doubt that it was part of the plan. For the *θαυμασία* view from the tower, see Gardikas, p. 68.

A third set of outworks, according to Milchhoeffer an *unverkennbar* part of the whole plan, is the series of watch-towers and blockhouses built along the crest of Aigaleos and beyond the Sacred Way on the Σκαρამαγκά ὄρη all the way to the sea. On Aigaleos itself Milchhoeffer knew no fewer than six such watch-towers and some four blockhouses. Wrede says that the watch-towers are built in the same style as the wall.

III. THE SITUATION WHICH THE WALL ENVISAGES

It may not be amiss to attempt an estimate of the number of troops needed to man the various parts of the defenses. A considerable force was required, since even a small body of the enemy might cause serious damage, might even destroy the value of the wall altogether, simply by entering it through a sally-port, or leaping up and over it, in any stretch of the wall which was left unguarded. We may guess that 4200 meters of wall required at least 4000 defenders. Another force of some size, though smaller, would be needed to defend the pass through which the Sacred Way runs;²⁰ scouts and garrisons were doubtless stationed in the outposts on the ridge of Aigaleos and in the plain.

It was the opinion of Capt. Siemens, it must be the opinion of anyone who has examined it thoughtfully,—and I trust the description has shown,—that the Aigaleos-Parnes wall was not designed and built as a permanent fortification, in the sense that it was not intended to receive garrisons for long terms. A permanent fortification must have some protective value in itself, must be hard to approach and to scale. The Aigaleos-Parnes wall is mostly a mere rampart, valueless when not manned practically throughout. It is field-works, not a fort; it contemplates a pitched battle, not a siege. It was built, that is, for some particular emergency.²¹

What does the wall itself have to tell us about this emergency? First, that an enemy force of some size and consisting mainly of infantry has occupied, or is about to occupy, the Thriasian Plain. The enemy's route is so well determined, or he is so close at hand, that the Athenians are sure he will not turn and come down through Phyle or round Parnes past Dekeleia. Probably, therefore, the enemy is from Peloponnesos. The wall says that an Athenian force of some thousands has marched out from the city; that the Athenian command has decided that the enemy is too strong for a pitched battle in the Thriasian Plain to be risked, but that a defense of the low open Aigaleos-Parnes pass is feasible.

²⁰ Doubtless this pass was also firmly held, we do not know how. Near the sanctuary of Aphrodite there is a building (heroön ?) of heavy stone suitable for defense, but it may belong a century later (Wrede, no. 21, p. 9). For other fortifications in this neighborhood, possibly related to the Aigaleos-Parnes wall, see Milchhoeffer, p. 49.

²¹ For the contrary view, see *Greek Walls*, p. 41.

A large force could not easily get into Attika without some advance warning being given. A certain length of time served the Athenians. They could study the pass, select the site, lay out the line, and design the wall. The slope was of course strewn with material, but boulders of some size (Fig. 14) required to be moved, and some simple quarrying was doubtless necessary. There was time to trim joints on the blocks and to fit them together; and after that, to throw in tons of rock behind



Fig. 14. Blocks of Wall, on Aigaleos

the face. Clearly we may say that the wall was not built overnight: the enemy did not come scurrying across the Thriasian Plain in a single day and rush to the attack.

On the other hand, the wall tells us that there was a motive for doing all these things quickly. The best archaeological observers, Wrede and (*per coll.*) H. A. Thompson, are agreed that the wall has every appearance of having been somewhat hastily constructed.²² Whether or not a battle took place, the crisis we have to seek was neither instantaneous nor yet long drawn out.

IV. THE INVASION OF 506 B.C.

An invasion of Eleusis was doubtless an event of some importance. It seems not unreasonable to conceive that Herodotus would mention all the major invasions of the Eleusinian plain in the period 528-490. Actually he mentions one, presumably the only one. Be this as it may, his account is worth considering. The date is 506 B.C., or possibly a year earlier or later.

²² Speaking as a military man, Siemens was misled by his admiration for the plan to declare that it was built at leisure.

Interesting data on how fast—how surprisingly fast—city fortification walls could be built will be found in G. Busolt, *Klio*, V, 1905, pp. 255-279 (a reference which I owe to R. Schlaifer).

Herodotus, V, 74-75 (irrelevant parts omitted) :

74. Κλεομένης δὲ — — — συνέλεγε ἐκ πάσης Πελοποννήσου στρατόν — — — . Κλεομένης τε δὴ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλε ἐς Ἐλευσίνα, καὶ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπὸ συνθήματος Οἰνόνῃ αἰρέουσι καὶ Ῥοϊάδῃ, δῆμους τοὺς ἐσχάτους τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Χαλκιδέες τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα ἐσίνοντο ἐπιόντες χώρους τῆς Ἀττικῆς. Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, καίπερ ἀμφιβολίῃ ἐχόμενοι, Βοιωτῶν μὲν καὶ Χαλκιδέων ἐσύτερον ἔμελλον μνήμην ποιήσεσθαι, Πελοποννησίοισι δὲ ἐοῦσι ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα.

75. Μελλόντων δὲ συνάψειν τὰ στρατόπεδα ἐς μάχην Κορίνθιοι μὲν πρῶτοι σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δόντες λόγον ὥς οὐ ποίειεν τὰ δίκαια μετεβάλλοντό τε καὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, μετὰ δὲ Δημάρητος ὁ Ἀρίστωνος — — — . Τότε δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἐλευσίνι ὀρώντες οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν συμμάχων τοὺς τε βασιλέας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐκ ὁμολογέοντας καὶ Κορινθίους ἐκλιπόντας τὴν τάξιν οἴχοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλασσόμενοι — — — .

It will be noted that the Athenians were faced by a hoplite force, coming from Peloponnesos, and certainly greater than their own. By general consent of the Eleusinians, or through the treason of some of them—the Athenians punished indiscriminately later (schol. Ar., *Lys.*, 273)—the Peloponnesians established themselves in Eleusis. The Athenians had no hope save in defeating their enemies singly. Because of lack of time, or otherwise compelled, they had decided to make their stand not beyond Eleusis but nearer Athens. Kleomenes, for his part, planned no union of the allies outside Attika (i. e., in Boeotia) : a three-fold menace promised better results, and there was no likelihood that he would march down past Phyle or Dekeleia. With the force of Kleomenes the Athenians engaged in no fighting. They had evidently taken up a position where they could not be annihilated with ease. Herodotus does not say where the Athenians were stationed: he merely says they took up a position “against,” or “in the way of” the Peloponnesians who were in Eleusis (Πελοποννησίοισι δὲ ἐοῦσι ἐν Ἐλευσίνι ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα). E. M. Walker, who seems not to have thought of the Aigaleos-Parnes wall in this connection, writes in *C.A.H.*, IV, p. 159, “Herodotus’ statement that they advanced against the Peloponnesian force which had already reached Eleusis may reasonably be interpreted as meaning that the Athenian army took up a defensive position on the ridge of Mt. Aegaleos.” I am tempted to believe that this is near the mark; but surely they would camp not on the ridge but astride the Aigaleos-Parnes pass. The Corinthians discussed the situation, Herodotus says, changed their minds, and departed. Demaratos also opposed an advance. These dissensions gave the Athenians time to rush to completion—it is hard to believe otherwise—a defensive wall, the extant Aigaleos-Parnes wall, which they had already begun. Indeed it may have been the uncertainties involved in attacking a position already well fortified which helped to persuade the Corinthians that “they were not acting justly.” Years later, just before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, when the Corinthian orator was urging upon the Athenians the services which

Corinth had done them in the past, he made no mention of the Corinthian withdrawal in 506 (Thucydides, I, 41). Various reasons for the departure of the Corinthians can be given, such as the unwillingness of the Corinthians to ruin Athens and so strengthen Aigina.²³ But these reasons the Corinthians must have considered before joining the expedition in the first place. If the Athenians had made themselves unexpectedly formidable behind walls, then the Corinthians had done no service worth recalling: they had merely saved their own skins. Demaratos also may have felt that the Athenian position was dangerously strong. Be this as it may, the expedition broke up.

Herodotus goes on (V, 78) to chronicle the subsequent defeat in one day of the Boeotians and Chalcidians, and to point out what men freed from tyranny could do. We may conjecture that the reforms of Kleisthenes in 508 had also contributed not a little to Athenian strength.²⁴ The campaign of *ca.* 506 was the first in which the Athenian army, probably somewhat enlarged, was organized in the new ten tribal regiments. What was virtually a triple victory set the seal of success on the new constitution. If the Aigaleos-Parnes wall is now dated acceptably, it is a monument to the free, well-ordered Athens which it helped to save.

STERLING DOW

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

²³ W. W. How and J. Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus*, II, p. 41.

²⁴ For the most recent study concerning Athens in this period, see M. F. McGregor, *Athenian Studies Presented to W. S. Ferguson* (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Suppl. Vol. I; Cambridge, Mass., 1940), pp. 71-95; C. A. Robinson has replied in *Class. Week.*, XXXV, 1941/2, pp. 39-40.

CONSERVATION OF SCHOLARLY JOURNALS

The American Library Association created this last year the Committee on Aid to Libraries in War Areas, headed by John R. Russell, the Librarian of the University of Rochester. The Committee is faced with numerous serious problems and hopes that American scholars and scientists will be of considerable aid in the solution of one of these problems.

One of the most difficult tasks in library reconstruction after the first World War was that of completing foreign institutional sets of American scholarly, scientific, and technical periodicals. The attempt to avoid a duplication of that situation is now the concern of the Committee.

Many sets of journals will be broken by the financial inability of the institutions to renew subscriptions. As far as possible they will be completed from a stock of periodicals being purchased by the Committee. Many more will have been broken through mail difficulties and loss of shipments, while still other sets will have disappeared in the destruction of libraries. The size of the eventual demand is impossible to estimate, but requests received by the Committee already give evidence that it will be enormous.

With an imminent paper shortage attempts are being made to collect old periodicals for pulp. Fearing this possible reduction in the already limited supply of scholarly and scientific journals, the Committee hopes to enlist the co-operation of subscribers to this journal in preventing the sacrifice of this type of material to the pulp demand. It is scarcely necessary to mention the appreciation of foreign institutions and scholars for this activity.

Questions concerning the project or concerning the value of particular periodicals to the project should be directed to Wayne M. Hartwell, Executive Assistant to the Committee on Aid to Libraries in War Areas, Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York.

COINS FOR THE ELEUSINIA

In the sequences of Attic bronze currency there is a large and confusing group of coins stamped with representations of the Eleusinian divinities or their attributes and inscribed ΕΛΕΥΣΙ or ΑΘΕ.¹ The peculiar interest of these pieces stems less from their types, which reproduce Demeter, Triptolemos, and the sacred pig with monotonous frequency, than from the alternating use of Athenian and Eleusinian legends and, in particular, from the extraordinary circumstance of an Attic deme apparently issuing autonomous money.

A state of affairs so contrary to all the known tenets of Athenian monetary policy has claimed the attention of many numismatists, who have assigned the ΕΛΕΥΣΙ coins² to widely varying chronological periods and have interpreted them either as local currency minted by an independent Eleusis or as festival pieces issued by Athens or by Eleusis to meet the needs of the Eleusinian celebrations.³ If they are festival coins from an Eleusis mint, one assumes that Eleusis enjoyed civic autonomy at the time or else that Athens had given mint privileges to her deme as a recognition of the latter's spiritual pre-eminence.

With regard to the question of political autonomy one is forced to admit, whether one accepts the dates of Cavaignac or those of Ferguson⁴ for the possible periods of Eleusinian independence, that only 14 or 15 years at most were available for the striking of a bulk coinage, to judge its extent by the 291 pieces found to date in the Agora Excavations alone. It is not likely that Eleusis, during those few unsettled and intermittent periods of separation, needed additional currency; even if she wished to coin, there was the problem of establishing and operating a mint. Of greater fundamental importance is the fact that the Eleusinian⁵ sequence exhibits the abundance, variety, and stylistic development which are characteristic of a long and uninterrupted term of mintage rather than of sporadic emissions.

It is equally difficult to believe that Athens allowed Eleusis to coin money. The specimens are only bronze and Eleusis did enjoy a special position in the Attic state, but nevertheless it seems an extraordinary arrangement for a city whose monetary

¹ Plate I; Svoronos, *Les monnaies d'Athènes*, pls. 103-104.

² The ΑΘΕ issues will be temporarily disregarded. Their problem is purely chronological since their legend is clear indication of their mint. Svoronos, who groups them under the ambiguous heading "*Eleusis, monnaies au nom d'Athènes*," is alone in casting doubt upon their Athenian origin.

³ *B.M.C., Attica, Megaris, Aegina*, pp. 112-114; B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*,² p. 391; E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, III, 2, pp. 137-142; E. Cavaignac, *Revue numismatique*, XII, 1908, pp. 311-333; J. P. Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 262-264.

⁴ E. Cavaignac, *loc. cit.*; W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 145, note 4.

⁵ The term "Eleusinian" as applied to coins is intended as a reference to the types or symbols found on the money rather than to its mint.

prerogatives were closely and jealously guarded. One might maintain with more probability that an Eleusinian coinage was permitted only for special occasions such as the festivals, while routine financial requirements were cared for by the regular Athenian issues. Yet the organization of the sanctuary, based upon a division of rights between Eleusis and Athens which gave the former a spiritual and the latter a temporal supremacy, makes it dubious that the Eleusinian leaders were entrusted with the highly political privilege of coining.

To these more or less theoretical considerations in favor of an Athenian origin for all the Eleusinian issues, some tangible data can be added. There is a striking similarity in fabric, style, and size between the regular Athenian bronze of the late fourth and early third centuries and the pieces under discussion. Among the latter there are the two series with identical obverse and reverse types (Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 1-16 and nos. 33-39), one marked EAETSI and the other AΘE. Even more definite proof is implicit in a unique coin (Svoronos, pl. 103, no. 40) which combines a common Eleusinian Triptolemos obverse and an equally standardized Athenian reverse. What is more likely than that a workman at the Athens mint, confusing his dies, struck the flan of the intended Eleusinian coin with the punch of a contemporary Athenian issue, thus producing this hybrid piece.⁶

As opposed, then, to the definite inscriptional and typical identification of our money as that of Eleusis, there is a great deal of evidence pointing to its issuance by the Athenian mint. It remains to see whether the types and legends of Eleusis can be reconciled with an Athenian provenance. The most plausible explanation is, I believe, that of Babelon, namely that these pieces represent a festival coinage. Together with the AΘE series bearing Eleusinian devices, they were struck by the Athens mint for the periodic observance of the Greater Eleusinia.

This is not an isolated instance of a festival-coinage affiliation in Athenian monetary history. Traces of such interrelationship are obscured in the early period by the abstract and conventional character of the money. However, Head⁷ believes that the types and the inauguration of Peisistratos' civic coinage are to be associated with the foundation of the Greater Panathenaia in 566, and Seltman⁸ has arranged several sequences of Athenian silver of the time of Hippias in correlation with later Panathenaic celebrations.

With the introduction of the New Style coinage one is dealing with money which is more easily studied since the issues are annual and the series as a whole has

⁶ Ob. Triptolemos mounting a chariot 1. Re. AΘ and a plemochoe between the legs of two owls facing each other.

The coin illustrated by H. B. Earle-Fox (*Rev. num.*, VIII, 1890, pp. 63-64, pl. III, no. 16) with an Eleusinian pig on both obverse and reverse is probably, as he suggests, another instance of a mistake on the part of some workman. The same may be true of the piece cited by Babelon (*Traité*, III, 2, p. 138, no. 98; pl. CXCI, no. 28).

⁷ *Hist. Num.*², p. 369; cf., however, Seltman, *Greek Coins*, pp. 48-49; *Athens, Its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion*, pp. 38 and 40.

⁸ *Athens*, pp. 74 and 95.

definite *termini post* and *ante quem*. On the silver the main types, now undoubtedly Panathenaic, are supplemented by symbols placed in the reverse field, and these same symbols are often reproduced on the bronze denominations. Of especial interest is the repeated appearance of Eleusinian devices on both silver and bronze. This association of Eleusis types and Athenian money recalls the puzzling issues with which we are directly concerned; it seems likely that an interpretation of the New Style symbols would have a close bearing on our ΕΛΕΤΣΙ pieces.

There have been many attempts to explain the individual symbol as the personal emblem of either the first or the second of the mint magistrates whose names appear on the coins. Such attempts have been only partially successful, since the New Style series as a whole is full of disconcerting inconsistencies. In some issues the symbol seems to be associated with the first official, in others with the second. When the same magistrates held office for a second or a third term, the symbol was sometimes repeated and sometimes changed. There is the perplexing instance of symbols shifted in the course of a single year, coincident with a complete change of mint officials.

These contradictions make it evident that the adjunct device on New Style coinage cannot be regarded as the personal emblem of one particular fiscal magistrate unless the principle governing his choice was pure caprice, in which case the value of the symbols as ancillary monetary checks is destroyed. It seems more probable that external rather than personal factors influenced the selection.⁹

What the external factors were is suggested by the symbols themselves. The overwhelming majority are of a sacred character. From a total of 111 series, 78 are marked with either the actual representation or the recognized attribute of some divinity; of the remaining 33 issues, 5 have symbols associated with historical figures, while 8 are unmarked or bear emblems of uncertain significance.¹⁰ The final 20 series are the most revealing. They all carry victory devices: a palm branch, a trophy, a fillet, a representation of Nike on foot or in a quadriga, a winged Agon crowning himself, and a Nike tossing a ballot into an amphora. It is apparent that the victories referred to are agonistic ones; the palm branch behind or below an owl is an unmis-

⁹ Not only would this account for the lack of any consistent connection between officials and symbols but it would explain the expansion of silver symbols into major bronze types, an incredible procedure if the symbols were merely superfluous personal badges.

¹⁰ Sacred symbols: Eleusinian deities (24); Apollo or Artemis (12); Dionysos (8); Zeus (5); Hermes and Isis (4); Herakles, the Dioscuri, and Poseidon (3); Asklepios, Athena, Helios, and Hekate (2); Hygeia, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the Three Charites, and Ares (1).

Uninterpreted symbols: helmet, forepart of lion, Sphinx, forepart of horse.

Historical symbols: elephant, griffin, drinking Pegasus, star between crescents, anchor and star. The series with this last device, inscribed TIMAPXOY-ΝΙΚΑΤΟ, is of interest. The first magistrate may be identified, on the basis of his use of the Seleucid device and of the genitive case ending (an unusual form for New Style money but one which appears on the Asia Minor issues of Timarchus) as a revolted satrap of Syria who, according to Diodorus (XXXI, 27 a; C. Müller, *F.H.G.*, II, p. XI, no. 13), went in person to Rome to press his title to the Seleucid throne (*Cambridge Ancient History*, VIII, pp. 518-520). A stop in Athens is commemorated by these New Style coins, whose style agrees well with the period *ca.* 162-160 B.C. when the pretender was in power.

takable allusion to the Panathenaia, while the victorious Agon and the voting Nike are self-explanatory types.¹¹ In view of the large number of specifically agonistic symbols there is a distinct possibility that the 78 sacred devices are also to be interpreted in terms of the great civic festivals which were the outstanding expression of the worship of the gods.¹²

Partial verification of this theory comes from the Eleusinian symbols, the ones which most immediately concern us. For a period of approximately 200 years, *ca.* 229-30 B.C., the Athenian mint had been issuing money annually, although since only 111 series survive, one must conclude that in some years there was no coinage. The interesting fact is that of these 111 known issues, 24, or roughly one quarter, have Eleusinian symbols. This proportion is true not only of the New Style series as a whole but also of each of the chronological groups into which it is usually divided. Of the earliest monogram issues (*ca.* 229-197 B.C.) 4 of the 18 series have Eleusinian markings; of those with abbreviated magistrates' names (*ca.* 197-187 B.C.) 2 of the 9 series; of the 187-87 B.C. group, 12 of the 56 series; and of the post-Sullan issues, 6 of the 28 series.¹³ Considering that the four chronological groupings are not abso-

¹¹ Other symbols of victory are figures of Tyche and of Roma. The goddess of chance seems a peculiarly appropriate tutelary deity for the festivals and Roma may be a personification of the Romaia, especially as one coin device shows her being crowned by a winged Nike. The dolphin and trident combination, found on autonomous money of Oropus, has been included in the agonistic list as a symbol of the Penteteris festival of the Amphiareia held in that town. It may, however, be of historical significance, indicative of a reunion between Oropus and Athens after a period of enforced separation.

¹² Of the three outstanding Athenian festivals only the Eleusinia is adequately represented in the symbols. However, it was the one major fête which lent itself to an orderly commemoration on the currency since it recurred at fixed intervals. The Dionysia were held annually, and hence they were likely to have influenced the New Style money only at the time of special celebrations. The Panathenaia did not need to be stressed by symbols since the basic obverse and reverse types of all New Style silver were Panathenaic in character.

Many of the inconsistencies of the New Style symbols vanish if they are associated with the civic festivals rather than with the magistrates directly. One imagines that Mnaseas and Nestor, for example, placed a kerchnos on their coins in an Eleusinia year, while in a succeeding magistracy the stag marked a large scale celebration of the Brauronia. The belief of M. L. Kambanis (*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, LVI, 1932, pp. 46 and 53) that the symbols have in general no political or religious significance is partially based upon the abnormal series of ΕΥΒΟΥΛΙΔΗΣ-ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ in combination with ΖΩΙΛΟΣ-ΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΣ and of ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ-ΕΥΚΛΗΣ. A variation in devices during the one year in which Zoilos-Evandros and Euboulides-Agathokles held office is less startling when one notes that the symbol itself is changed but not its connotation. The bee, which replaces the statue of the Brauronian Artemis, is also an Artemisian device. On the other hand Herakleides and Eukles, issuing two successive series of coinage, probably considered it unnecessary to change their symbol, a winged Nike casting her ballot, which would be appropriate for any festival.

¹³ The series with monograms and abbreviated names are substantially as listed in Head (*Hist. Num.*², pp. 381-382). A type with monograms and no symbol has been added to the first group following Kambanis (*B.C.H.*, LXII, 1938, pl. XVIII, no. 6). With the abbreviated-names series the isolated specimen of wretched style marked with the letters ΜΙΚΙ ΘΕ and a symbol of

lutely fixed and that, moreover, purely agonistic devices cannot be associated with specific festivals, it is possible that the striking recurrence of the Eleusinian symbols is at quadrennial intervals, corresponding to the recurrence of the Greater Eleusinia.

With the bronze Imperial issues, which represent the final phase of Athenian coinage, the interrelationship between coins and festivals becomes increasingly evident. The numerous references to definite celebrations are now embodied in reverse types instead of symbols.¹⁴ Perhaps the most significant of these types is that of an agonistic table complete with the attributes of victory and often inscribed with the name of the particular games which the money commemorates. A long period of Athenian numismatic history lies between the first indirect allusion to the Panathenaia on Peisistratid coinage and the Imperial type which carries an unequivocal ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΕΑ label on its agonistic table, yet both tell the same story.

The reasons which induced the Athenians on several occasions to take the revolutionary step of replacing their civic legend with that of the Eleusinia festival were probably twofold.¹⁵ In part, as will be discussed below, it may be linked with the programme of an Athenian statesman, Lycurgus. In part, it was a logical outgrowth of the great importance of the festival in question.

Of all the Athenian celebrations the Eleusinia came closest to being Panhellenic in scope. Its games were honored as the oldest in Greece, and in its sacred character it embodied the most revered and most enduring of all Greek religious rites. Every fourth year the games and the Mysteries were celebrated within a few weeks of each other,¹⁶ and these years of the Greater Eleusinia were, for a time at least, made still more impressive by the repetition in early Boedromion of the Agrae Mysteries (*I.G.*, II², 847), whose rites were a necessary preliminary to an Eleusis initiation. One can

Helios similar to the device on the coinage of ΓΑΑΥ-ΕΧΕ (Svoronos, pl. 43, no. 7) has been omitted as probably either a mistake or a forgery.

For the period from 187 to Augustus the evidence of New Style hoards (*Hesperia*, X, 1941, Appendix II) has been followed in arranging the coins before and after the Sullan Wars. In two cases the descriptions of Head have been revised as the symbols on the issues of ΦΑΝΟΚΑΗΣ-ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ and ΧΑΡΙΝΑΥΤΗΣ-ΑΡΙΣΤΕΑΣ are more likely representations of Kore than of Artemis. The series of ΞΕΝΟΚΑΗΣ-ΑΡΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ are four in number (a seated Demeter appears on one tetradrachma and one drachma, Svoronos, pl. 76, nos. 1 and 27).

¹⁴ Shear, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 296 ff. It is interesting to note in connection with the marked absence of Panathenaic symbols in the New Style sequence that now when the owl on a Panathenaic amphora is no longer the stock reverse type, the representations of Athena and her attributes appear with the greatest frequency on the Imperial coins.

¹⁵ Whether ΕΛΕΥΣΙ should terminate in ΝΙΑ or ΝΙΩΝ is, of course, uncertain. The former would seem more appropriate in view of the purpose of the coinage. Copper money in various parts of Greece was stamped with the names of locally celebrated festivals (Head, *Hist. Num.*², pp. lxxii-lxxix). An Athenian coin of the Imperial period has an agonistic table on its reverse with the complete legend, Eleusinia, written across it (Shear, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 358), and the ΕΛΕΥΣΙ on earlier money may be an abbreviation of the same word.

¹⁶ W. B. Dinsmoor (*Archons of Athens*, pp. 210-212) and L. Deubner (*Attische Feste*, pp. 91-92) place the major games in Metageitnion of the second Olympic year.

readily imagine that the chance to fulfil all the religious requirements of the Eleusinian ritual and at the same time to witness major agonistic contests would have made a powerful appeal to those who lived beyond Attica. The "bargain" celebrations must have been extremely well patronized and their recurrence would have been a force in Athenian civic life of sufficient strength to warrant a distinctive commemorative coinage.

The establishment of a link between the money with Eleusinian devices and the Greater Eleusinia festival is of paramount importance in allocating our coins chronologically. We know that the major observances of the games occurred at four year intervals; hence if the money was minted for such occasions, it should be capable of definite dating. The following groupings are based upon the historically fixed years of the Greater Eleusinia as well as upon data supplied by the coins themselves and by the circumstances of their discovery.

GROUP I *Ca.* 335-295 B.C.

Ob. Triptolemos seated l. or r. in winged car drawn by serpents; he holds in r. spears of wheat. Re. ΕΑΕΥΣΙ¹⁷ above pig standing r. or l. on a βάκχος; in exergue or in r. field, various symbols.¹⁸ Plate I, No. 1; Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 1-16.

These pieces are the earliest of the series with Eleusinian symbols. Their flans are large and carefully struck, their metallic composition is good, and their workmanship is of superior merit. So well executed are they that Svoronos and Cavaignac place them at the end of the fifth century, but this is too early. Since it is unlikely that they antedate the establishment of a regular Athenian bronze currency, the 339 dating of Head is more in accordance with the historical probabilities.

There are several reasons for considering these ΕΑΕΥΣΙ issues as contemporaries of the first ΑΘΕ bronze. From 338 to 326 the civic policies of Athens were under the guidance of Lycurgus, to whose far-sighted statesmanship the city owed much.¹⁹ It is, for example, reasonable that the introduction of a regular bronze currency was the result of his direct control of finances. In addition to his monetary reforms, Lycurgus was interested in beautifying Athens and in revitalizing her cults. This religious revival was stimulated by an increased emphasis on the observance of the

¹⁷ The forms of ΕΑΕΥΣΙ vary slightly; the legend is sometimes curtailed to meet the exigencies of the available space.

¹⁸ In the exergue: pig's head and ivy leaf, boukranion, ivy branch, dolphin, cockle-shell, kalathos in wreath, animal's head, bee or fly, vine branch with leaf and grapes, letter Δ; in the right field: a plemochoe or the letters Θ, Μ, or Ν.

The symbols listed here are considerably fewer than those mentioned in the catalogues of Cavaignac (*Rev. num.*, XII, 1908, pp. 311-333), Babelon (*Traité*, III, 2, pp. 131-132), Svoronos (*Les monnaies d'Athènes*, pl. 103, nos. 1-16), Imhoof-Blumer (*Monnaies grecques*, p. 152), McClean (S. W. Grose, *McClean Collection*, II, p. 368), and the British Museum (*Attica*, pp. 113-114). The ones retained have been carefully checked against their respective illustrations and are certain with the exception of the "animal's head" and the "bee or fly." These two devices are indistinctly represented on the coins and may in reality be the same symbol.

¹⁹ F. Dürbach, *L'Orateur Lycurgue*; *Cambridge Ancient History*, VI, pp. 440 ff.

festivals and by an elaborate building and redecorating program applied to the sanctuaries of the gods. The shrines of the Two Goddesses came in for particular attention; the portico at Eleusis was in the hands of Philon, the temple of Pluto was finished and repairs to the sanctuary walls were made. In the internal affairs of the cult Lycurgus is credited with the creation of the *dermatikon*, with the restoration of the ancient practice of sending the first fruits of the harvest to the goddesses, and with the addition of the *concours hippiques* to the Eleusinian games. These measures were in part an expression of Lycurgus' personal convictions, in part his recognition that the cults and festivals created a sound foundation for Athenian civic life.²⁰ The preoccupation of Lycurgus with financial and religious matters would explain his issue of a bronze series with distinctive types and legend as another attempt to focus attention on the Greater Eleusinia and spread their renown. It is even possible that he stamped the first coins with his personal cachet, a boukranion.²¹

Assuming that the relationship between our money and the Eleusinia is true, the festival of 335 was an appropriate time for its initiation since a few years of re-adjustment must inevitably have followed upon Lycurgus' assumption of office. The period between 335 and the siege of Athens in 296 was an era of comparative peace during which the Greater Eleusinia scheduled for those years could have been celebrated without interruption. The Lamian War was barely decided upon in Boedromion of 323 and the struggle with Cassander in 318/7 came between the festivals of 319 and 315. In 307 a gala performance of the ceremonies must have occurred, following as it did by only a few months the deliverance of the city at the hands of Demetrius Poliorcetes. The rites of 303 and 299 found Athens at peace and striving to maintain a policy of strict neutrality. Before the next celebration this pipe dream of security was to be shattered.²²

The forty years between Lycurgus and Lachares called for ten, or possibly eleven, observances of the Greater Eleusinia and hence for ten or eleven²³ separate issues of

²⁰ The element of propitiation may have entered into the picture. The years *ca.* 331 to 324 were marked by famine and penury throughout Greece (P. Foucart, *B.C.H.*, VIII, 1884, p. 201; M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, p. 95). Increased emphasis on the Eleusinian cult would have enlisted the favor of the agricultural deities.

²¹ The device of the Eteobutadai, to which family Lycurgus belonged, first appeared as a canting type on the early Athenian *Wappenmünzen*. Its reappearance on this later money may date from Lycurgus' term of office or from that of his son Habron, who was in control of the general administration at Athens in 307/6 (Ferguson, *Hell. Athens*, p. 102).

²² The historical material has been gathered for the most part from the following sources: W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*; W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*; M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*; Cambridge *Ancient History*, VI and VII. For the controversial 289-262 period the chronology is that of Tarn ("New Dating of the Chremonidean War," *Journal Hellenic Studies*, LIV, 1934, pp. 26-39).

²³ There is a bare possibility that the issue with letters in the exergue or the right field was minted in 295/4 in commemoration of the festival which was interrupted that year for the first time in many decades. The Δ, Θ, Μ, and Ν signs may denote the month of minting, in which case they are evidence of a sporadic and infrequent emission.

ΕΛΕΥΣΙ coinage. That approximately checks with the number of distinct symbols on the coins of Group I.²⁴

Confirmation of a 335-295 dating for this first series comes from non-historical sources. An Agora deposit (Section B) contained a single coin, one of this group, in association with pottery of the late fourth and early third centuries. A well, also in Section B, held 16 coins of consistent 330-283 dating, among them 4 ΕΛΕΥΣΙ pieces both with and without symbols (Groups I and III). The monies themselves are, as has been noted, of good style and workmanship, corresponding in size and execution to the early Athenian bronze of 330-300 or later, with which they share one symbol: a kalathos. As in the case of the regular Athenian issues there is a certain variation in style such as one would expect during four decades of mintage, but all units are of comparatively excellent craftsmanship. Chemical analysis of one ΕΛΕΥΣΙ specimen gives the proportions: *Cu* 88.94, *Sn* 10.78, *Pb* .05. The high tin and low lead content is indication of an early dating and corresponds fairly closely with an averaged ratio of *Cu* 89.49, *Sn* 8.69, *Pb* 1.71 supplied by five Athenian pieces of the double-bodied owl type struck *ca.* 330-300.²⁵

GROUP II *Ca.* 294-288 B.C.

Ob. Triptolemos seated l. in winged car drawn by serpents; he holds in r. spears of wheat.

Re. ΑΘΕ above pig standing r. on a βάκχος; in exergue, plemochoe on a kalathos base.

Plate I, No. 2; Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 33-39.

All coins with a device below the Eleusinian pig and an ΑΘΕ lettering apparently belong to a single monetary issue. The varied descriptions of the symbol in the major catalogues are confusing but if all available illustrations are compared, it becomes evident that the reverse exergue is always marked with a tiny plemochoe placed on what seems to be a kalathos base.²⁶ Different interpretations of the device are attributable to poor and illegible flans. As an isolated issue these pieces are much less numerous than the preceding ΕΛΕΥΣΙ series, existing in the proportions of approximately 1 to 14 in Cavaignac's summary of Eleusinian coins.²⁷

A 294-288 dating is suitable in that the ΑΘΕ issue must be closely associated chronologically with the earlier ΕΛΕΥΣΙ group whose types it duplicates exactly and

²⁴ The exact number of symbols used on the ΕΛΕΥΣΙ series cannot be accurately determined. The indistinctness of the animal head and the bee or fly emblems makes it uncertain how many issues they represent. As mentioned above, the specimens with letters are probably all units in a single series.

²⁵ E. R. Caley, *Composition of Ancient Greek Bronze Coins*, pp. 45 and 52.

²⁶ The symbol has been identified as the upper part of an amphora (Svoronos), a plemochoe (Cavaignac and the *B.M.C.*), a small altar (Babelon and Imhoof-Blumer), and the letter Ξ (*Numismatic Chronicle*, XIII, 1873, p. 110, no. 50). The best pictures of this symbol are to be found in the *B.M.C. (Attica)*, pl. VI, no. 14) and in Cavaignac's article (*Rev. num.*, XII, 1908, pl. X, no. 6).

²⁷ This summary, published in the *Revue numismatique* of 1908, includes the coins in the museums of London, Paris, Berlin, and Athens. There are 5 ΑΘΕ specimens and 68 ΕΛΕΥΣΙ ones. In the Agora the latter series is also the more abundant.

whose style it imitates. Moreover, the years after the fall of Athens provide a historical explanation for the change in legend. The last undisturbed celebration of the Greater Eleusinia had occurred in 299. In 295 Athens was either under actual siege by Demetrius' forces or else, as Ferguson and Dinsmoor contend,²⁸ she had surrendered in the spring of that year. In either case, it is unlikely that there was an Eleusinia festival. Even the cessation of military operations a few months prior to Metageitnion would not allow sufficient time for the preparation of a major celebration. Nor is it probable that the Athenians, subdued by starvation, military disaster and the occupation of their fortresses, were in any mood for festivities.

Four years later, however, Athens was nominally free and presumably recovered from her ordeal. The neglect of 295 made it especially important that the Greater Eleusinia be held in 291, yet Eleusis was still garrisoned by Macedonian troops. Under the circumstances it is likely that the festival was celebrated in Athens.²⁹ Possibly the presence of alien troops near the sanctuary would have interfered with the ceremonies, or possibly irritated Athenian pride was protesting the loss of Eleusis. The menace of Aetolian raids reaching to the borders of Attica may have been another determining factor. Eleusinian coins were issued as usual, but to mark the abnormal localization of the festival AΘE was substituted for the customary EAETSI legend.

The symbol selected for the AΘE issue was peculiarly appropriate under the circumstances. A plemochoe atop a kalathos served as a reminder of the spiritual and temporal unity of the two towns and hence as a gesture of protest against the Macedonian attempt to separate them.

GROUP III Ca. 287-263 B.C.

Units³⁰

Ob. Demeter³¹ seated l. in winged car drawn by serpents.

Re. EAEYSI above or below a pig standing r. on a βάκχος; whole in a wheat wreath.

Plate I, No. 3; Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 17-24.

Ob. Triptolemos l. mounting a chariot.

Re. As above.

Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 25-28.

Ob. Head of Demeter r.

Re. EAEYSI above a plemochoe standing on a kalathos basis; whole in wheat wreath.

Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 29-32.

²⁸ Ferguson, *Classical Philology*, XXIV, 1929, pp. 1-20; Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. xiv and 14.

²⁹ This was an irregular procedure but so was the observance of the Pythia at Athens in 290 B.C. while the Aetolians held Delphi. Religious regulations had also been put aside at the time of the initiation of Demetrius Poliorcetes into the Mysteries in the Spring of 302.

³⁰ The terms "unit" and "half-unit" are used to indicate the relationship between the bronze denominations alone.

³¹ The seated figure on the obverse of the Eleusinian coins is not definitely identifiable. Most numismatists interpret the earlier representations as Triptolemos and the later type as Demeter.

Ob. AΘE above two superimposed pigs to l.

Re. A E on either side of an upright βάκχος; whole in wreath.

Plate I, No. 4; Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 41-46. Due to the poor condition of the coins in this series, it is impossible to tell whether or not the obverse and reverse letters noted appear consistently on all pieces.

Half-units

Ob. Triptolemos or Demeter seated l. in winged car.

Re. AΘE Plemochoe with wheat spears through handles.

Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 47-49.

Ob. AΘE above pig r.

Re. EAE downward to r. of an upright βάκχος.

Plate I, No. 5; one example of this unpublished type has been found in the Agora Excavations.

Group III includes four unit denominations and two fractions. The adjunct symbols no longer appear, but minor variations in the "wreathed pig" reverses make it possible to divide them into several separate issues. The abundance of this money suggests a fairly long period of emission. The superimposed pigs and plemochoe types, together with their fractional denominations, form two isolated and scanty issues.

Between the makeshift ceremonies of 291 and the Greater Eleusinia of 287 a great deal had happened. The revolt of 289/8 had driven the Macedonians from Athens and from Eleusis with the result that for the first time in many years Athenian sovereignty was re-established over most of Attica. The break with Macedon ushered in an era of comparative security and prosperity, which was to last until the Chremonidean War. Against this background of success and jubilation one can imagine that the Eleusinia of 287 were celebrated with unusual splendor. The restoration of the sanctuary to Athenian control was commemorated on the coins by a slightly altered reverse type. The EAETΣI lettering has been restored and the Eleusinian pig is now surrounded by a prominent wheat wreath, a visible symbol of the victory over Demetrius.

During the twenty years which followed, the Demeter and Triptolemos figures with the "wreathed pig" reverse continued to be issued. The year 283 was peaceful. Antigonos' attention was turned toward the East, and Athens, watching contentedly his embroilment with Antiochus, felt secure in her newly won independence. In 279 there was ample cause for rejoicing; the Piraeus had been recaptured in the preceding year, and possibly some of the Athenian cleruchies had been restored by Syria. The barbarian incursions, which had compelled Antigonos to patch up a hasty peace with the Greek cities, were as yet not menacing enough to mar the festivities at Eleusis. With another four years Antigonos had reasserted his hold over Greece but his moderate policy left Athens free and ungarrisoned. On the wider horizon the victories over the Gauls had awakened in all Greeks a feeling of pride and racial unity. There was probably no change in the general situation in 271.

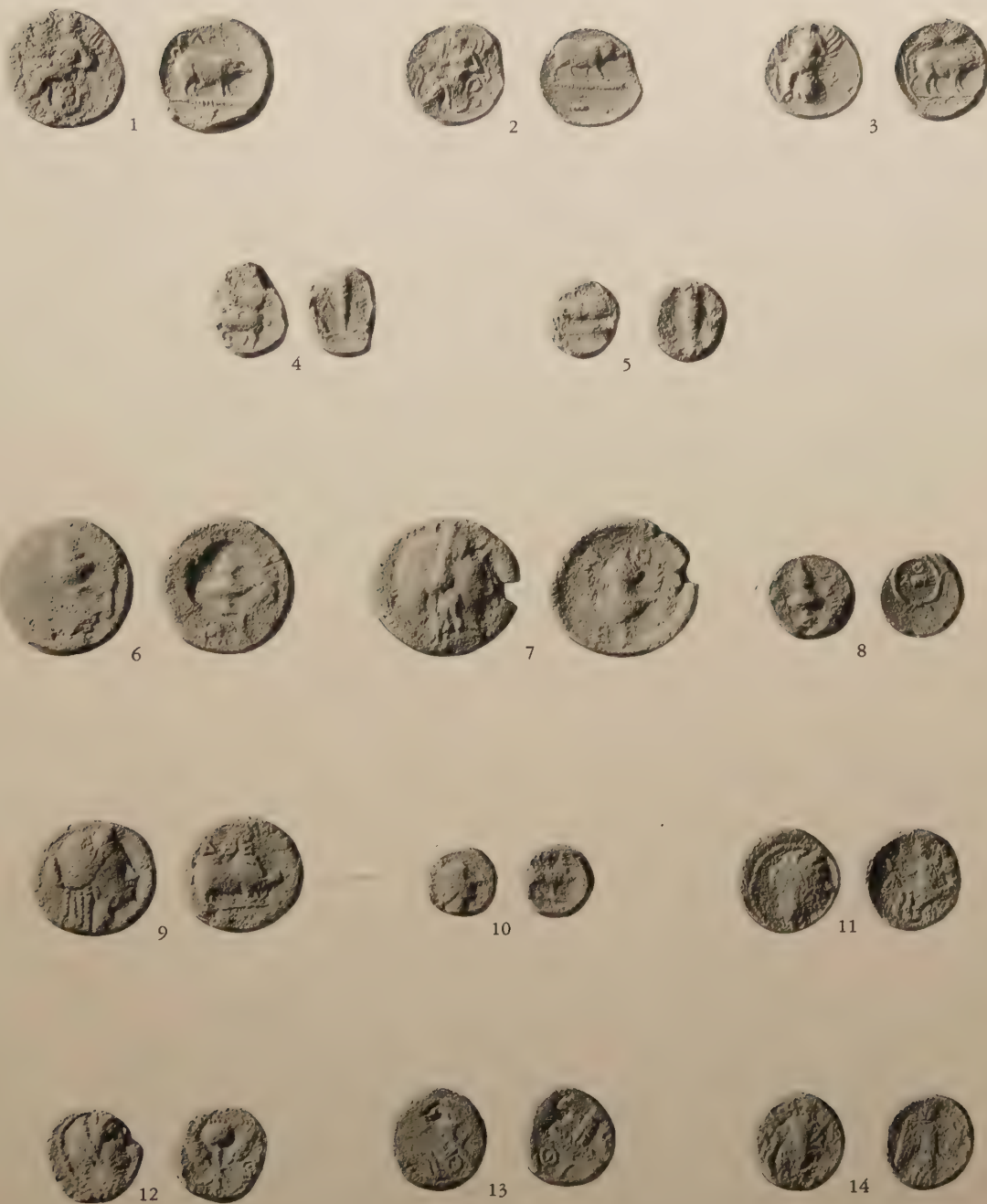


PLATE I. ATHENIAN BRONZE COINS

The two series with a Demeter head and a plemochoe and with superimposed pigs and a *βάκχος* are distinctive because their types are so radically different from the preceding issues and because they are supplemented by fractional pieces. It is probable that they belong to the period of the Chremonidean War. They are of poorer style than the usual pig issues, yet they are similar in size and in fabric and must be a part of the same sequence. The fractional pieces may indicate a war-time depression; the duplication of Eleusinian and Athenian types and legends emphasizes the union of the two towns at a time when the fortunes of battle were liable to sever their ties. The Eleusinia of 267 were being arranged when Chremonides offered his resolution in favor of war, but as military operations did not begin until the following spring, the effect of the impending struggle on the festival and its coinage would be slight and indirect. In the summer or autumn of 263 the withdrawal of Antigonos' forces from Attica had raised false hopes among the Athenians, who thought that the siege had been lifted permanently. They resumed their normal civic pursuits, planted their grain, and had not yet harvested it when the returning Macedonians surprised them (Polyaenus, IV, 6, 20). The respite from attack coinciding with the date of the Greater Eleusinia may have occasioned a small-scale celebration in Athens or the pig and *βάκχος* types may have been issued in commemoration of the festival. Their rarity is proof of the briefness of the interval during which they were coined.

There is no supplementary evidence for the attribution of these last issues to the period of the Chremonidean War, but the 287-268 dating of the "wreathed pig" types is very satisfactorily confirmed by burial deposits, by chemical analyses, and by one hybrid coin.

An interesting deposit of a singularly homogeneous nature from an Agora shaft (Section $\Xi \Xi$) offers vital data. Ninety-four identifiable coins were unearthed from two sections of a carefully constructed man-hole.³² It is possible that they represent

³² Since this deposit is of great chronological importance, its contents are enumerated below. The dates are those of the various catalogues cited, except for the Athenian money whose chronology is that outlined by J. P. Shear.

1. Aegina after 404 (*B.M.C., Attica*, p. 143, no. 215)
2. Larissa, 400-344 (" *Thessaly*, p. 32, no. 92)
- 3-6. Phocis, 371-357 (" *Central Greece*, p. 20, nos. 76-7)
7. Chalcis, 369-336 (" " " pp. 112-3, nos. 70-80)
8. Locris, 338-300 (" " " p. 8, nos. 61-68)
- 9-20. Athens, 330-307 (Svoronos, pl. 22, nos. 80-88)
- 21-22. Athens, 330-300 (" pl. 22, nos. 35-45)
- 23-24. Athens, 307-283 (" pl. 22, nos. 76-77)
- 25-46. Athens, 307-283 (" pl. 22, nos. 64-70)
- 47-55. Athens, 307-283 (" pl. 24, nos. 51-57)
- 56-57. Demetrius Poliorcetes, 306-283 (*McClean*, II, nos. 3576, 3584)
58. Lysimachus, after 306 (*McClean*, II, no. 4496)
- 59-66. Megara, 307-243 (*B.M.C., Attica*, p. 120, nos. 21-29)
- 67-73. Megara, 307-243 (" " p. 120, nos. 30-34)
- 74-94. Eleusis (Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 17 ff.).

two hoards, but whatever the circumstances of their commitment to the shaft their dates are so consistent that all 94 pieces must be considered as a single group. With the exception of a few survivals from the early fourth century, they belong to the end of that century and the first half of the next and are associated with pottery of third century date. The most numerous chronological groups are those of Athens, 307-283 (33 coins); Megara, 307-243 (15); and Eleusis (21). All of the last pieces are of the "wreathed pig" type. The contemporaneous dating of over half of the coins makes it almost certain that the third large group, that of Eleusis, was also struck during the first half of the third century.

It is possible to date some individual coins even more closely. The Megara specimens in our deposit have two reverse types, a tripod between two dolphins and two dolphins swimming in a circle. F. O. Waagé, who has studied the coinage of that city (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 70), suggests that the first of these varieties was minted *ca.* 288/7 when Demetrius was travelling through Greece seeking support. Another allied issue he regards as symbolic of the autonomy which Megara won in 279. Our second Megarian series he would place in the second century, but this late date is at variance with the evidence of all the other coins from the shaft, and Waagé himself admits that his chronology in this case is pure speculation. The silver of Lysimachus is of interest as a probable memento of the revolt of 289/8 when Athens made her bid for independence with the help of the money with which Lysimachus had stocked her treasury. It would seem, then, that at least some of the money from the shaft deposit was put into circulation in Athens after 288 and probably before the Chremonidean War, which dates accord exactly with those advanced for the "wreathed pig" issues.

The accidental confusion of dies by a mint workman has been mentioned before in explanation of a hybrid coin with a figure of Triptolemos mounting a chariot on the obverse and with two owls and a plemochoe symbol on the reverse. This Triptolemos type, which is somewhat later in style than the seated representations of that deity, is ordinarily found in conjunction with a "wreathed pig" reverse. Athenian money with two owls and a plemochoe on the reverse was minted *ca.* 307-283 or later. Unquestionably the two series, so strangely allied on this one coin, were contemporary. Further proof of their chronological relationship is provided by chemical analysis.³³ An ΕΛΕΤΣΙ piece belonging to Group III shows the following proportions: *Cu* 87.38, *Sn* 10.57, *Pb* 1.55. If we compare this ratio with an average obtained from three coins of the 307-283 or later period with two owls on the reverse, we have an almost identical composition: *Cu* 87.43, *Sn* 10.58, and *Pb* 1.57.

Units

GROUP IV *Ca.* 262-230 B.C.

Ob. A plemochoe struck over female head or head of Zeus r.

Re. A plemochoe struck over owl facing or Athena standing r., holding patera and owl.

Plate I, No. 6; Svoronos, pl. 104, nos. 1-7 (struck over Athenian issues: Svoronos, pl. 25, nos. 1-10, and pl. 24, nos. 25-27).

³³ E. R. Caley, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 (Series C) and 52 (No. 2).

Ob. Head of Demeter r.; border of dots.

Re. AΘE Plemochoe with spears of wheat through handles; in r. field, kalathos, owl or aplustre; border of dots.

Plate I, No. 7; Svoronos, pl. 104, nos. 8-20 (usually struck over Athenian issues: Svoronos, pl. 24, nos. 10-17 and pl. 25, nos. 15-21).

Half-unit

Ob. Plemochoe with spears of wheat through handles.

Re. AΘE Kalathos; all in wheat wreath.

Plate I, No. 8; Svoronos, pl. 104, nos. 21-23.

These issues reflect their historical background. After the crushing defeat of the Chremonidean War Athens was to discover for the first time the real meaning of Macedonian suzerainty.³⁴ Garrisons of occupation troops, the loss of political and monetary rights, and the consequent loss of commercial and economic prestige all brought home the gravity of the new situation. The years between 262 and 230 were desperate ones and their true measure is given by the currency of the period.

Whether Antigonos, between 262 and 255, actually forbade all autonomous coinage or whether he limited the mintage to bronze is uncertain. The poverty of the city and the scarcity of metal probably made definite restrictions superfluous. Many of the Eleusinian types in Group IV were struck over regular Athenian issues, which is eloquent proof of the city's financial exhaustion. It is likely that in the years of the Greater Eleusinia Athens stamped Demeter heads and plemochoes over her current money rather to keep alive the spirit of a long-established tradition than because in that troubled period there was any attempt to celebrate the games on a scale necessitating festival coinage.

The evacuation of Macedonian garrisons from Athens and probably from Eleusis might have stimulated a thanksgiving celebration in 255; and the unit and fractional denominations on which the familiar kalathos and plemochoe combination reappears may commemorate the reunion of the two towns. A superiority of fabric in the fractional issue makes one think that the Athenians at this time had access to new sources of metal.

Possibly the aplustre symbol on another series was intended to flatter Antigonos by a reference to the naval victory of Cos or that of Andros.³⁵

The coins struck with a plemochoe on both obverse and reverse are strong indication that the periodic issuance of Eleusinian types was so firmly a part of Athenian numismatic tradition as to be continued even when circumstances made it

³⁴ The comparatively slight interference of Macedon in Athenian internal affairs is attested by the scant number of autonomous Macedonian issues of pre-Antigonid date which have been found in the Agora: Philip II (2); Alexander (6); Cassander (13); Demetrius Poliorcetes (11); Antigonos Gonatas (86).

³⁵ E. Bickerman (*Revue des études anciennes*, XL, 1938, pp. 369-383) connects the battle at Cos with the concluding phases of the Chremonidean War. Rostovtzeff (*Hist. of Hell. World*, pp. 37-38 and 1317) believes that a somewhat later date is equally probable. Andros may be dated ca. 247 B.C.

impossible to do anything more than countermark currency already in circulation. Athenian finances touched bedrock in the years immediately following the Chremonidean War and again in the decade before 229; the money under discussion belongs to one or the other period.

A mid-century dating for the coins of Group IV is amply confirmed by the fact that they were overstruck on Athenian issues circulating after the Chremonidean War. These latter specimens with their large flans, their use of Macedonian types, and their association with autonomous Macedonian pieces are definitely the products of a period when the Athens mint was under Macedonian influence. That the original types are still clearly discernible beneath the Eleusinian markings is evidence that they had been in circulation for only a short time before being restruck. Incidentally the excellent preservation of the earlier types indicates that the money was re-issued for a specific purpose rather than as a replacement for outworn currency and its connection with the Eleusinia is substantiated.

It is interesting to note that the fractional denominations which first appeared *ca.* 267-263 recur in this group. The original Triptolemos and pig types have been discontinued and the ΕΛΕΤΣΙ legend has now been permanently supplanted by ΑΘΕ.

GROUP V *Ca.* 229-30 B.C.

Units

Ob. Head of Demeter r.
 Re. ΑΘΕ above pig standing r.
 Plate I, No. 9; Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 50-56.
 Ob. Head of Demeter r. veiled; border of dots.
 Re. ΑΘΕ Triptolemos in winged car l.; all in wreath.
 Svoronos, pl. 104, nos. 24-28.

Half-units

Ob. Head of Demeter r. veiled; border of dots.
 Re: ΑΘΕ Triptolemos in winged car l.; all with border of dots.
 Plate I, No. 11; Svoronos, pl. 104, nos. 29-37.
 Ob. Head of Demeter r. veiled; border of dots.
 Re. ΑΘΕ Poppy-head between two crossed spears of wheat; border of dots.
 Plate I, No. 12; Svoronos, pl. 104, nos. 38-45.
 Ob. Triptolemos in car l.; border of dots.
 Re. ΑΘΕ Crossed spears of wheat; all in wreath.
 Plate I, No. 13; Svoronos, pl. 104, nos. 46-50.
 Ob. ΑΘΕ Triptolemos in car l.; border of dots.
 Re. Nike advancing r., holding fillet and torch; all in wreath.
 Plate I, No. 14; Svoronos, pl. 104, nos. 51-53.

Quarter-unit

Ob. Head of Demeter or Kore r.
 Re. ΑΘΕ above pig standing r.
 Plate I, No. 10; Svoronos, pl. 103, nos. 57-64.

There can be no doubt that this last group is New Style bronze. The fabric is quite indistinguishable from that of New Style money. The denominations are those of 229-30 B.C., sharply at variance with the size of the preceding Eleusinian issues. The flans show a consistent fixation of dies, a practice which becomes the rule at the Athenian mint with the inauguration of the New Style currency.³⁶ In provenance these Eleusinian specimens are found over and over again in conjunction with New Style money in contexts of the second and first centuries B.C. Finally the similarities between their types and the symbols on New Style silver establish a clear relationship.

The head of Demeter and Triptolemos in a chariot are stamped on both a unit and a fractional denomination, and the series as a whole is obviously to be connected with a representation of Triptolemos on the New Style silver. Two such symbols are known; one appears on the money of ΕΤΜΑΡΕΙΔΗΣ-ΑΛΚΙΔΑΜ(ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝ) (Svoronos, pl. 53, nos. 1-12) and the other on that of ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΣ-ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ (Svoronos, pl. 73, nos. 1-2). Since the latter series is late in date and very scant, it is an unsuitable prototype for an abundant bronze issue of good style. The more copious silver of Eumareides and Alkidamos is assigned to ca. 125 B.C. (Head, *Hist. Num.*², p. 384) on substantially solid grounds, and there is no evidence, either stylistic or historical, to discredit a similar dating for the copper.³⁷

The half-unit with Demeter's head on the obverse and a poppy-head between spears of wheat on the reverse is the fraction of a bronze unit on whose reverse the same distinctive symbol appears (Svoronos, pl. 79, nos. 15-17). Both denominations can be connected with only one silver issue, that of ΑΥΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ-ΟΙΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ (Svoronos, pl. 73, nos. 18-25). These mint magistrates held office early in the first century B.C. (*Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 211); hence it is to that period that our coins are to be assigned.

It is evident that the two fractional issues with Triptolemos as the obverse type and crossed spears of wheat or a Nike on the reverse³⁸ are approximately contemporary. The two representations of Triptolemos, sketchily and crudely drawn, are

³⁶ E. T. Newell in discussing the fixing of dies says that "previous to about 290 B.C. this practice of adjusting dies seems not to have been adopted west or north of the Aegean Sea" (*Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes*, p. 68). The incipience of the practice in Athens is nearer 250 than 290. Only a few of the regular bronze series of the 263-229 period show evidence of die regulation. With the New Style money, except for an occasional lapse in earlier issues, all the silver and bronze are struck in fixed position. With the Eleusinian pieces the chronology is the same. The first indication of adjusted dies comes in some of the large flan issues of Group IV. Then there are the later types enumerated in this Group, all of whose dies are adjusted with the same constancy found in Athenian New Style money.

³⁷ Alkidamos, known from an inscription of 128/7, is a brother of Eumareides, an ephebe mentioned in a votive inscription of the early second century (J. Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, 606 and 5809).

³⁸ These are both half-unit denominations. Their units are, in all probability, the series with spears of wheat beside a Panathenaic owl type (Svoronos, pl. 79, nos. 22-24) and that with a Nike reverse, which Svoronos (pl. 78, nos. 6-10) connects with the silver of Philokrates and Kalliphon.

strikingly similar. It is just as evident that both series are late in date; the Triptolemos depicted on the bronze of Eumareides and Alkidamos proves that in the last quarter of the second century Attic engravers were capable of far better work.

This chronological factor necessitates the linking of our Nike type with the money of ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ-ΚΑΛΛΙΦΩΝ, the only silver issue with a solitary Nike figure which is not impossibly early. These magistrates were minting *ca.* 50 B.C. (*Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 224, note 75). This gives us a tentative date for the coins with crossed spears of wheat on the reverse. Two silver series have the same symbol: that of ΑΜΦΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ-ΕΠΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ (Svoronos, pl. 62, nos. 15-27) and ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ-ΧΑΡΜΟΣΤ(PΑΤΟΣ) (Svoronos, pl. 73, nos. 9-10). One would prefer an association with the former on the ground that the more abundant silver series would be the one more likely to have a bronze counterpart. However, Amphikrates and Epistratos were officials of the late second century,³⁹ possibly contemporaries of Eumareides and Alkidamos whose bronze money carries a replica of Triptolemos far superior in style to the obverse type of the coins under discussion. To separate the latter by a half century from their related Nike issue and to assume a sudden and unaccountable degeneration in style within the span of a few years are alike impossible. The crossed spears of wheat must be connected with Kointos and Charmostratos, who functioned *ca.* 55 B.C.⁴⁰ This close chronological bond between the two series is entirely satisfactory; indeed one is tempted to interpret them as consecutive issues for mid-century Eleusinia, the later series being modelled on its predecessor and perhaps even using the same obverse dies.⁴¹ Both the unimaginative repetition of types and the poor style are characteristic of the final phases of the New Style coinage.

The series with the head of Demeter and the pig have been left until the last since they are admittedly difficult to date. There is no silver issue with the symbol of a pig, so one must assume that the head of Demeter and her special attribute are substituting on the bronze for a complete representation of the goddess. Since such representations occur frequently on the silver, it is hard to single out a particular one as the definite prototype of our coins. Demeter's distinctive coiffure is the one outstanding feature of the large bronze pieces and the goddess's hair is also elaborately

The revelatory purport of Athenian money seems to be in direct proportion to the lateness of its date and to the baseness of its metal. So the impersonal victory device on the silver of Philokrates and Kalliphon becomes in the bronze fraction, with its combination of Triptolemos and Nike, an explicit reference to the Eleusinia.

³⁹ The two were brothers (*P.A.*, 774 and 4951). Their issue is linked by identical dies to that of ΤΙΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ-ΠΟΣΗΣ (see the stemma in *P.A.*, 13824).

⁴⁰ *P.A.*, 8688.

⁴¹ The addition or erasure of the ΑΘΕ legend (which occurs on the obverse of the Nike series) could be easily accomplished in adapting the dies for re-use.

rendered on the money of ΜΕΝΕΔΗΜΟΣ–ΤΙΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ (Svoronos, pl. 74, nos. 1-7).⁴² These mint magistrates are placed *ca.* 50 B.C. (Head, *Hist. Num.*², p. 387), a reasonable date for the unusual quarter-unit denomination which first appears shortly before the Imperial period (*Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 225-226). However, the unit and the fraction may not belong to the same copper issue; their chemical analyses do not tally,⁴³ and the superior artistry of the larger specimens may link them with an earlier representation of Demeter.

Although our discussion stops with the money of the New Style, it must be emphasized that the thread of continuity is not broken there, for the Athenian Imperial issues are marked with the same types of Demeter, Kore, Triptolemos, and their attributes which appeared on the earlier currency. This is important since it establishes a recurrent use of Eleusinian devices from the late fourth century to the end of Athens' autonomous coinage. At the present time it is impossible to prove that this reiteration is the direct result of the important place of the Eleusinian festivals in the life of Athens. Definite substantiation of the theory must wait for additional contributions to our knowledge of the New Style chronological sequences.⁴⁴ However, the connection between our Eleusinian bronzes and the Greater Eleusinia rests not only upon the uncertain foundations of monetary policy and of historical probability, but also upon the specific data supplied by the coins themselves. That final evidence alone fully justifies the attribution of the money to the Athenian mint in the chronological groupings outlined above.

MARGARET THOMPSON

⁴² The small scale of the symbol and the necessity of relying on photographs make it impossible to claim one type as a copy of the other.

⁴³ Unit	Cu	82.47	Sn	6.52	Pb	6.54
Quarter-unit		70.92		7.85		20.84

Caley, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁴⁴ A complete arrangement of the New Style silver could, of course, settle the matter by showing a fairly consistent repetition of Eleusinian symbols at four year intervals. At present the series linked by coincidence of dies are so few that the evidence they provide is merely negative. Among the issues which are definitely joined by their use of the same obverse die, as distinguished from the issues which Kambanis places together because of a similarity in obverse dies, there is no instance of a recurrence in successive years of Eleusinian symbols. Kambanis' arrangement of related issues is discussed in *Aréthuse*, V, 1928, and the *B.C.H.*, LVI (1932), LVIII (1934), LIX (1935), LX (1936), and LXII (1938).

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

FIFTH CENTURY PROXENY DECREE

42. Fragment of Pentelic marble with the original left edge and back preserved, found on June 15, 1937, in Section OA.

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.187 m.; thickness, 0.079 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

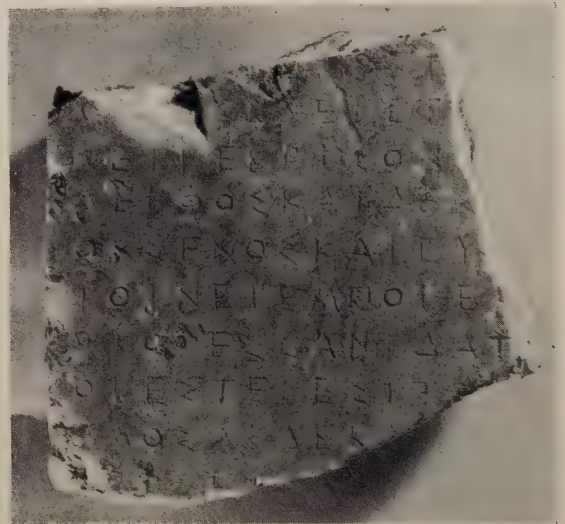
Inv. No. I 4977.

Ten letters, measured on centers, occupy a horizontal space of 0.135 m., and five rows occupy a vertical space of 0.09 m.

ca. 435-415 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 28

- [ἔδοχσεν τῷ βολῇ καὶ τῷ δέμοι· . .]
[....]ἰ[ς ἐ]πρυτ[άνευε· ...⁷.... ἔγραμ]
μά[τε]νε· Μέλετ[ος ἐπεστάτε· ...⁷....]
ν εἶπε· Κρίσωνα [τὸν ...⁸... καὶ τὸς ἀ]
5 δελφὸς καὶ Δέκ[.... ἀναγράφσαι πρ]
οχσένος καὶ εὐ[εργέτας ἐν στέλει λ]
ιβίνει ἐμ πόλει [καὶ ἐν τῷ βολευτέ]
ρίοι ἐς σανίδα τ[ὸν γραμματέα τῆς β]
ολῆς τέλεσι το[ῖς τὸν ...⁶... vacat]
10 ὁμόσαι δὲ κα[ὶ τὸς στρατηγὸς καὶ τῆ]
[μ] βολὲν [— — — — — — — — — —]



No. 42

The writing is of the developed Attic script of the period after 435 B.C. In line 3 the name of the epistates is preserved as Μέλητος. J. Burnet has remarked that this was not a common name,¹ and identification with one of the two known bearers of the name during this period is entirely possible. These two are the Meletos who was accused of mutilating the Hermai (*P.A.*, 9825)² and the Meletos who is identified as a tragic poet lampooned by Aristophanes and, in the opinion of some

¹ Note on Plato, *Euthyphro*, 2 B 9, in Burnet's volume, *Plato's Euthyphro, Apology, and Crito* (Oxford, 1924).

² Kirchner's identifications *sub P.A.*, 9825 and 9830 must be reconsidered in the light of Burnet's commentary. Burnet presents a strong case for the interpretation that the Meletos who mutilated the Hermai (*P.A.*, 9825) thereafter disappeared from our ken. References to a Meletos active within the period 404-399 are transferred by Burnet to *P.A.*, 9830. U. Kahrstedt (in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Meletos, cols. 503-504) reproduces Kirchner's views without modification.

scholars,³ as father of the accuser of Sokrates (*P.A.*, 9829). Since the latter is assigned to the deme Pithos of the tribe Kekropis,⁴ identification with the Meletos of line 3 would permit the restoration of the prytanizing tribe as Kekropis and fill the lacuna of lines 1-2.

The proxeny decree containing formulae most closely resembling those of the present document is *I.G.*, I², 27, a new text of which has recently been offered by A. Wilhelm.⁵ Instructions are contained in each for their erection both on the akropolis and in the bouleuterion.⁶ The verb ἀναγράφσαι has been restored in line 5 following the names of the proxenoi, since this is the order in the fifth century inscriptions published as *I.G.*, I², 27, 36, and *Hesperia*, V, 1936, no. 5. This allows what Wilhelm has noted should be the normal position for the ethnic: Name τὸν Ethnic καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ——. ⁷ This seems preferable to restoring the verb in line 4, in which case the text would be: Κρίσον ἀ[ναγράφσαι καὶ τὸς ἀ]|δελφὸς καὶ Δεκ[---. Line 9 might then be completed: τέλεσι το[ῖς Κρίσο καὶ Δεκ. . . .].⁸ The names Κρίσων and Κρίσος are both well attested; see C. Autran, *Introduction à l'Étude critique du nom propre grec*, pp. 290-293.⁹ Names beginning with Δεκ[---, however, appear to be rare before the Roman period.¹⁰

For the oath-formula in lines 10-11 there are no exact parallels, although the generals and the Council were frequently instructed to take care of the proxenoi's privileges.¹¹ There are also grants of proxenia which were accompanied by treaty and trade provisions.¹² For ἐς στανίδα (line 8), see A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, pp. 240-242. For uninscribed letter-spaces after the formula τέλεσι τοῖς, compare *I.G.*, I², 60, line 15, and P. H. Davis, *A.J.A.*, XXX, 1926, pp. 178-179.

PRYTANEIS OF ERECHTHEIS

43. Inscribed base of Pentelic marble, found on March 21, 1936, in a modern wall in Section P. The stone is complete except at the top, where all edges are broken away. A rough-picked surface, which was the bottom of a cutting, is preserved in

³ See P. Shorey, *What Plato Said*, p. 456.

⁴ See Kirchner *ad P.A.*, 9829 and 9830, and J. Burnet in his note on *Apology*, 23 E 3.

⁵ *Attische Urkunden IV* (*Sitzungsb. Ak. Wien*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, vol. 217, Abhandlung V, 1939), pp. 25-28 and Plate 1. For a note on Wilhelm's text, see B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 315. It is clear that the reading of the name in line 5 as Ν[υκόστρατον] is incorrect; the initial letter is an alpha. Since Wilhelm (*loc. cit.*, pp. 28-31) has maintained that I², 143 is a copy or reaffirmation of I², 27, the name Ἀλεξομενός, attested for this family of proxenoi from line 4 of I², 143, may be offered as exactly filling the lacuna in I², 27.

⁶ See also A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge*, p. 236.

⁷ *Attische Urkunden IV*, p. 25.

⁸ For τέλεσι τοῖς τοῦ δέινα, compare *I.G.*, I², 56, and A. Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden IV*, p. 88.

⁹ For the gravestone of a Κρίσος in Athens (ca. 400 B.C.), see *I.G.*, II², 11912.

¹⁰ For Δέκελος, compare Autran, *op. cit.*, p. 529. Δόκιμος occurs in the classical period (e.g., *I.G.*, II², 7395), but Δέκιμος is apparently not attested before Roman times.

¹¹ *I.G.*, I², 118, 149; II², 19, 22, 48, etc.

¹² *I.G.*, I², 93 and 116.

the center of the top surface. A moulding extends around the front and two sides. At the back there is a band of anathyrosis 0.055 m. wide.

Height, 0.38 m.; width, 0.68 m.; thickness, 0.64 m.

Height of letters, in line 2, 0.01 m., in lines 3 ff., 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 3812.

This catalogue of prytaneis has been restored with a two-line heading, although an actual examination of the stone to determine whether any of the original top is preserved at the front edge must be deferred. If the first preserved line should prove to be the original top line, elements of the superscription normal for this type of dedication were omitted: the line is not inscribed in chequer-units, so the number of letters can only be approximated by measurements from the squeeze. The nine letters extending from the interspace before the first lambda of the archon's name through the chi occupy a horizontal space of 0.14 m. The dedication may have been offered to the eponymos hero as in the case of *I.G.*, II², 1742,¹³ or to Athena as in the case of the dedication made by the prytaneis of Erechtheis who held office in the last prytany of 408/7,¹⁴ or to one of several deities.¹⁵

One of the three small demes Pambotadai, Lower Pergase, or Sybridai apparently did not supply a representative. This occurred from time to time when the poorer and more distant demes were unable to find representatives.¹⁶ The prytaneis of Erechtheis in the archonship of Polyzelos held office in the ninth prytany.¹⁷ The demes in this list were not arranged according to trittyes. The name in line 20 and the patronymics in lines 13, 17, 55, and 56 were inscribed by the stonemason with a chisel of larger width and were presumably added after the completion of the remainder of the catalogue.

In the light of new evidence since the publication of A. W. Gomme's *Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*,¹⁸ the following table is offered to show the distribution of bouleutai among the various demes of Erechtheis:

¹³ See also *I.G.*, II², 2818, and compare Escher in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Erechtheus, col. 405.

¹⁴ *I.G.*, I², 398. The reading of the first line of this text in the *editio minor* should be corrected to: [Τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ] ἵαι ἀνέθεσαν πρυτάνες Ἐρεχθίδος. The letters underlined appear in the transcriptions of Pittakys, Ross, and Le Bas with the exception of the first iota which was read by Le Bas alone (Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure. Première partie. Attique*. No. 8); the letters were broken away before the time of Kirchhoff's publication in *I.G.*, I, 338.

¹⁵ Dedications made by the boule were offered regularly to Athena, but in addition to many gods; see *I.G.*, II², 2790, 2792, 2798, and W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, pp. 259-263.

¹⁶ See U. Koehler, *Ath. Mitt.*, IV, 1879, pp. 105-106, and S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 28.

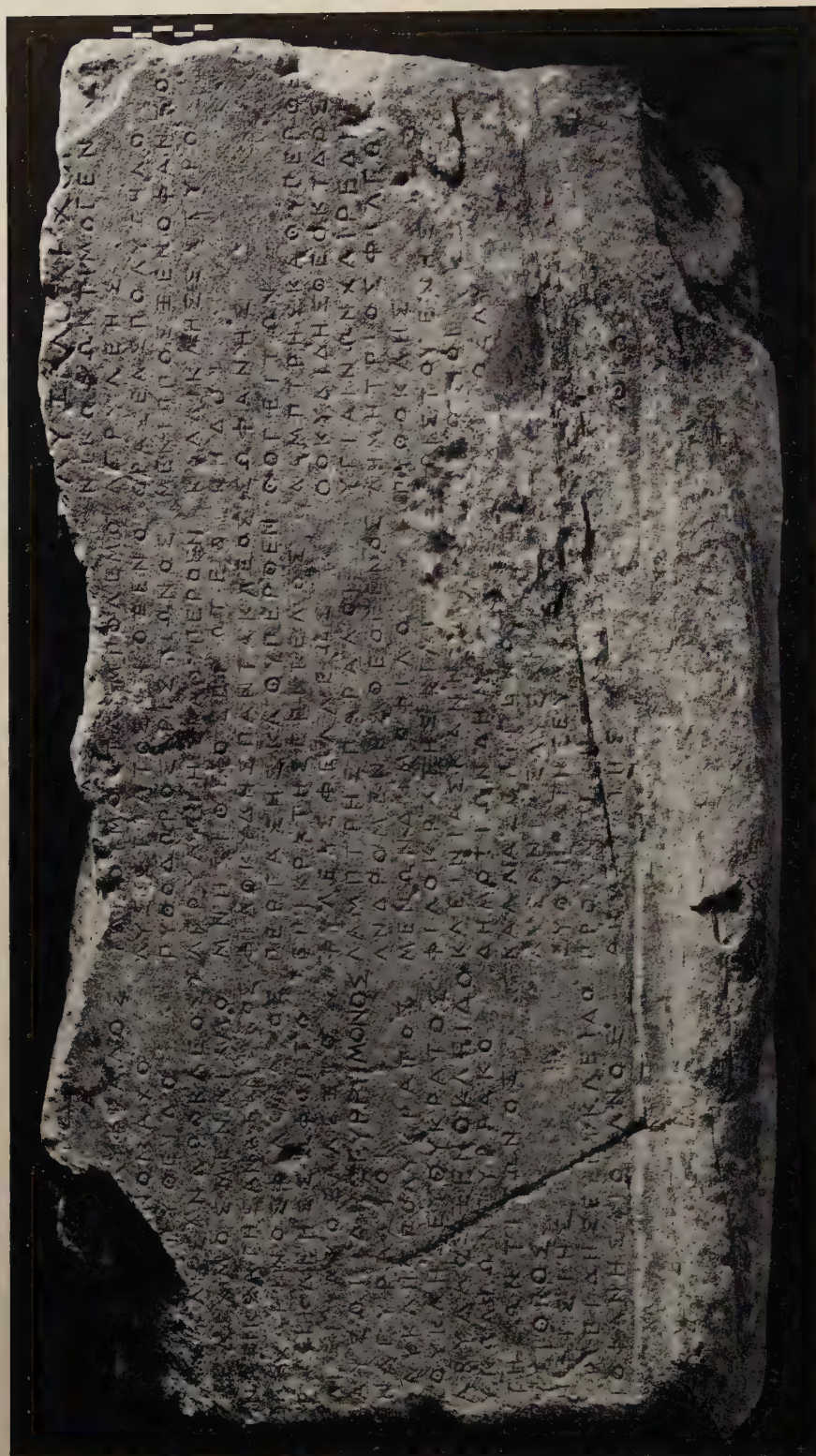
¹⁷ See *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 1.

¹⁸ For remarks on Gomme's figures, see de Sanctis, *Riv. Fil.*, LXV, 1937, pp. 288 ff.; G. Thompson, *Oresteia of Aeschylus*, I, p. 70, and II, pp. 357-359; and M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, pp. 95 and 1329.

367/6 B.C.

non-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

- [Ε] ρ ε χ θ η ι δ ο ς π ρ υ τ ά ν ε ι ς ἀ ν έ θ ε σ α ν τ ῶ ι -----]
 [δ ό ξ α ν τ ῶ] ι δ ή μ [ω ι ν ι κ ή σ α ν τ ε ς έ π ι Π] ο λ υ ζ ή λ ο ᾱ ρ χ ο ν [τ ο ς]
 [Εῦ ω ν ν μ ῆ ς]
 5 [-^{ca. 8} - N] αφράδος
 [-^{ca. 8} -] νομάχο
 [-^{ca. 7} -] Πυθείδο
 [Αὔτ] ο κ λ ῆ ς Ἀ ν δ ρ ο κ λ έ ο ς
 [Κ] λέ α ι χ μ ο ς Μ ε ν α ί χ μ ο
 Ἀ ν α ξ ι κ ρ ά τ η ς Ἀ ν α ξ ι μ έ ν ο ς
 10 Ἐ π [ι] χ α ρ ῖ ν ο ς Φ ι λ ο χ ά ρ ο ς
 [Π] ρ α | ξ | ι κ λ έ ς Σ ω φ ό ρ τ ο
 Ἀ λ ε ξ ί μ α χ ο ς Ἀ λ ε ξ ί ο
 [Ν] α υ σ ω ν ί δ η ς Εὐ ρ ρ ή μ ο ι ο ς
 Ἄ [ν] α γ ν ρ ά σ ι ο ι
 15 [Π] ο λ υ κ λ ῆ ς Π ο λ υ κ ρ ά τ ο ς
 [Εὐ] θ υ κ λ ῆ ς Εὐ θ υ κ ρ ά τ ο ς
 [Β] α βύ λ α ο ς Ξ ε ο κ λ ε ί δ ο
 [Δ] υ κ ο λ ί ω ν Π υ ρ ρ ά κ ο
 [Κ] τή σ ω ν Τύ τ ω ν ο ς
 20 [Δ] υ σί θ ε ο ς
 [Κ] η φ ι σ ι ῆ ς
 [Ε] ὕ ρ ι π ί δ η ς Εὐ ρ υ κ λ ε ί δ ο
 [Δ] ι ο φ ά ν η ς Δ ι ο φ ά ν ο ς
- 25 Τ λ ή θ υ μ ο [ς] Τ λ η π ο λ έ μ ο
 Α υ σ ί σ τ ρ α τ ο ς Ν ι κ ο ξ έ ν ο
 Π υ θ ό δ ω ρ ο ς Ἀ ρ ι σ τ έ ν ο ς
 Ἀ γ ρ υ λ ε ι ῆ ς κ α θ ύ π ε ρ θ ε ν
 Μ η ρ σί θ ε ο ς Π ρ ω τέ ο
 30 Φ ι λ ο κ ύ δ η ς Π α ν τ α κ λ έ ο ς
 Π ε ρ γ α σ ῆ ς κ α θ ύ π ε ρ θ ε ν
 Ἐ π ι κ ρ ά τ η ς Ἐ π ι τ έ λ ο ς
 Φ ι λ εὖ ς Φ ε λ λ έ ω ς
 Α α μ π τ ρ ῆ ς π ά ρ α λ ο ι
 35 Ἀ ν δ ρ ο μ έ ν η ς Θ ε ο γ έ ν ο ς
 Μ έ ν ω ν Δ η μ ο φ ί λ ο
 Φ ι λ ο κ ρ ά τ η ς Φ ι λ ί ν ο
 Κ λ ε ι ν ί α ς Κ α ν ν ω [ν ῶ]
 Δ η μ ο σί ω ν Δ η μ [- -]
 40 Κ α λ λ ί α ς Ἐ π ι γ έ ν ο ς
 Α υ σ α ν ί α ς Α υ σ α ν | ί ο ?]
 Εὐ θ υ κ ρ ά τ η ς Εὐ θ [υ κ λ έ ο ς]
 Π ρ ο κ λ ε ί δ η [ς - - -]
 Θ η μ α κ ε ι ῆ ς
- 45 Ν ι κ ο φ ά ν Τ ι μ ο γ έ ν [ο ς]
 Ἀ γ ρ υ λ ε ῆ ς
 Θ ρ α σ έ α ς Π ο λ υ ζ ή λ ο
 Μ έ ν ι π π ο ς Ξ ε ο φ ά ρ τ ο
 Κ α λ λ ι κ λ ῆ ς Σ α τ ύ ρ ο
 50 Κ η δ ο ί
 Σ ω φ ά ν η ς
 Θ ο γ ε ί τ ω ν
 Α α μ π τ ρ ῆ ς κ α θ ύ π ε ρ θ ε ν
 Θ ο κ υ δ ί δ η ς Θ ε ο κ ύ δ ο ς
 55 Ὑ γ ι ά ν ω ν Χ α ι ρ ε δ ή μ [ο]
 Δ η μ ή τ ρ ι ο ς Φ ι λ έ ο
 Π υ θ ο κ λ ῆ ς
 Ἀ [Α] ρ ι σ τ ο γ έ ν η ς
 [Φ η] γ ό [σ] ι ο ι
 60 [-^{ca. 5} -] ο ς Α υ σ [- -]
 [Π ε ρ γ α σ ῆ ς ὕ π ε ρ θ ε ν ?]
 [- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]
 [demoticum]
 65 [-^{ca. 3 1/2} -] θ ε ο ς - - -



No. 43

BOULEUTAI OF ERECHTHEIS

Name of Deme ¹⁹	408/7 (I ² , 398 ?)	367/6 (Agora I 3812)	400-350 (II ² , 1697 ?)	335/4 (II ² , 1700)	256/5 (?) (Prytaneis, no. 9)	211-201 ²⁰ (II ² , 913)	191/0 (?) (Prytaneis, no. 47)
Agryle καθύπερθεν	2	2					
ὑπένερθεν	1	3					
Anagyrous ²¹	3 ²²	6	9		8	8	2
Euonymon	2+	10			12	12	
Kedoi	2	2			2	2	3
Kephisia	3	6	3+		8	8	
Lamptrai καθύπερθεν	2+	5					
ὑπένερθεν		9			10	10	
Pambotadai					1	2	1
Pergase καθύπερθεν	1	2		2			
ὑπένερθεν			3	2	3	3	3
Phegous	1 ?	1	1	1	1	1	
Sybridai		1			1	1	3
Themakos		1	1	1			

For convenience, the figures for *I.G.*, II², 1697 are included in the table in accord with the classifications of Sundwall and Kirchner,²³ although Gomme has now noted that the deme-representation in the three preserved fragments, which contain names from Erechtheis and Aigeis, differs so from the figures from bouleutai-lists that he has rejected Sundwall's classification and has omitted the inscription from his tables.²⁴

For this same reason of disparity in deme-representation,²⁵ it must be ques-

¹⁹ Parts of Agryle, of Lamptrai, and of Pergase belonged to Antigonis from 307/6 to 201; Themakos was transferred to Ptolemais in 223, and part of Agryle to Attalis in 201/0.

²⁰ For the date, see S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 37.

²¹ In connection with his statistics for Anagyrous, Gomme (*op. cit.*, p. 52, note) states that the name of this deme cannot be restored in line 20 of *I.G.*, II², 2366. The inscription is written stoichedon, and Gomme reports that a word of nine letters is required, and also suggests that a demotic and not a name might be restored in line 9. In both cases Gomme is in error, for the letters ---οι do fall in the tenth and eleventh letter-spaces of line 20, as reported in the *Corpus*, and in the second letter-space of line 9 there may now be read a lambda, which rules out any demotic.

²² This figure as well as others for this inscription is based on the number of lines left beneath each demotic by the first stonecutter. Hiller in the *Editio Minor*, followed by Gomme (*op. cit.*, p. 55, note 1), incorrectly reports that four uninscribed spaces were left for members of Anagyrous.

²³ Sundwall, *Epigr. Beitr.*, pp. 11, 14, and 86; and Kirchner, *ad I.G.*, II², 1697.

²⁴ *Population of Athens*, p. 51, note 2, and pp. 56-57.

²⁵ Aristotle states (*Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 62) that bouleutai were chosen from the demes. Therefore it has been assumed that each deme's representation was based on population and remained more or less fixed in number. This seems confirmed for the fourth century by the examples represented in Gomme's tables (*op. cit.*, pp. 56-65) which consistently show equal representation for the same demes. On this general subject see Schoeffer in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. *Δῆμοι*, cols. 28-29; J. Sundwall, *Epigr. Beitr.*, p. 2, note 5; Ehrenberg, *R.E.*, s.v. *Losung*, cols. 1476 ff.; Busolt-Swoboda, *Gr. Staatskunde*, p. 971; A. W. Gomme, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-55; and K. M. T. Atkinson, *Athenian Legislative Procedure*, p. 45.

tioned whether the fifth-century prytany list published as *I.G.*, I², 398 was originally intended to be a complete list of fifty prytaneis. Three of the demes have a representation which is exactly one half of that now known for the year 367/6, and the figures are identical only in the case of two small demes. Whatever reason prompted the first stonecutter to omit the names of several prytaneis after he left space for them beneath the demotics may as easily have caused the omission of names from the original draft before it was submitted to the mason.²⁶ Gomme thought that the list was incomplete and lamented the lack of a satisfactory basis of comparison,²⁷ which is now at hand in two Agora documents.²⁸ Gomme notes (only to reject, however) the possibility that a sizeable readjustment took place in 403 and that the balance of representation was upset.²⁹

From the table given above, the determination can now be offered that when one part of the deme Lamptraï was assigned to Antigonis in 307/6 B.C., it was the *πάραλος* or lower part that remained in Erechtheis. Lamptraï is listed in an Agora bouleutai catalogue as providing seven representatives for Antigonis in the epoch of twelve tribes.³⁰ This would represent an increase of two over the figure for Upper Lamptraï in the present document, and would conform to the principle of slightly larger deme representation which attended the reorganization of the council with its increase in enrollment from five hundred to six hundred after 307/6. Lower Lamptraï, on the other hand, is now known to have provided nine bouleutai in 367/6 and,

²⁶ See M. Crosby *ad Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 462, no. 9. Compare also *I.G.*, II², 1753, a catalogue which contains only thirty prytaneis. A. W. Gomme (*op. cit.*, p. 52, note) states that the inscription must be dated before 307/6 and the twenty missing bouleutai distributed among the three missing demes of Kydathenaion, Kytheros, and Upper Paiania. But it is to be noted that these three demes are the very ones which were transferred to Antigonis in 307/6. The date 301/0 has been suggested for II², 1753 by A. Wilhelm (*Hermes*, XXIV, 1889, p. 151) on the basis of the identity of the prytanis Mnesarchos son of Timostratos of Probalinthos (lines 64-65) with the secretary of 301/0 (II², 640, lines 3-4). This apparently rests on the assumption, now proved false, that the secretary was a member of the Council. See W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian Secretaries*, p. 37; *A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, p. 236.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 51 and 55, note 1.

²⁸ *Prytaneis*, no. 9 and the present inscription.

²⁹ No satisfactory computation for the length of the original list in *I.G.*, I², 398 can be offered, since the height of the stone as given by Hiller (I², 398) and repeated by Kirchner (II², 4136) is incorrect. They give the figure 0.20 m., but it appears from the squeeze that the stone was taller. In any case the base was round, and to the right of column III the surface of the stone was re-chiseled for the later inscription *I.G.*, II², 4136. If the prytany-list was only three columns wide, the word [νικήσαν]τες should be restored at the beginning of line 2 in place of [φουλῆς πρυ|τανεύσαν]τες, thereby obtaining a more symmetrically arranged superscription. For a circular base containing more than three columns of names, however, compare *I.G.*, II², 3105. For the width of stelai containing prytany decrees, see S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 29, note 1; compare No. 47 below.

³⁰ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, no. 13 plus an unpublished joining Agora fragment. Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, no. 14 (= *Prytaneis*, no. 8).

as the part of the deme which remained in Erechtheis, ten in the period of twelve tribes. This determination is confirmed by the prosopographical items in the commentary to line 40 (below), where several apparent relatives of Kallias of Lower Lamptraí are known to have been members of Erechtheis in the third century.

PROSOPOGRAPHY

Line 4: [N]αυφράδης, if correct, is new in Greek prosopography. For names ending in -φράδης, see F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen*, p. 456.

Line 7: This man is also known from *I.G.*, II², 1558, lines 31-32, where he is named as the former master of a freedman *ca.* 330 B.C. Kirchner (*ad loc.*) now emends his remarks in *P.A.*, 860 and 2712, for the correct form of the *nomen* is Αὐτοκλῆς, not Αὐτοκλείδης, as is now confirmed by the new inscription. Kirchner's reasons (*ad I.G.*, II², 1558) for assigning this Αὐτοκλῆς to the famous Euonymid family, the stemma of which is given in *P.A.*, 4386, are not entirely clear, since the Αὐτοκλῆς in this stemma was the son of Στρομβιχίδης (Xenophon, *HG*, VI, 3, 2). Our Autokles may, however, have been a relative, and a direct descendant may be named as the father of a prytanis in *Prytaneis*, no. 9, line 33.

Line 8: The name Κλέαιχμος, although absent from Attic prosopography, occurs in *I.G.*, IV², I, 166 and 339, and IX², I, 138. F. Poulsen (*B.C.H.*, LIV, 1930, p. 43) accents the word as paroxytone; see, however, F. Bechtel, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

Line 11: Σώφορος may have been inscribed by error for Σώφορβος.

Line 12: For the identity and family of Aleximachos, see the stemma in *P.A.*, 13070. An Alexias of Erechtheis is named in *I.G.*, I², 929, line 85.

Line 13: Νασωνίδης appears to be new in Greek prosopography, although Ναύσων is frequent. The name Εὐρήμων is written with a rough breathing by Kirchner,³¹ and Roussel and Launey,³² with a smooth breathing by Hiller,³³ Hondius,³⁴ and Bechtel. The testimony of our scribe affords no evidence, although the gemination of the rho is particularly frequent in compound words where the second element begins with a rho.³⁵ The form Εὐ-ρήμων is preferred by F. Bechtel (*op. cit.*, p. 174) and is adopted here.

³¹ *I.G.*, II², 1952, line 49, and in *P.A.* Cf., however, II², 10219.

³² *Insc. Délos*, 2230, 2231.

³³ *I.G.*, IV, I², pp. 46 and 154.

³⁴ *S.E.G.*, VI, pp. 90 and 148.

³⁵ Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³, p. 95.

Line 15: Polykles is already known as *P.A.*, 11988. His brother may now be recognized as *P.A.*, 12013 (*I.G.*, II², 1611, line 329) and his father as *P.A.*, 12014 (*I.G.*, II², 2366, line 29). For another Polykles of Erechtheis, see *P.A.*, 11983.

Line 16: Fifth century members of the Erechtheid tribe who bear the name Euthykrates are known as *P.A.*, 5591 and 5592. The name of the latter is given as [Εὐ]θυκράτης by Kirchner, following Rangabé, although Hiller (*I.G.*, I², 953, line 6) adopts Pittakys' reading ('Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1852, no. 1114) Εὐκράτες without regarding his disposition of letters. Even alignment may be obtained in accord with Pittakys' transcription by reading Θε]όχσενος in line 5, Εὐθ]υκράτες vel 'Ασ]τυκράτες in line 6, and Ναυ]σιγένες in line 7 of I², 953. These restorations for lines 5 and 7 were originally suggested by Pittakys.

Line 17: [Β]αβύλαος is a new name in Greek prosopography. Βαβύλος, however, is common; so the first letter has been restored after the analogy of other names which show an interchange of the endings -λος and -λαος.³⁶

Line 19: For other possible members of this family, see *Prytaneis*, no. 9, line 60, and *P.A.*, 13861 (*I.G.*, I², 929, line 178).

Line 22: For the stemma of the family of the well-known Eurykleides of Kephisia, see J. Kirchner in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Eurykleides (2). See also *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 57-58; VIII, 1939, no. 13, line 5; and *I.G.*, II², 4931a (*add.*).

Line 23: A possible descendant is *P.A.*, 4409.

Line 27: This man is the same as *P.A.*, 12425. For Aristion of Kephisia, see *I.G.*, II², 6438.

Line 32: See *P.A.*, 4962 and 4963.

Line 33: For the form Φιλεύς, compare Φιλέας and E. Locker, *Glotta*, XXII, 1933-34, p. 83.

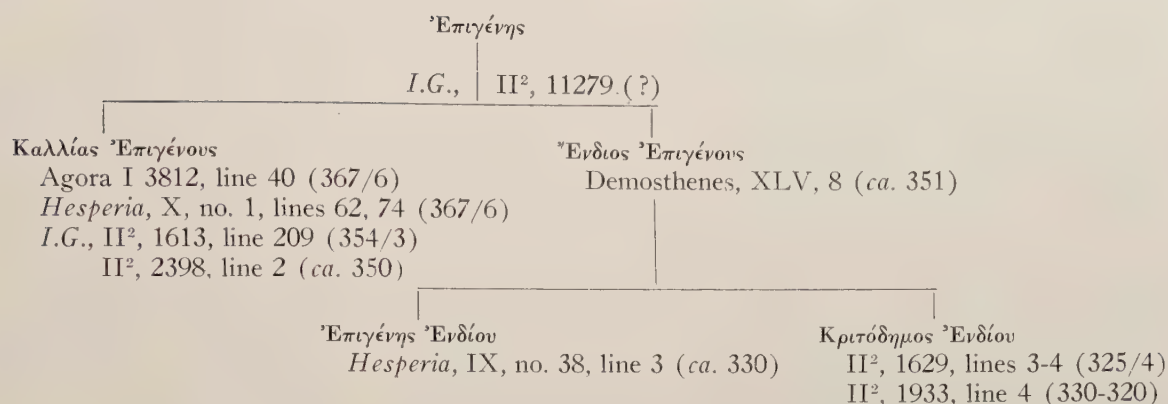
Line 35: For possible relatives, see *I.G.*, I², 1082 and *P.A.*, 6713.

Line 37: A Philinos of Lamptrai is known from *S.E.G.*, III, 138, lines 24-25 (= *I.G.*, II², 1609), but whether he belongs to the καθύπερθεν branch of the deme, which is represented by *P.A.*, 14329, or to the lower branch, known from the present inscription, cannot be determined.

Line 38: For a possible descendant, see Sundwall, *Nachträge*, p. 108.

Line 40: It is possible to reconstruct the following stemma by connecting the Kallias and Endios branches of the family and by correcting the relationship of the Endios branch as given by E. Schweigert in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 332:

³⁶ See H. Bloch, *Rivista di Filologia*, XIII, 1935, pp. 318-320. Cf. E. Locker, *Glotta*, XXII, 1933-34, p. 61.



A sepulchral lekythos (I.G., II², 11279), engraved in letters of the early fourth century, contains the two names Epigenes and Kallias, who may well have been members of this family.³⁷ For possible descendants on the side of Endios, see *P.A.*, 4811 (add *Prytaneis*, no. 86, line 2), 10445, and 10446. For descendants on the side of Kallias, see Sundwall, *Nachträge*, p. 108 (= I.G., II², 1322), *Prytaneis*, no. 9, line 27, and I.G., II², 913, line 13 (= *Prytaneis*, no. 37). Sundwall and Dow (*Prytaneis*, p. 47) assigned *P.A.*, 8213 to this family, but the latter is now known to bear the name Καλλι[κρά]της Χαροπιδ[ο] Λαμπ[τρ]εύς (I.G., II², 215, lines 5-6) and to have no relationship.³⁸

Line 41: This man is apparently the same as the one mentioned in I.G., II², 2967, line 21, and 6654. For a possible ancestor, see I.G., I², 943, line 44.

Line 42: This name has been completed in accord with I.G., II², 6667. Euthykrates is also known from II², 1622, line 617 (*P.A.*, 5605). See the note on line 16 above.

Line 45: Nikophon may be the same as Sundwall, *Nachträge*, p. 136 (= II², 1425, line 335). For a Timogenes of Erechtheis, see *P.A.*, 13660.

Line 49: For Kallikles of Erechtheis, see *P.A.*, 7923 and 7924.

Line 54: For Thoukydides, see I.G., II², 1877.

Line 55: For Chairedemos of Lamptrai, see *Prytaneis*, no. 84, line 57 (155/4).

Line 56: For possible members of this family, see *P.A.*, 3418, 4900, 4901, and 14240; cf. also II², 1757, lines 30 and 40 (= *Prytaneis*, no. 106).

Line 57: Compare I.G., II², 3105, line 10.

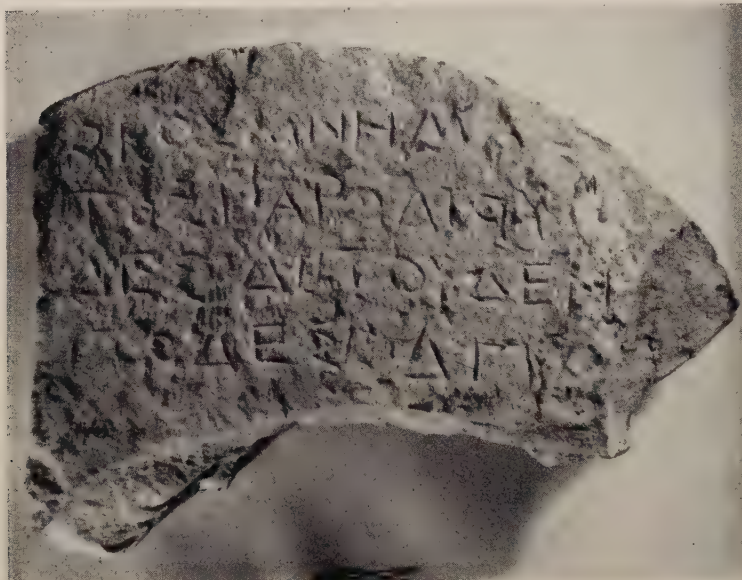
Line 58: For an Aristogenes of Erechtheis, see *P.A.*, 1784.

³⁷ In spite of the early letter-forms, the Kallias of II², 11279 may well have been the son of Epigenes; for Kirchner has noted (*ad I.G.*, II², 5235 and 11370) that the name of the son, though alive, was frequently engraved on the tomb of the father when the sepulchral monument was made.

³⁸ Cf. J. Kirchner, *P.A.*, II, p. 469.

HOROS-STONES

44. Boundary stone of Hymettian marble, found on May 30, 1938, in the wall of a Byzantine building in Section H. The lower part and right side have been broken away; in the back there is a large circular cutting to a depth of 0.065 m. Chisel marks were not removed from the inscribed face.



No. 44

Height, 0.295 m.; width, 0.38 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.
Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.
Inv. No. I 5478.

Fourth Century B.C.

ὅρος μνήμα
τος παροδίου π[ό]
δες: ΔΠ, τοῦ δ' ἐντ[ὸς]
πόδες: ΔΠ

This is the marker of a monument having a frontage of 12 feet and a depth of 16 feet. Similar horos-stones in which the dimensions of the monument are specified are published as *I.G.*, II², 2561-2566, and

Hesperia, X, 1941, no. 15. The curved nature of the top surface of the stone is noteworthy and permits a very wide space for the letters of line 3.³⁹

45. Fragment of Pentelic marble found on June 3, 1937, in a late Roman fill in Section Σ. Only the original back is preserved.

Height, 0.141 m.; width, 0.176 m.; thickness, 0.046 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 4938.

³⁹ A horos-stone of mortgaged property, published by Threpsiades as *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, XIV, *παρ.*, pp. 31-32, should be added to the inscriptions dated in the archonship of Aristonymos (291/0 B.C.) in the chronological table published by Pritchett-Meritt (*Chronology*, p. xvii). Among the inscriptions of the archonship of Lykiskos (129/8 B.C.; see *Chronology*, p. xxxii) should be included II², 2823. This dedicatory inscription has erroneously been dated in 344/3 (see II², 2823 and 7553 with bibliography there cited), but Kirchner has noted (*add.* to II², 2823) that the script is of the second century. This is confirmed by the identification of the agoranomos Heniochides son of Euphiletos with Sundwall, *Nachträge*, p. 88. This change in date removes the grounds for Wilhelm's restoration in II², 7553.

Fourth Century B.C.

ὄρος σήμ[ατος]
Οἰνέως

The inscription is very carelessly cut. The second omicron in line 1 was inscribed in part over the following sigma; other letters show marks of having been twice cut. This text was apparently inscribed over earlier letters, some traces of which still remain.



No. 45

It is not impossible that this horos-stone marked the grave of Oineus, the eponymos hero,⁴⁰ and that it was re-labelled as such in the fourth century. But any reorganization of a hero's tomb in that period would presumably have been carried out in a monumental style, and in view of the inferior lettering it seems preferable to regard the stone as a marker for the tomb of a private individual. The proper name Οἰνέως is well attested, as is the use of the names of other heroes.⁴¹ For the meaning of σήμα, see F. Eichler, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIX, 1914, pp. 138-143.

DECREE MOVED BY STRATOKLES

46. Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the rough-picked back and possibly the right side preserved, found on April 15, 1938, in a modern fill in Section Ω.



No. 46

Height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.082 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.-0.007 m.

Inv. No. 5401.

307-301 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 24

[----- τῆς πρυτανεί[α]
[ς· ἐκκλησία· τῶν προέδρ]ων ἐπεψ
[ήφιζεν¹¹..... ι]άδου Ἀχ
[αρνεὺς καὶ συμπρόεδρ]οι·^v Στρ
5 [ατοκλῆς Εὐθυδήμου Διομ]εεὺς
[εἶπεν· -----]

⁴⁰ For the grave of another eponymos, Kekrops, in Athens, see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, III, p. 771; Eitrem in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Kekrops, col. 122; and G. W. Elderkin, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 117. For current versions concerning the grave of Erechtheus, see W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 302, and A. B. Cook, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 793-794. Cf. Eitrem in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Heros, col. 1122.

⁴¹ For Οἰνέως, see Dittenberger, *Syll.*³, nos. 402 and 600; *S.E.G.*, VI, no. 728; *Insc. Délos*,

Five letters, measured on centers, occupy a horizontal space of 0.08 m., and four rows occupy a vertical space of 0.063 m. Evidently the stonecutter was using a square chequer-unit.

This inscription is probably to be dated within the six year period (307-301 B.C.) of Stratokles' greatest activity.⁴² The omission of the sanction-formula *ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ* may be paralleled in many decrees of this period (*I.G.*, II², 456, 460, 467, 474, and 500).⁴³ To the left of the first alpha in line 3 there is sufficient uninscribed space to leave room only for an iota. Names in *-ιάδης* are fairly numerous; so no restoration has been attempted for the proedros' patronymic, although a son of *P.A.*, 8957 or 2440 would meet the requirements for patronymic and demotic.

PRYTANY DECREE HONORING PANDIONIS

47. Fragment of Pentelic marble, found on June 17, 1938, in a cistern in Section AA. The rough-picked back of the original stele is preserved.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.156 m.; thickness, 0.078 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.-0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5531.

This fragment is a part of the inscription published as *I.G.*, II², 790 and republished by S. Dow as *Prytaneis*, no. 23. Since the transcription in the *Editio Minor* is in no way affected by the new fragment, a text for only the latter is published below.

PANDIONIS

235/4 B.C.

For line 1-28, see *I.G.*, II², 790 with the corrections added by S. Dow.⁴⁴

no. 1417 A, col. I, lines 126-127; and C. Autran, *Introduction à l'étude critique du nom propre grec*, p. 359. For *Ἀκάμας*, *Ἀντίοχος*, and *Πανδίων*, see, e. g., J. Kirchner, *P.A.*, s. *vv*.

⁴² See W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. 13-14, and Fiehn in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. *v.* Stratokles (5).

⁴³ It is incorrect to say that in some of these inscriptions this phrase was inscribed further down in the text (S. Dow, *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 413-414).

⁴⁴ For recent restorations of the excised formula in lines 16-17 of II², 790, see S. Dow and C. F. Edson, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLVIII, 1937, pp. 147-148; W. B. Dinsmoor, *Athenian Archon List*, p. 156; and especially W. W. Tarn, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Suppl. Vol. I, 1940, p. 489. Tarn, after a lengthy examination of all the sources, has come to the conclusion that Phthia and Chryseis are merely two names for the same woman. For the lacuna of II², 790, he proposes: [*καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Δημητρίου καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης Φθίας καὶ Φιλίππου*].

- [-----]ρι[----- ^v καὶ τὸν γραμμα]
 30 [τέα --- ^{ca. 16} --- Προβ]αλίσιο[ν ^v καὶ τὸν ταμίαν τῆς βουλῆς?]
 [--- ^{ca. 12} --- Κυδαθη]ναίέα ^{vuv} [καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ ἐπωνύμου?]
 [--- ^{ca. 13} --- ^v καὶ] τὸν κήρυκα [τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Φιλο]
 [κλέα(?) Τρινεμέα ^v καὶ τ]ὸν γραμματ[έα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου]
 [--- ^{ca. 16} ---] ^v καὶ τὸν ὑπογρ[αμματέα --- ^{ca. 15} ---]
 35 [--- ^{ca. 4} ^v ἀναγράψαι δὲ] τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα [τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ]
 [πρυτανείαν ἐν στή]λει λιθίνει καὶ στή[σαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ. ^v εἰς]
 [δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τ]ῆς στήλης μερίσαι τ[ὸν ἐπὶ τεῖ διοικήσει τὸ]
 [γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα]. *vacat*
 [One [--- ^{ca. 5} ---]ιας Λυσάνδ Νικόστρ[ατος --- ^{ca. 4} ---] [One
 column of 40 [--- ^{ca. 5} ---]ας Ἀριστομ Πάμφιλο[ς --- ^{ca. 7} ---] column
 15 lines [---]ς Τιμοκλ Ἀγαθοκρά[της ---] missing]
 missing] [---]ς Καλλιπ 50 Νεόστρατ[ος ---]
 [---]σοντ Ἐπιχάρη[ς ---]
 [Παιανιείς ?] Εὐφρόσυν[νος ---]
 45 [---]σον Πρα[σιεῖς]
 [---]σι Πιπτα[κός ? ---]
 [---] 55 Διογ[---]
 [6 lines missing] .εο[---]
 [5 lines missing]

Since the first line of the preserved portion of the register of prytaneis contains a name and not a demotic, the Agora fragment must contain part of columns II and III, or of columns III and IV, of the original list. Demes with large representation rarely appear in the last column;⁴⁵ so the former alternative has been adopted. The inscription is written in a modified stoichedon style with the preserved letters of lines 32-35 entirely in stoichoi.

The order of the officials honored affords no irregularities. In line 30 must be restored the name of the secretary of the prytaneis (from Probalinthos), and above that appeared the name of the treasurer. Between the words [Προβ]αλίσιο[ν] in line 30 and κήρυκα in line 32 there is space for the titles and names of two officials, the treasurer of the boule and the priest of the eponymos. The first of these officials, from the deme Kydathenaion, was not of the tribe honored; so the treasurer of the boule is tentatively assigned to this position. This inscription marks the earliest appearance in prytany inscriptions of the priest of the eponymos.⁴⁶ In lines 32-33, the heraldship, which was held for many successive generations by the famous family

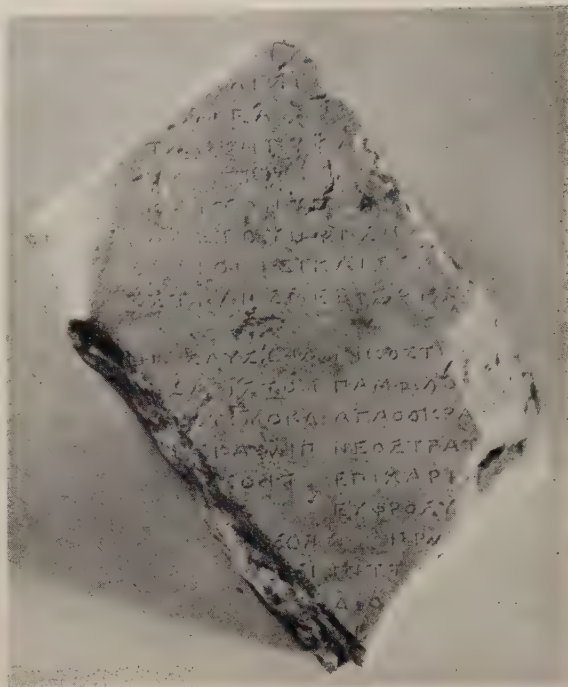
⁴⁵ So S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 28.

⁴⁶ For the position of the priest of the eponymos in prytany decrees, see *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 396-397.

from Trinemeia, is assigned to Φιλοκλῆς (III) of B. D. Meritt's stemma in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 27. This fits the lacuna exactly and is in accord with Meritt's date for his *floruit*.

Concerning the register, three of the names of Col. III may be assigned to families from Paiania, in two of which families two other members are already known who had the identical *nomen*. The name Πάμφιλος Παιανιεύς is known from *P.A.*, 11555 and *Prytaneis*, no. 116, line 46; the name Ἐπιχάρης Παιανιεύς from *P.A.*, 4998 and 4999. The name Νικόστρατος Παιανιεύς appears in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 37, line 100, and *Prytaneis*, no. 84, line 84, but in this case the two references are probably to the same person. On the basis of this prosopographical evidence a tentative restoration of Παιανιεύς is proposed for line 44. This would permit the assignment of 15 prytaneis to this large deme, and is in accord with the known evidence about its tribal representation. Before the removal of three of the demes from Pandionis in 307/6, eleven members were the norm for Lower Paiania,⁴⁷ and in 155/4, after the return of Upper Paiania, there is at least one instance in which there were sixteen members.⁴⁸

Πιπτα[κός] (or Πίπταλος) of line 54 is new in Attic prosopography.



No. 47

INVENTORY OF ASKLEPIOS

48. Fragment of Hymettian marble, found in July, 1936, in Section P during the removal of the north end of Eponymon Street. The left side is preserved.

Height, 0.145 m.; width, 0.123 m.; thickness, 0.088 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

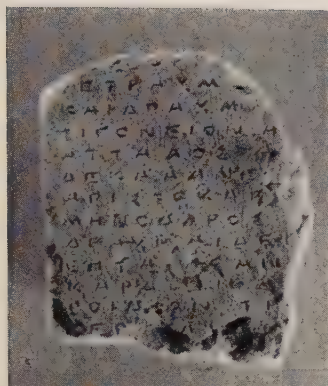
Inventory No. I 4342.

⁴⁷ See A. W. Gomme, *Population of Athens*, p. 58.

⁴⁸ *Prytaneis*, no. 84.

229-206 B.C.

non-ΣΤΟΙΧ.



No. 48

. . . εο -----
 τετράχμ[α -----]
 καὶ δραχμα[ὶ ----- καὶ τετράχμον Ἄν]
 τιγόνειον ἄ [ἀνέθηκε ----- ἀνέθηκε]
 5 Ἄτταλος ὡ α[-----]
 δέκα ἄ <ἄ>νέθ[ηκε ----- ἀνέθηκε]
 Ἀριστοκλε[ίδης νεκρ Ἀριστόκλε[ια ----- ἀνέθηκε]
 Μηνόδωρος ὡ [-----]
 δραχμαὶ δέκ[α ----- δραχμαὶ]
 10 ἐπτά ὡ ἄς ἀν[έθηκε -----]
 καρδίαν ἄ[ργυρᾶν -----]
 βοίδιον ὡ τρ[-----]
 [.]εο[. .]λη[-----]

The Agora fragment is a part of the same monument as *I.G.*, II², 1537 and 1538,—two fragments which for the first time may now be placed together. The uninscribed space between lines 27 and 28 of II², 1537 and between lines 3 and 4 of II², 1538 is identical in height, and the first three lines below this interval are somewhat crowded vertically in both fragments; so line 27 of II², 1537 and line 3 of II², 1538 are to be equated. However, the phrase ἀπ[ὸ τούτ[ου ἀρεστήριον in line 2 of II², 1538 is not part of the same phrase, ἀπὸ τούτου ἀρ[εστήριον, in line 26 of II², 1537, for the former stone would then overlap II², 1537 in the lines below. Possibly II², 1538 is to be placed nearer the right margin with the date in line 4 being the day on which the silver phialai (line 28 of II², 1537) were melted down. Since the new Agora fragment contains dedications of silver objects, for the most part minted monies, its position is at the left margin above line 25 of II², 1537. The total weight of the silver objects seems to have been contained in lines 25-28 of II², 1537.

The inscription was cut in the disjointed style of the period 229-206 B.C. Beta was made in the form of a circle with cross-bar. In the sixth letter-space in line 6 the stone-mason first cut a mu and then corrected it without erasure to alpha, although the horizontal stroke was never cut.

There is no evidence as to whether the inventory covered one or more years. In the latter case the two possible dates to which the inscription may be assigned, as determined by the cycle of the secretaries of the Council,⁴⁹ would be 225/4 and 212/1. An annual καθαίρεσις of the year 215/4 is already contained in II², 1539.

Dedications of τετράχμα Ἀντιγόνεια appear in the inventories of the priests of Asklepios as early as 259/8.⁵⁰ The coin referred to in lines 3-4 may have been minted

⁴⁹ See Pritchett-Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 43, 47-73.

⁵⁰ *I.G.*, II², 1534, line 231. For the date, see Pritchett-Meritt, *op. cit.*, p. xx. For the accent

by Antigonos Gonatas or Antigonos Doson. Coins of both monarchs were apparently identical in type,⁵¹ and in any case there was no demonetization,⁵² so that a dedication of either type is possible. For the dedication of a *βοίδιον* (line 12), see Athenaios, XIII, 574; *I.G.*, II², 1388, line 54, and 1460, line 16.⁵³ On the general subject of the dedication of animal models, see W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, pp. 296-301.

In the text of *I.G.*, II², 1537, the first letter in line 6 should be corrected from nu to upsilon. The last preserved letter in line 8 is delta, as read by Koehler in *I.G.*, II, 837. In line 25 Kirchner's notation Π^{Γ} is an incorrect reading of the symbol cut on the stone to represent five hundred drachmai; the form is identical with that of the Γ in line 3 of *I.G.*, II², 1538. In line 1 of II², 1538, the second letter is clearly chi; so the word $\delta\rho]αχ[μαί$ may be restored.

PRYTANY DECREE HONORING AKAMANTIS

49. Fragment of Hymettian marble, found on December 5, 1938, in a marble pile in Section Σ. The fragment preserves the upper left corner of a stele. The inscribed face is badly worn and in part illegible.

Height, 0.26 m.; width, 0.235 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.-0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5547.

182/1 B.C.

ca. 63

[Ἐπὶ Τιμησι]ά[να]κτ[ος ἄρχοντος] ἐ[πὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος --- πρυτανείας ἡι ---]
 [Ἰ.α.ἰ.ἰ. Ἀρ]ισ[το]μάχου Π[ροβαλί]σιος [ἐγγραμμάτευεν· --- ὦνος --- μετ' εἰ]
 [κάδας ἐν]άτει καὶ εἰκ[οστ]εῖ τῇ[ς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ·
 τῶν προ]
 [έδρων ἐπε]ψήφισεν Φι[λόσ]τρατ[ος --- ca. 22 --- καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδο]
 5 [ξεν τῷ δήμῳ]· Πυθογένης Πολυκ[--- ca. 12 --- εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ
 πρυτά]
 [νεὺς τῆς Ἀκα]μα[ν]τίδος ὑπὲρ τῶν [θυσιῶν ὧν ἔθνον τὰ πρὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῷ τε
 Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ]

τετραχμον instead of τέτραχμον, see *Etymologicum Magnum*, 754, 40, and Liddell, Scott, and Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s. v. τετράδραχμος.

⁵¹ See H. Gaebler, *Die antiken Münzen nord-Griechenlands*, III, 2, pp. 187, 189. Cf. B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*², p. 231.

⁵² See S. P. Noe, *Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*², pp. 20, 82, etc.

⁵³ The word is common in papyri; see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, s. v. For the use of *Βοίδιον* as a proper name, see *I.G.*, II², 10968a-10972.

- [Προστατηρίῳ] καὶ τεῖ Ἀρτέμιδι[ι τεῖ Βουλαίαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον
ἦν, ἔθυσαν δὲ]
[καὶ τεῖ Ἀρτέ]μιδι τεῖ Φωσφόρῳ[ι· ἀγαθὴν τύχην δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ
δέχεσθαι]
[τὰ γεγονό]τα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς [οἷς ἔθνον ἐφ' ὑγίαιαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ
δήμου]
10 [καὶ τῶν συμ]μάχων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ [οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰς θυσίας ἔθυσαν ἀπάσας ὅσαι
καθῆκον ἐν]
[τεῖ πρυταν]εῖαι καλῶς κα[ὶ φιλοτίμως, ἐπεμελήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῆς συλλογῆς τῆς
βουλῆς καὶ]
[τοῦ δήμου καὶ] τῶν ἄλλων ἀ[πάντων κτλ. — — — — —]



No. 49

The archon Timesianax is fixed in the year 182/1 by his position after the archon Hermogenes in the comic didascalie of the Dionysia⁵⁴ and by the secretary-cycle.⁵⁵ Lines 7-8 have been restored after the analogy of the restoration proposed by S. Dow for lines 7-8 of *I.G.*, II², 902 (= *Prytaneis*, no. 55), which inscription, dated in the same year,⁵⁶ contains praise for the prytaneis of Attalis. Both documents display an unusual list of deities to whom sacrifices were offered.⁵⁷

SYNDROMOS OF STEIRIA

— 50. Fragment of Hymettian marble found on March 15, 1938, in the floor of a niche in the central apse of the Church of Hypapanti in Section II. The corners are badly chipped, and a shallow cutting has been made in the left front corner; otherwise the original surface is preserved. On the top of this capping base there

⁵⁴ *I.G.*, II², 2323.

⁵⁵ The secretary is from the deme Probalinthos of the tribe Attalis (XII).

⁵⁶ Both inscriptions were apparently cut by the same hand.

⁵⁷ Reference is made to Artemis Phosphoros for the first time in prytany decrees. Cf. H. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 138-141.

are two rectangular cuttings (length, 0.16 m.; width, 0.065 m.; depth, 0.043 m.), each with pour channels, for the supporting tongues of a bronze statue. On the bottom there are also two cuttings, of inferior workmanship, for a bronze statue; these cuttings are relatively shallow (being 0.02 m. in depth in comparison with a length of 0.304 m.), and the absence of any signs of burning indicates that they were never used. Apparently the first plan was unsatisfactory, and the stone was reversed (for a similar change of plan, in the period *ca.* 500 B.C., see S. Lauffer, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXII, 1937, p. 92). There is a thinly drafted band along the front edge of the under side.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.63 m.; thickness, 0.74 m.

Height of letters, 0.022 m.-0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 5323.

Late First Century B.C.

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
[Σύ]νδρομον Καλλικρατίδου
[Στ]ειριέα ἀγωνοθετήσαντα Ἐλευσ[ινί]
[ω]ν ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ [εὐ]
νοίας



No. 50

The provenience of this huge capping base has been cited by T. L. Shear,⁵⁸ in connection with other inscribed monuments referring to the Eleusinian cults, as evidence for the location of the Eleusinion.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 207; cf. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 267-268.

⁵⁹ Cf. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 112, note 48.

The dedicant, Syndromos, was a member of one of the most illustrious families of the Augustan period.⁶⁰ His father, Kallikratides son of Syndromos of Steiria (*P.A.*, 7986), was archon in 37/6 B.C.⁶¹ and is referred to as gymnasiarch in the inscription published as *I.G.*, II², 2875. Kirchner (*ad I.G.*, II², 3502) and Graindor (*Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 121) have identified this man with Kallikratides son of Syndromos of Trikorynthos, who was *κῆρυξ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου* and *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας* in the last part of the first century.⁶² Raubitschek (*loc. cit.*, col. 2254), however, has proposed a separate identity for the two names, and the dichotomy appears to be required by the names of their descendants in the Steirian and Trikorynthian branches of the family.⁶³ The Syndromos of the new Agora inscription is also known from *I.G.*, II², 2999, where he appears as gymnasiarch.

Similar inscriptions in which agonothetai of various festivals are honored are published in *I.G.*, II², 3458 ff. An *ἀγωνοθέτης Ἑλευσινίων* is mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 2336, line 203, and II², 3605.⁶⁴

W. KENDRICK PRITCHETT

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, N. J.

AND

COLUMBUS ARMY FLYING SCHOOL
COLUMBUS, MISSISSIPPI

⁶⁰ For a stemma of this family, see A. Raubitschek, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Oinophilos; cf. also A. Wilhelm, *Anz. Akad. Wien*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1935, pp. 83-90. To Raubitschek's stemma must be added the Oinophilos who was Treasurer of the Boule ca. 80 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1050 = Dow, *Prytaneis*, no. 97). This Oinophilos is probably, as Dow has suggested, a brother of Kallikratides and Theorikos who are listed in the ephebic inscription *I.G.*, II², 1011, col. I, lines 107-108. If Dow is correct in his redating of *I.G.*, II², 1051 (*op. cit.*, p. 169), the Oinophilos of this inscription may be the same man.

⁶¹ For the date, see Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, pp. 280 and 286, and Roussel and Launey, *ad Insc. Délos*, no. 2632. Kirchner (*I.G.*, II², Indices, p. 25) moves this archonship back one year, but this apparently results from the omission of Philostratos named in *Insc. Délos*, no. 2632, line 17.

⁶² Cf. S. Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

⁶³ It may be noted that a satisfactory explanation for the change of deme of Kallikratides (7) son of Syndromos from Steiria to Trikorynthos has not been offered. It is not clear whether it was by adoption, for in Attic inscriptions which refer to adoption (see A. Wentzel, *Hermes*, XLV, 1930, pp. 167-176) the adopted person regularly used the patronymic and demotic in conformity with the name of his adopter, and to indicate the natural father the phrase *γόνυ δὲ τοῦ δέινου* was added. Analogous examples of the retention of the natural father's name, being from the third century after Christ, are indicated by Kirchner *ad I.G.*, II², 1784. For bibliography, see Weiss, *Griechisches Privatrecht*, I, pp. 318-319. The question is in need of further clarification.

⁶⁴ Cf. A. Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 197, note 3.

THE THESMOPHORION IN ATHENS

I

ITS LOCATION

In the excavation of the area to the south of the Pnyx the attempt was made to determine the exact location of the Thesmophorion.¹ Before that time literary testimonies alone had led scholars to look for it on the Pnyx hill, not far from the assembly place. Its location in that section of the city has not in recent years been questioned.² But the excavation of the Pnyx in 1932 and 1934, carried on jointly by the Greek Archaeological Service and the American School of Classical Studies, failed to reveal any clear evidence of the cult, and on the basis of the finds alone no one could possibly have come to the conclusion that one of the oldest and most famous sanctuaries of Athens had been discovered in this place. In fact, even now the only compelling argument for assigning the Thesmophorion to this locality is a single passage in the *Thesmophoriazousai* of Aristophanes.³ It will be necessary to consider this evidence first in order to determine, if possible, its exact bearing on the problem.

As the name of the play implies, the action centers about the women's celebration of the Thesmophoria, and the scene is laid in the sanctuary itself. No proof of this fact should be needed, for it is obvious that it could take place nowhere else, and in several instances the actors refer to the fact that they are in the Thesmophorion. The relevant passages are:

Lines 83-84, *κὰν Θεσμοφόρουν μέλλουσι περί μου τήμερον
ἐκκλησιάζειν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ.*

Lines 88-89, *Ἀγάθωνα πείσαι τὸν τραγωδοδιδάσκαλον
ἐς Θεσμοφόρουν ἐλθεῖν.*

Euripides is speaking in both instances and twice he refers to the place where the women are to hold an *ἐκκλησία* as the (sanctuary) of the Thesmophoroi goddesses. Twice the Thesmophorion is mentioned by name:

Lines 277-278, *ὥς τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας
σημεῖον ἐν τῷ Θεσμοφορείῳ φαίνεται.*

Line 880, *Θεσμοφορεῖον τουτογί.*

¹ H. Thompson, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 156 ff.; and cf. *Hesperia*, I, 1932, p. 96, note 1.

² For the literature see Curt Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Altertum*, II, p. 255; W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 399; and *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 182-192.

³ Line 658.

These passages are important in showing that not only did the celebrants meet in the Thesmophorion, but even the assembly, which is called together at the time of the festival, is held in the sacred precinct. The women were probably required to spend the whole time of the festival within its enclosure, as appears from the fact that they brought tents and equipment for camping on the grounds.

When it was discovered that the *κηδεστής* had joined the assembly in woman's guise, a search was made throughout the temenos to see whether any other men had been smuggled in. The chorus raises the cry:

Lines 655-658, ἡμᾶς τοίνυν μετὰ τοῦτ' ἤδη τὰς λαμπάδας ἀψαμένας χρὴ
 ξυζωσαμένας εἶ κἀνδρείως τῶν θ' ἱματίων ἀποδύσας
 ζητεῖν, εἴ που κάλλος τις ἀνὴρ ἐσελήλυθε, καὶ περιθρέξαι
 τὴν πύκνα πᾶσαν καὶ τὰς σκηναὶς καὶ τὰς διόδους διαθρήσαι.

This reference to the Pnyx in connection with the assembly of women constitutes the only evidence from ancient literature for associating the Thesmophorion with the assembly place.⁴

It is obvious that, if τὴν πύκνα in line 658 refers to the Pnyx as the place of assembly, this must have been included in the sacred area devoted to the celebration of the Thesmophoria. Aristophanes cannot have meant to imply that the Pnyx should be searched for intruders, unless it was shut off from the public during the festival. Jane Harrison alone of all the scholars has drawn this logical conclusion from the association of the Pnyx and the Thesmophorion. She seized upon this fact and made it an important point in the argument. "The Pnyx was the scene of the celebration. Half the fun of the piece turns upon that. It was an actual fact that for three or four days the women who celebrated the Thesmophoria held possession of the Pnyx which the women of the *Ekklesiastousai* would like to have held for always."⁵ Carried away with the enthusiasm of this discovery she observes with chagrin that "commentators must needs darken counsel by explaining that the Thesmophorion might rightly be called the Pnyx—for in the temple, as it were a Pnyx, was held the assembly concerning Euripides." She does not state her authority for this comment, but it is found in Blaydes' edition of Aristophanes.⁶ It is merely an elaboration of the idea

⁴ Dörpfeld, Harrison, and others have found support in the statement of Pausanias, I, 14, 1, that the temples of Demeter and Triptolemos were situated above the Enneakrounos, ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην. The new identification of the fountain at the south edge of the Agora with the Enneakrounos deprives this passage of its significance in this connection, for, as Thompson points out, *loc. cit.*, p. 183, "the two temples cannot be separated from the Eleusinion," the approximate location of which can now be determined beyond a doubt as being on the northwest slope of the Acropolis, northeast of the Areopagos.

⁵ *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 106.

⁶ *Thesm.*, line 658. τὴν πύκνα] Thesmophorium et tentoria vicina intelligit Fritzsche. Pnyxis autem nomine appellari Thesmophorium quod in eo, quasi in Pnyce, concio nunc feminarum de Euripide habeatur. Cf. Invernizius, *Aristophanis comoediae*, vol. VIII, p. 411, on the same passage: templum in quo tunc concioni habendae congregatae erant mulieres, facete comicus Pnycem appellat.

expressed in the scholia on the passage. The commentator, not being interested in matters of topography, offers the most natural interpretation to the effect that the sanctuary, being temporarily used for an assembly, might appropriately be called the Pnyx. Two of the scholiasts, however, who may have had independent knowledge about the relative position of the two buildings, take the Pnyx here to refer to the assembly itself.⁷ This is the interpretation followed by most of the older commentators, until topographers began to look for the Thesmophorion, using this passage as a clue to its location.⁸

If we interpret the reference to the Pnyx in a material sense, taking this as evidence for the proximity of the assembly place to the Thesmophorion, by a similar line of reasoning we must also conclude that the house of Agathon was next door to the sanctuary of the goddesses. In lines 280 ff. the kinsman, fitted out with woman's clothing, is still standing before the house of Agathon. He speaks to an imaginary female slave, who is ordered to take down the sacred box and take out a cake for an offering to the goddesses. Then he addresses a prayer to Demeter and Persephone, and immediately, before dismissing the servant, he begins to look for a place where he can sit down and listen to the orators.⁹ Thereupon he dismisses the imaginary Thratta because, as he says, slaves are not permitted to attend. In the crowded space of the theater these actions, represented as taking place before the house of Agathon and in the Thesmophorion respectively, are carried out with practically no intervening space; but no one, so far as I am aware, has suggested that this indicates the relative position of the sanctuary and the poet's house. It is obvious that we are here dealing with stage conventions which have nothing to do with Athenian topography.¹⁰

⁷ Line 658. *πύκνα· τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. παρὰ τὸ πυκνοῦσθαι τοὺς ὄχλους, ἐπεποιήντο γὰρ ἐκκλησίαν.* Others seem to have understood *τὰς σκηνάς* to refer to the stage in the theater, where the play was given. Rutherford, *Scholia Arist.*, II, pp. 481 f.

⁸ Van Leeuwen, writing in 1904, *Arist. Thesm.*, p. 87, takes the view of the topographers: Pnyxem Thesmophorio vicinam explorare mulieres iubet earum dux, praesertim autem scrutari sua ipsarum umbracula.

⁹ Line 292: *ποῦ, ποῦ καθίζωμ' ἐν καλῷ, τῶν ῥητόρων | ἵν' ἐξακούω.*

¹⁰ There are other instances of a similar kind in Aristophanes' plays, in which the poet's fancy has misled commentators to draw sweeping conclusions about historical facts. An excellent case in point is a passage in the *Acharnians*, lines 593-598, where Lamachos refers to himself as strategos, although in a later passage, lines 1073 ff., of the same play it clearly appears that he is a subordinate officer, being despatched by the generals to do garrison duty on the Boeotian border. Van Leeuwen, *Aristophanis Acharn.*, pp. 99, 104, has shown that Lamachos was taxiarch in 426/5, the year in which the play was presented. Cf. K. J. Beloch, *Att. Pol.*, p. 302. Other scholars have interpreted the first of the two passages in a literal sense; see A. B. West, *A.J.P.*, XLV, 1924, pp. 145 ff. H. B. Mayor in a recent article, *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, pp. 45-64, has attempted to prove that Lamachos was general when the play was presented at the Lenaia in February, 425 B.C. The election of generals ordinarily took place after the Lenaia, and Aristophanes, hoping to prejudice the people against Lamachos and the war party, composed his play with this intention. But by exception the election of the generals for 425 was held a month earlier than usual, and when the results were announced Aristophanes changed a portion of the play so as to take into account that Lamachos was

There is no more reason to assume that the reference to *πύκνα* in line 658 reflects the actual position of the Thesmophorion in relation to the real Pnyx.¹¹ Since we are specifically told by the actors that the assembly is represented as being held in the Thesmophorion, there is no difficulty in understanding *τὴν πύκνα* to refer to the assembly itself, here represented as a part of the festival celebration.

The word Pnyx, which became the name of the hill on which the assembly place was situated, is not often found either in literature or in inscriptions. Etymologically it appears to be connected with *πυκνός*,¹² which can only refer to the crowding of the people in the assembly, not to the construction of the assembly place. That being the case, its primary significance attaches to the *ekklesia* itself, although in time it came to be used most commonly as a designation of the place in which the assembly was held. But in the *Knights* of Aristophanes¹³ it occurs once unmistakably referring to the people assembled in the Pnyx. When Demos promises to hand over the reins of the Pnyx to one of the two contestants, Paphlagon and the sausage-seller, he uses a figure from the horse races. The steed to be controlled by the winner is the assembly of Athenian citizens, that is the *demos* itself, not the material building in which the assemblies were held. A few lines below in the same play (lines 1131-1140) *πυκνότης* is used with a play on the word to describe the cleverness of the Pnyx-frequenting Demos, who purposely fed the grafters in the Pnyx like sacrificial victims until they were ready for the slaughter.

This transfer of the name of an assembly hall to the assembly itself, or vice versa, is as common in ancient Greek as it is in modern languages. For example, *ἀγορά* means either place of assembly, the assembly itself, or market place, and it continued to be used with all three meanings till late times. Similarly *θέατρον*, which most commonly denotes the building, is frequently used by writers of the fifth century as a collective term referring to the spectators.¹⁴ Conversely the term *ἐκκλησία*, which

already general. The rest remained unaltered, hence the discrepancy in the offices held by Lamachos. For this ingenious theory, designed to overcome the difficulty, there is no proof outside the play itself, and it runs counter to epigraphical and historical evidence, as W. K. Pritchett has shown, *A.J.P.*, LXI, 1940, pp. 469-474. A comic poet, as Mayor allows, *loc. cit.*, p. 59, "is not bound to be consistent."

¹¹ A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 320, note 5, points to the danger of using the Aristophanes passage as evidence for the location of the Thesmophorion. As he rightly observes, no one has concluded that the women officers mentioned in lines 373 ff. actually existed. He thinks that the reference to the Pnyx, like the titles of the women officers, may be nothing but a joke: "Man erwartet einen verschliessbaren Raum, und den bot die Pnyx nicht."

¹² There seems to be no good reason for doubting this connection. See Liddell, Scott, and Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s. v. *πνίξ*. Reference is there given to *πυκναῖα* in Ion Frag. 65, which has the same meaning as *πνίξ*. The feminine noun understood with this adjective is presumably *ἐκκλησία*.

¹³ Line 1109: *τούτῳ παραδώσω τῆς πυκνὸς τὰς ἡνίας*. Cf. *Ekklesiazousai*, line 466: *μὴ παραλαβοῦσαι τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἡνίας*.

¹⁴ Herodotos, VI, 21; Plato, *Symposium*, 194 B; Aristophanes, *Knights*, line 233.

primarily means assembly, sometimes occurs in the sense of assembly place, i. e., the Pnyx.¹⁵

That the festival of the Thesmophoria was held within the sanctuary of the goddesses is clear from the direct statements quoted above, and the great secrecy surrounding the performance makes this self-evident. The sanctuary must have been clearly marked off either by a wall or by a fence following a line indicated by boundary stones. The Pnyx, too, had clearly fixed boundaries.¹⁶ The celebrants in the Thesmophorion could no more encroach upon the area assigned to the Pnyx than the populace was allowed within the precinct of the goddesses. There are good reasons for believing that the Pnyx, far from being turned over to the women during the celebration, was actually used as a place of assembly by the demos during the days of the festival. The time of the festival is well known. The celebration in the Thesmophorion lasted three days, Pyanopsion 11-13, but it was preceded by a one-day celebration at Halymous.¹⁷ One decree from the year 122/1 is preserved¹⁸ which was passed on the eleventh of Pyanopsion. At this late date the Pnyx may have been in ruins,¹⁹ and the assembly which passed the decree held its meeting in the theater, as was the practice at that time. But the fact that it was passed at one of the regular assemblies, and a principal assembly (*ἐκκλησία κυρία*) at that, shows that the ekklesia did not suspend its activities for the duration of the festival.²⁰ Since the women had no

¹⁵ Philochoros, in a quotation preserved by a scholiast on Aristophanes' *Birds*, line 997, uses *ἐκκλησία* to denote the place of assembly, and in the same sentence he uses the word *πνύξ* as the name of the hill.

¹⁶ See *I.G.*, I², 882; and cf. *Hesperia*, I, 1932, p. 108.

¹⁷ See L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 52, where the ancient references are collected.

¹⁸ *I.G.*, II², 1006, line 50.

¹⁹ On this question see Thompson, *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 216 f., and cf. his revised view referred to below, p. 256, note 27.

²⁰ In lines 78-80 of the *Thesmophoriazousai* the announcement is made by the kinsman that the Boule and the courts were closed, the alleged reason being that it was the third day of the festival. In the lines following Euripides replies that he expected this to be his undoing, since this was the very day on which the women had decided to hold an assembly in order to take action on his case. There seems to be a play on the information that the courts and the council were not in session, for in reality while the ekklesia was assembled in the Pnyx the courts and the council would normally be closed to make it possible for the prytaneis and the dicasts to be present in the assembly. That the assembly met during other important festivals is shown by many extant decrees. At least seven preserved decrees, ranging in date from the fourth to the second century B.C., were enacted during the days of the City Dionysia, Elaphebolion 9-13, *I.G.*, II², 360; 460; 461; 646; 647; 1008, line 50; and *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 15. On the day preceding the Dionysia, Elaphebolion 8, which was known as the sacred day *par excellence*, assemblies were not held; and Aischines, III, 67, violently assails Demosthenes for violating this rule by making the prytaneis call the ekklesia together. At certain other festivals too the ekklesia apparently did not hold sessions. There are no dated decrees preserved that could have been passed during the Lenaia, celebrated on Gamelion 12-14, whereas no less than sixteen extant decrees are dated on the eleventh. These would seem to show that an attempt was made to rush business through before the holidays began. During festivals lasting for many days, like the Eleusinia, the Boule and the ekklesia seem to have met on the less important days. The subject is treated at length by S. Dow, *H.S.C.P.*, XLVIII, 1937, pp. 111 ff.; cf. L. Deubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

part in the public affairs of the state, the celebration of the festival did not interfere with the assembly. It might be argued that the demos had to forego its right to meet in the Pnyx, because it was then occupied by the women, but there is no proof of such a startling provision.²¹ If this had been the case Aristophanes would certainly have made the assembly of women meet in the regular assembly place rather than in the Thesmophorion.

It has been asserted that the ekklesia of the women in the *Thesmophorizousai* was suggested to Aristophanes by the proximity of the Pnyx to the Thesmophorion.²² There is, of course, no proof of this nor is it at all a necessary assumption. Since the Thesmophoria were in charge of the women of Attica, it is obvious that they had to hold a formal session some time during the festival to deliberate about the affairs of the cult. It was customary at other festivals to call the boule and sometimes the ekklesia²³ together in the pertinent sanctuary to take action upon matters connected with the festival, especially to decide whether any person participating in the celebration be found guilty of unlawful behavior.²⁴ In view of the fact that the Eleusinion is one of the sanctuaries most frequently mentioned as the meeting place of the Boule,²⁵ this practice might well have suggested the situation for the play.

From the *Thesmophoriazousai* we learn nothing further about the location of the sanctuary, except for some vague indications that it occupied a position on a hill.²⁶

²¹ In Thebes, we are told by Xenophon, *Hellenika*, V, 2, 29, at the time of the Spartan attack the Boule met in a stoa in the agora because the women were celebrating the Thesmophoria in the Kadmeia, the inference being that the Boule but for the festival would have met in the Kadmeia. It is possible that its regular meeting place was the sanctuary of Demeter, which was regarded as having been at one time the house of Kadmos; cf. Pausanias, IX, xvi, 5. Similarly in Athens the bouleuterion was closely connected with the temple of the Great Mother; see Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 208 ff. From the statement of Xenophon it is clear that the celebration of the Thesmophoria in Thebes did not interrupt the public business.

²² H. Thompson, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 185; J. Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.*, p. 106.

²³ See below, note 25, and cf. *I.G.*, II², 780, lines 3, 28. At such a session, held during the Skira, the women of the *Ekklesiiazousai* decided upon their scheme to seize control of the city.

²⁴ See Demosthenes, *Meidias*, 175 (p. 517); and cf. *I.G.*, II², 1140, a tribal decree passed ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ μετὰ Πάνδια. See also S. Dow, *loc. cit.*, pp. 110-111; and Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 289.

²⁵ Andokides, I, 111, cites a Solonian law which made it compulsory for the Boule to meet in the Eleusinion after the celebration of the mysteries. Decrees passed at such sessions are preserved: *I.G.*, II², 848; 1072; and 794, where the reading βουλὴ ἐν τῷ [ἐ]λεουσινίῳ καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ] is an almost certain restoration. See S. Dow, *loc. cit.*, pp. 109, 116; and cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 85.

²⁶ See Thompson, *loc. cit.*, p. 184. In the case of a play presented in the theater the question must always be asked whether such indications refer to the actual monument or locality in which the action is represented as taking place, or to the theater itself. References like these have been used with as much—or as little—justification as evidence for the construction of the fifth-century Theater of Dionysos. See criticism in Dörpfeld and Reisch, *Das griechische Theater*, pp. 188 ff., where expressions like ἀναβαίνειν and καταβαίνειν are explained, on the basis of common usage in the assembly, as referring to the appearance and disappearance of a speaker before the audience. Cf. A. E. Haigh, *The Attic Theatre*³, p. 166; Roy C. Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and its Drama*, p. 91.

Since there are many hills in Athens, these indications are not very helpful. They are, in fact, no less applicable to any one of several proposed sites, including the new location suggested below.

In the detailed study of the Pnyx area Thompson has described both the site itself and all the movable objects that can be said to throw any light on the location of the Thesmophorion. It will not be necessary to discuss these here at length, but a brief mention of the more important objects is in place. The architectural remains are those of a stoa, now called East Stoa, begun at a late date and left in such an unfinished condition that it can never have been used. It had two predecessors, the first of which also remained unfinished. The original construction was first dated in the second century B.C., but recently Thompson has pushed its date back to the time of Lykourgos.²⁷ There are also traces of earlier occupations of the site, but these are too scanty to afford any tangible information. To the northwest of the stoa are several rock-cut beddings for monuments, and another large building, the West Stoa, was discovered in one of the recent campaigns of excavations. None of these buildings has been suggested as having anything to do with the Thesmophorion.

In the fill within and around the East Stoa some votive objects were discovered, most of which belong to a sanctuary deposit, and all of which date from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. They consist chiefly of small votive vessels and terracotta figurines, of well-known types, such as might be found in any sanctuary. In no case are the figures accompanied by recognizable attributes that would help to determine what deities if any they were intended to represent.

The most important of the other objects are a terracotta mould for a relief and a fragment from the impression²⁸ of another similar mould. In the center of the relief

²⁷ At the meeting of the Archaeological Institute at Hartford in December, 1941, Thompson presented his revised views regarding the date of the stoa and the Pnyx. He now proposes to ascribe the construction of the massive retaining wall to Lykourgos. The stoa, formerly identified as belonging to the Thesmophorion, and a much larger stoa farther west, he regards as parts of the Pnyx complex and intended for use in connection with the assemblies. The two stoas will henceforth be designated the East (formerly Long Stoa; it is the shorter of the two) and the West Stoa. See *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 123.

²⁸ It is not very clear what purpose these impressions were intended to serve. Similar reliefs, but of earlier date, have been treated in a recent article by Dorothy Burr Thompson, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 285 ff., who applies to them the noncommittal term "excerpts," and suggests various explanations of their "mysterious purposes." Homer Thompson, *loc. cit.*, p. 176, assumes that the relief under discussion was taken from a metal bowl for use in making terracotta relief vessels. If such were its purpose, it would seem strange that only a small part of the second figure was included in the mould; and it is not very clear why the moulds made from the metal reliefs were not used directly in the making of terracotta bowls. This process still seems to leave the impressions without any intelligible purpose. In the case of whole figures or groups of figures lifted from a metal vessel to be used by the less inventive craftsman in a cheaper medium the process is easily understood, but it is difficult to explain the use of such excerpts containing parts of several figures, or even of a single figure, with the head or some equally essential feature omitted. Another

is a draped female figure holding a torch in her left hand. Above her head is the small figure of a stag darting away to the left. At the right edge there is part of a seated figure holding a scepter, and on the left is an amphora and something else which is not very clear. Thompson has advanced arguments for identifying the standing figure with Kore and the seated one with Demeter. But the stag is more appropriate as an attribute of Artemis, whereas the torch is equally suitable either to Artemis or to Kore. The identity of the figures, however, is of slight importance, since the mould was obviously made from some vessel on which a larger group of deities was depicted.²⁹ Seeing that only one complete figure and part of a second are included in the mould, it is impossible to determine what group of deities was represented on the original. Moreover, we know that in many sanctuaries altars were erected and sacrifices made to deities other than those to whom the sanctuaries were dedicated, and dedications were not always selected for their appropriateness to the recipient deity. Unless there is a preponderance of recognizable types of figures in a sanctuary deposit, it is unsafe to draw any conclusions with regard to the identity of the deities to whom the dedications were made.³⁰

Among the other objects from the fill near the East Stoa is a bronze plaque of a female figure holding a wreath but devoid of any identifying attributes. The deposit also includes a few fragments of lamps, some of the corona type, and numerous small votive cups, identical with those found in large numbers at various points on the North Slope of the Acropolis and in the Agora excavations. One curse tablet of lead was found near the East Stoa but not in the sanctuary deposit. Although such curses were frequently deposited in sanctuaries of Demeter, they are also associated with the

explanation suggests itself, that the impressions were kept by the possessors of precious metal vessels as convenient means of identification and proof of ownership. The vessels were sometimes used at public celebrations and festivals, as is suggested in Thucydides' description (VI, 32) of the departure of the Sicilian Expedition, and at such occasions an excerpt from the relief of a vessel would serve the same purpose as the owner's signature. A comparable practice obtained in regard to public seals, impressions (*σύμβολα*) of which were kept as guarantees of the authenticity of credentials. See *I.G.*, II², 141, lines 18-25 and the article by Regling in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. *symbolon* (4).

²⁹ Thompson explains the stag as part of the filling ornament, having nothing to do with the figures below. These he assumes to have been taken from an Eleusinian assembly of gods.

³⁰ The presence of the mould and the impression together with that of the other fragments of moulds for figurines, lamps, and relief bowls Thompson, *loc. cit.*, p. 176, has construed as "evidence for the existence, in the vicinity, of a potter's shop which supplied offerings for a sanctuary." It would be surprising to find an establishment of that kind so close to the sanctuary that the wastrels and refuse from it should be found together with the deposits of votive objects from the sanctuary itself. The dedications to the gods would have been buried within the limits of the *temenos*. But if the potter's shop could have been located so close to the Thesmophorion, and if its sole business was to produce votive objects for the cult of the goddesses, it is remarkable that none of the objects from the sanctuary deposit has any clearly marked characteristics indicating the nature of the cult.

cults of other chthonian deities; and a single specimen is hardly sufficient to establish the identity of the sanctuary in which it may have been placed.³¹

From this brief enumeration of the important objects from the excavation it is clear that these offer no conclusive proof for the location of the Thesmophorion. Having accepted the common interpretation of *Thesmophoriazousai*, line 658, as evidence for the existence of the sanctuary in the vicinity of the Pnyx, Thompson was fully justified in attempting to relate the finds to the cult of Demeter. Deprived of this support they are not sufficiently characteristic to offer positive information. It is significant that none of the votive objects peculiarly appropriate to the Eleusinian religion, such as figures of pigs, of women carrying pigs, or hydrophoroi was found in the excavation.³² Even more important is the total absence from the deposit of kernoi,³³ the specific cult vessel of Demeter, and this is the more remarkable in view of the large number of such vessels that have come to light in the deposits from the Eleusinion on the northwest slope of the Acropolis.

Important, too, is the fact that nothing was found of the megara, which formed an essential part of the Thesmophorion. We have no clear description of these chambers, but they appear to have been natural caverns sufficiently roomy to contain altars and to allow the priestesses and the ἀντλήτραι to perform their rites in the interior. If they existed in the vicinity of the Pnyx, they can hardly have disappeared entirely, for the whole hill consists of hard limestone which has not been greatly altered through erosion.

Before the positive evidence for the location of the Thesmophorion is presented it should be pointed out that *a priori* the Pnyx hill is a most unlikely place for its position. The Thesmophoria were one of the most ancient and certainly the most popular of all the religious festivals, not only in Athens but throughout the Greek world.³⁴ This we learn from sources of two kinds. On the one hand, tradition assigns its introduction to a primitive age before the hellenization of the population of Greece, that is, archaeologically speaking, to prehistoric times. On the other hand, the rites and sacrifices practiced at the festival were of such primitive character that a late introduction of the cult of the Thesmophoroi is out of the question. That being the case, we should look for the sanctuary in which such rites were performed in one of

³¹ No less than forty-five such tablets have been discovered in a well in the Agora-excavations. See G. Elderkin, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 43 ff.; and VI, 1937, pp. 382 ff.

³² See Thompson, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 186.

³³ The small votive cups might well have served as substitutes for kernoi, as Thompson suggests, but of themselves they are no more characteristic of Eleusinian worship than of any other cult.

³⁴ See Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, pp. 313 ff.; J. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, pp. 120 ff. In Sicily, we are told by Diodoros, V, 4, the Thesmophoria were celebrated in imitation of primitive life, τῇ διασκευῇ μιμούμενοι τὸν ἀρχαῖον βίον. In Eretria, too, where the women celebrating the festival cooked meat in the sun instead of by fire, the rites bear the characteristics of primitive religion. See Plutarch, *Quaest. Gr.*, p. 298 B; and cf. Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

the oldest quarters of the city. The Pnyx hill does not belong to this category.³⁵ Among the objects associated with the sanctuary itself there are, as we have seen, no traces of an early cult, nor was anything found in the assembly place to show that the area was occupied before the fifth century B.C.³⁶ Remains of prehistoric times and even of the early archaic period are conspicuously absent from the whole region surrounding the Pnyx, and there is every reason to believe that the crest of hills to which the Pnyx has given its name is a comparatively late addition to the city.³⁷ Thucydides' description of Athens before the time of Theseus³⁸ makes it perfectly clear that the Pnyx hill was not at that time a part of the city. The accurate observation which he makes with regard to the location of the earliest sanctuaries as evidence for the extent of the primitive city would certainly point to a place nearer the Acropolis as the most likely location of the Thesmophorion.

Thucydides does not mention the Thesmophorion among the early cult places close to the Acropolis, but if we apply his method of reasoning, we inevitably come to the conclusion that it was situated within the area occupied by his early—pre-Theseus—city of Athens. The exact extent of this area we do not know, but some of the sanctuaries mentioned by name in the Thucydides passage have been discovered and identified. Two of these, the sanctuaries of Zeus Olympios and Apollo Pythios, are situated on the upper slope, just below the Acropolis wall;³⁹ and the sanctuary of

³⁵ E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, pp. 22 ff., proceeding from other considerations, concluded that the Pnyx hill belonged to the earliest part of Athens; but this view, wholly incompatible with the archaeological discoveries, is no longer seriously accounted.

³⁶ Kourouniotes and Thompson, *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 96 and 215, assume that the Pnyx Hill "was frequented by the popular assembly early in the city's history," but this assumption is not borne out by the excavations, nor is it in itself probable. Before the reforms of Kleisthenes the populace had no need of a special assembly place apart from the Agora, where it was accustomed to congregate for religious festivals and even for the earliest dramatic performances. The excavators themselves have elsewhere, *loc. cit.*, p. 109, expressed the view that the assembly did not meet on the Pnyx hill before the beginning of the fifth century. Cf. Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 72, 395; and Haigh, *The Greek Theatre*³, p. 178. The earliest evidence for the existence of the assembly place is furnished by a boundary stone from about the middle of the fifth century.

³⁷ Cf. W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 389, and L. B. Holland, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 292, who states that "it is doubtful if any area outside the Acropolis was included in the city walls before the sixth century." By the term Acropolis he obviously means not the area enclosed within the citadel wall of the fifth century, but the whole Acropolis hill, including the slopes.

³⁸ Book II, 15. The description of Athens by Plato, *Kritias*, 111e ff., which includes the Pnyx within the circuit of the primitive Acropolis, is hardly evidence to the contrary. Although this whole account has a foundation in fact, as I have attempted to show elsewhere, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 92, the dimensions of his early city and of Attica are, like the rest of his description, exaggerations of conditions existing in his own day. As such they cannot be said to correspond to actual conditions at any particular period of the city's history.

³⁹ The much debated identification of these sanctuaries cannot be discussed here. There are scholars who still find it possible to believe that Thucydides referred to sanctuaries which even in his own day lay outside the city walls as proof of the smallness of the primitive city. See W. Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 ff.; Axel Boëthius, *Die Pythais*, pp. 4, 5, 160 ff.; Hans Möbius, *Ath. Mitt.*,

Ge should probably be identified with one of the three shrines of the earth-goddess known to have existed within a short distance of the Acropolis. The identification of the Enneakrounos is the most disputed point of the passage, but the best solution hitherto offered is to regard the fountain discovered in the Agora⁴⁰ as the Enneakrounos mentioned both by Thucydides and by Pausanias. This is situated in the hollow to the north of the Areopagos, at the southwest corner of the Agora. Thucydides' statement concerning the fountain, *ἐκείνη τε ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ*, indicates that it was outside, but only just outside, the limits of the early city. Whether the Areopagos was regarded as being within that area, depends very largely on the identity of the sanctuary of Ge to which Thucydides refers. One of the cult places dedicated to her worship was situated directly below the Areopagos, close to the sanctuary of the Eumenides.

It is in this general vicinity, or at least within the same proximity of the Acropolis, that we might reasonably expect to find the Thesmophorion. And favoring this situation is the fact that two known sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore existed in this locality and that a large part of the Acropolis slope is known to have been devoted to cults of the Eleusinian-goddesses.

Just below the entrance to the Acropolis Demeter Chloe shared a cult place with Kourotrophos⁴¹ and Aphrodite Pandemos, also called Blaute.⁴² Kore, too, was worshiped with Demeter in this shrine, but her association in the cult may be late. Demeter and Ge Kourotrophos also had cult connections with Aglauros,⁴³ whose sanctuary was on the upper north slope farther east. Lower on the same slope was the area, presumably fairly extensive,⁴⁴ in which one of the three sacred plowings of

LX-LXI, 1935-36, pp. 258 ff. Even as late as in the time of Hadrian it was known that the Olympieion and the Pythion to the southeast of the Acropolis lay outside the city of Theseus, as is shown by the inscription on the Arch of Hadrian. Thucydides is discussing an even earlier city of much smaller area, covering only the Acropolis and its immediate slopes. For the identification of the early Olympieion and of the Pythion on the north slope see the convincing study of A. Keramopoulos, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, XII, 1929, pp. 86-98.

⁴⁰ No detailed study of the fountain has appeared, but its identification with the Enneakrounos has been tentatively proposed. See T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 360 and pl. III, 15; and H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 183. A criticism of the view is given by Möbius, *loc. cit.*, pp. 264 ff., who accepts the identification of the fountain in the Agora with the Enneakrounos of Pausanias, but follows the opinion of earlier scholars that the fountain referred to by Thucydides was situated at the Ilissos.

⁴¹ Kourotrophos appears to have been originally an independent goddess, whose identification with Ge is of late origin; see M. P. Nilsson, *A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, p. 390. A divergent view is expressed by G. W. Elderkin, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 382, who regards Kourotrophos here as a cult title of Aphrodite.

⁴² See Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 285 ff.; Keramopoulos, *loc. cit.*, pp. 73 ff.; G. W. Elderkin, *loc. cit.*, pp. 381-387.

⁴³ See *I.G.*, II², 5152, and cf. E. Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, p. xxvi; W. S. Ferguson, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 4, 21.

⁴⁴ See Doro Levi, *Annuario*, VI-VII, 1923-1924, pp. 16 ff.

Attica took place.⁴⁵ The other two were at Skiron on the road to Eleusis and in the Rharian Plain, near Eleusis. All three were fertility rites in the religion of Demeter, but the one in Athens was originally connected with the worship of Athena, whose priests were chosen from the family of the Bouzygai.⁴⁶ The ἄροτος Βουζύγιος, as the plowing in Athens was called, was probably performed close to, if not within the temenos of the Eleusinion. Possibly the area cultivated by the ceremonial plowing should be identified with the Field of Hunger, λιμοῦ πεδίου,⁴⁷ a suitable name descriptive of the condition of agriculture before the first plow was invented by Bouzyges, whose identity was sometimes confused with that of Triptolemos or Epimenides.⁴⁸ Deubner⁴⁹ has plausibly suggested that the sacred objects brought up from the megara by the ἀντλήτραι were in the first instance intended to be used as fertility charms in connection with the sacred plowings at Skiron and on the slope of the Acropolis.⁵⁰

The approximate location of the Eleusinion ἐν ἄστει on the northwest slope of the Acropolis may now be regarded as an established fact,⁵¹ although none of the buildings relating to the cult has as yet been identified. Numerous inscriptions known to have stood in the Eleusinion, marble reliefs representing groups of Eleusinian deities, and, above all, deposits of votive objects of indisputably Eleusinian character, all of which have come to light in a comparatively limited area, combine with the testimonies of ancient writers to settle once for all this much disputed point in Athenian topography.⁵²

⁴⁵ See Plutarch, *Conj. Praec.*, 42 (p. 144 B); cf. J. Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.*, p. 167.

⁴⁶ Bouzyges and his two oxen are represented on the calendar frieze in the church of Hag. Eleutherios. See J. Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 168, fig. 38; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 250, and pl. 36, 8, where Bouzyges is preceded by a sower. The group belongs to the month Maimakterion, corresponding to the season of the fall sowing in Greece. The sacred plowing is also depicted on a red-figured krater published by D. M. Robinson in *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, pp. 152 ff. Here both Athena and Kekrops (or possibly Boutes) appear as spectators to whom Bouzyges demonstrates his new invention.

⁴⁷ Bekker, *Anecd.*, I, 278, 4; Zenobios, iv, 93: τὸ ὀπισθεν τοῦ Πρωτανείου πεδίου. See also W. Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 296 ff. Cf. the Homeric νεὸς τρίπολος, and see below, note 50.

⁴⁸ A statue of Epimenides stood in front of the temple of Triptolemos in or near the Eleusinion; see Pausanias, I, xiv, 4.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 51. But cf. A. R. van der Loeff, *Mnemosyne*, XLIV, 1916, pp. 101 ff.

⁵⁰ It has been suggested that the name Triptolemos, derived by false etymology from τρίς + πολέω, was thought to have originated from the three sacred plowings in Attica. See Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, s.v. Triptolemos; and J. Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. liii, 96, 167. Iasion, another congener of Triptolemos, and like him a lover of Demeter, is likewise connected with triple plowing. In the words of Homer, *Odyssey*, V, lines 105-127, "fair-tressed Demeter, yielding to her passion, lay in love with Iasion in the thrice plowed fallosw, νεῶ ἐν τριπόλῳ," and the offspring of their union was Ploutos. Like Epimenides, Iasion was at home in Crete, but he does not figure in Attic legend.

⁵¹ T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 207 ff. See above, p. 251, note 4.

⁵² There is a considerable literature on the location of the Eleusinion in Athens. For the earlier theories see Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 287 ff., and J. Harrison, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 93 ff. Until recently the most commonly accepted theory was that of Dörpfeld, who placed it on the west slope, close to his hypothetical location of the Enneakrounos. Lately Keramopoulos, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1934-35, pp. 85 ff., has revived and modified an older theory of Versakis, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1912, pp. 48 ff., that it occupied

The Eleusinion was one, by far the most famous, of the many sanctuaries on the North Slope of the Acropolis in which primitive fertility cults were practiced. With each campaign of excavation new evidence is brought to light, showing that the whole area along the slope was devoted to primitive religion. The sanctuary of Aglauros, daughter of Kekrops, in which also Ge and Demeter appear to have been honored, and the early cult place of Aphrodite in the Gardens belong to this category. The same is true of the Lenaion, which is hardly to be distinguished from the Dionysion in Linnais.⁵³ The latter was probably not situated on the slope of the Acropolis but at the south edge of the Agora, not far from the Enneakrounos. It was, however, related to the Eleusinion, not only by the proximity of the two sanctuaries but through association in certain cult practices as well.⁵⁴

In this environment of primitive Greek religion the Thesmophorion finds its proper place.⁵⁵ In the Eleusinion itself probably stood the temple of Demeter and Kore, the two goddesses who were honored in the Thesmophoria and in that capacity bore the cult title *Θεσμοφόροι*. The festival was part of the Eleusinian religion,⁵⁶ and naturally belongs in the Eleusinion *ἐν ἄστει*. The name Thesmophorion may have been applied to the Eleusinion in connection with the festival, just as the term Pythion was used for the cult place of Apollo in the cave above the Klepsydra, although Apollo was here more commonly called *Ῥπακραῖος* or *ὑπὸ Μακραῖς*. He was also Apollo Patroos, as is shown by the myth of Ion, the reputed ancestor of the Ionians in

the western part of the south slope. More startling and wholly without foundation is the recent theory of C. Picard, *Rev. Arch.*, VII, 1936, pp. 119 f.; XI, 1938, pp. 99 ff.; XII, 1938, pp. 93 f. and 243; *Manuel d'Archéologie Grecque*, II, pp. 714-732, who identifies it with the so-called Theseion on Kolonos Hill. His opinion is categorically accepted by Giffler, *Rev. Arch.*, XII, 1938, pp. 243 f., in a brief note which adds nothing of importance. Any attempt to remove the Eleusinion from the immediate vicinity of the Acropolis goes contrary to the unanimous testimonies of ancient writers and inscriptions. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 1078, lines 14-15: *ὑπὸ τῇ πόλει*, the equivalent of *ὑπὸ τῇ Ἀκροπόλει*, which Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.*, III, 39P, uses to denote the location of the Eleusinion. For a criticism of Picard's theory see W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 112, note 48, and W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, Supplement V, p. 1, note 4.

⁵³ See J. Harrison, *Primitive Athens*, p. 96; and Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 293 ff.

⁵⁴ See *I.G.*, II², 1367 and 1672, line 182, where sacrifices to Demeter, Kore, and Pluto, and to Dionysos are mentioned in close connection. Cf. Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 125; and Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 278.

⁵⁵ According to Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte*, p. 108, the Eleusinion in Athens was established at the time when hostilities between Eleusis and Athens had come to an end and Eleusis had become incorporated into the Athenian state. This event is usually dated in the second half of the seventh century; cf. Nilsson, *A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, p. 393; Solders, *op. cit.*, p. 104. It does not follow, however, that the Demeter cult was then planted for the first time in the area chosen for the Eleusinion. The connections of Demeter with some of the cult places in this vicinity have all the characteristics of primitive religion, and it is more in keeping with the course of religious development to assume that the Eleusinian cult was grafted upon an already existing worship of Demeter rather than introduced for the first time in the seventh century.

⁵⁶ See H. G. Pringsheim, *Arch. Beitr. z. Geschichte des Eleus. Kults*, p. 109; Paul Foucart, *Mystères d'Eleusis*, p. 64; and cf. *I.G.*, II², 1363.

Athens.⁵⁷ The name Pythios is derived from his connection with Delphi through the sacred mission of the Pythaistai.

Other instances of this kind can be cited,⁵⁸ showing that a particular deity may be worshiped under different cult titles in the same sanctuary. Thus there is no need to look for a Thesmophorion as a separate temenos of Demeter. The Eleusinion with its temples of Demeter and Kore and of Triptolemos might well have been called Thesmophorion in connection with the rites of the Thesmophoria. It is possible, however, that a certain part of the Eleusinion where the subterranean megara were situated was especially devoted to this function, and that this part was called Thesmophorion in a specific sense,⁵⁹ but the whole Eleusinion was certainly required to furnish sufficient space for the celebrations. Eleusinion was the more common, though probably less ancient, name applied to the temenos and its temples, which served the purpose of a city annex to the sanctuary at Eleusis.⁶⁰

The Eleusinion was situated along the route followed by the sacred processions through the city, and this fact has an important bearing on the location of the Thesmophorion. Deubner⁶¹ assumes on the basis of the famous scholion on Lucian⁶² that the pigs and other objects were deposited in the megara early in the summer at the festival of the Skira and that the remains were brought up and placed on the altars in the fall at the celebration of the Thesmophoria. Objections to this interpretation were raised by Thompson⁶³ on the ground that the Thesmophorion with its megara lay too far from the direct route of the procession leading from the Acropolis to Skiron. In a recent article⁶⁴ Deubner has restated his position with regard to the time at which the objects were deposited in the megara, although he adheres to the accepted view that the Thesmophorion was located on the Pnyx hill. If the conclusion reached by the present study is accepted, that the Thesmophorion was identical with, or part of the Eleusinion, this topographical difficulty disappears.

The important point upon which this whole investigation turns is the interpretation of a single reference to the Pnyx in the *Thesmophoriazousai* of Aristophanes.

⁵⁷ See Demosthenes, XVIII, 141: τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθιον, ὃς Πατρῶός ἐστι τῇ πόλει; and cf. A. Keramopoulos, *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, XII, 1929, pp. 92-98. M. P. Nilsson, *A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, p. 391, states that Apollo Pythios in Athens became Apollo Patroos at a relatively late date.

⁵⁸ The name Lenaion, referred to above, probably originated in a similar way.

⁵⁹ Some of the earlier topographers assumed that the Thesmophorion was both physically and by cult connected with the Eleusinion; cf. Aug. Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 299, and J. Martha, *Les Sacerdotes Athéniens*, p. 160. But since neither the one nor the other could at that time be located with any kind of certainty, this conclusion was hardly more than a correct guess.

As a parallel to such a sanctuary within a sanctuary as we must assume for the Thesmophorion in Athens, reference should be made to the cult place of Demeter at Pagasai-Demetrias, cf. *Polemon*, I, 1929, pp. 32 ff.; H. Thompson, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 186, note 3.

⁶⁰ Cf. S. Solders, *op. cit.*, p. 125; M. P. Nilsson, *Jahrb.*, XXXI, 1916, p. 314.

⁶¹ *Attische Feste*, p. 43.

⁶² *Dialogi Meretricii*, II, 1.

⁶³ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 188, note 1.

⁶⁴ *Arch. Anz.*, 1936, pp. 335 ff.

No other, independent evidence exists and none has ever been adduced for placing the Thesmophorion on the Pnyx hill. Were it not for this passage it could never have occurred to anyone to separate the Thesmophorion from the ancient cult places of the Eleusinian goddesses on the Acropolis slope. The Aristophanes passage, as has been shown above, admits of a satisfactory interpretation which deprives it of its validity for the solution of this problem. Turning from this fact to the results of the excavation we find that no objects of exclusively Eleusinian or Thesmophorian character were brought to light in the area assigned to the sanctuary; and the remains are too late and too insignificant to be interpreted as belonging to the early and highly important cult of the Thesmophoroi. We are thus left without any evidence for the location of the Thesmophorion on the Pnyx hill, and the high antiquity of the cult is a strong argument for placing it near the Acropolis, where most of the other primitive cult places were situated. And since the rites of the Thesmophoria, which gave the name both to the sanctuary and to the goddesses, were an essential part of the Eleusinian religion,⁶⁵ we are justified in assuming that they were practiced in the Eleusinion itself.

Until the area of the Eleusinion has been more thoroughly investigated and the results published, it would be hazardous to propose new interpretations of its remains in the light of the present study. The excavations have yielded a variety of material related to the worship of Demeter and Kore. Whether any of these objects will prove to throw further light on the location of the Thesmophorion cannot yet be determined. But one point in favor of the view expressed here might be mentioned, the more so as the same suggestion has been made independently by members of the Agora staff.

It has been stated above that the absence near the Pnyx of underground chambers that might have served as megara gives rise to a serious objection against the former view regarding the location of the Thesmophorion. No such chambers have been recognized in the area of the Eleusinion on the northwest slope of the Acropolis, but the ground is there so soft that any natural caverns that may have existed could easily have disappeared. On the other hand, the excavations have revealed an elaborate system of underground tanks and passages lined with brick and reached from above through wide, circular shafts.⁶⁶ These are of Roman date, probably of the first century after Christ. It is not impossible that this extensive complex will prove to be a Roman modification and elaboration of the original natural caverns, which may have collapsed or otherwise become inadequate to Roman tastes and practices. The Eleusinian religion experienced a marked revival in imperial times, and the cult of the Thesmophoroi continued in popularity to a very late date. At Eleusis there were extensive repairs and improvements made by the Roman emperors, and it is likely that the sanctuary in Athens likewise benefited from their interest in the Eleusinian religion.

⁶⁵ See M. P. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion*, pp. 42 ff.

⁶⁶ See T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 218 and 220.

II

DECREE IN HONOR OF SATYRA, PRIESTESS OF THE
THESMOPHOROI

51. While engaged in the present study of the location of the Thesmophorion in Athens, my attention was called to an unpublished inscription⁶⁷ from the Agora excavations, which sheds further light on the problem. The marble fragment (Fig. 1) containing part of the honorary decree was discovered on January 24, 1938, in a modern wall in Sector AA. The slab is broken diagonally along a line extending from the upper left to the lower right corner. Approximately half of the inscribed surface and most of the pediment are preserved.

Height, 0.528 m.; width, 0.36 m.; thickness, 0.117 m.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5165.

Early Second Century B.C.

Non-Stoichedon 52-56

- [Ca. 18 letters -κ]λέους εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἱέρεια τῶν Θεσμοφό
[ρων προκεκριμένη ὑπὸ τῶν] δημοτῶν, Σάτυρα, Κρατέου Μελιτέως γυν[ή],
[ἔθυσεν ὑπὲρ τῶν δημοτῶν καλῶ]ς καὶ εὐσεβῶς πάσας τὰς καθηκούσας
[θυσίας ἃς οἱ νόμοι προσέττατ]ον, ἐπεσκεύακεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς πά[ν]
5 [τας τοὺς ἐν τῷ Ἑλευσινίῳ, παρε]σκεύακεν δὲ καὶ πά[ν]τα ἐν τῷ τοῦ Πλ[ού]
[τωνος ἱερῷ, προσανήλωκεν δὲ καὶ] ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ὑπὲρ τὰς ἑκατόν δρα
[χμὰς εἰς τὰς θυσίας τὰς γιγνομένα]ς κατ' ἐνιαυτόν· ἀγαθεῖ τύχει· δεδό
[χθαι τοῖς Μελιτεύσι· ἐπαινέσαι τὴν ἱ]έρειαν τῶν Θε[σ]μοφόρων Σάτυρα<ν>
[Κρατέου Μελιτέως γυναῖκα καὶ στεφα]νῶσαι αὐτὴν μυρρίνης στεφά
10 [νωι εὐνοίας ἔνεκα καὶ εὐσεβείας τῆς εἰς τὰ]ς θεὰς καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν
[Μελιτέων, δοῦναι δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ εἰκόνας ἀ]νάθεσιν ἐν πίνακι, καθάπερ
[δέδοται καὶ ἄλλαις ἱερείαις ἐν τῷ ναῷ] τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς Κόρη[ς],
[ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν ταμίαν] τῶν δημοτῶν ἐν στήλει λ[ι]
[θίνει καὶ στήσαι πρὸς τῷ Ἑλευσινίῳ, τὸ δὲ] ἀνάλωμα εἰς ταῦτα με[ρί]
15 [σαι ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς διοικήσεως].

TRANSLATION

“-----, son of -----kles, made the motion: Inasmuch as the priestess of the Thesmophoroi, Satyra, the wife of Krateas of Melite, *having been selected by the*

⁶⁷ I owe this reference to the kindness of W. Kendrick Pritchett, who has also offered helpful suggestions on some points of interpretation. With the kind permission of T. L. Shear, Director of the Agora Excavations, and of B. D. Meritt, Editor of the Agora inscriptions, I include here a publication of this important document as an appendix to the topographical study.



Fig. 1. Decree in Honor of the Priestess Satyra

members of her deme, *has performed well* and piously *on behalf of the demesmen* all the appropriate *sacrifices prescribed by law*; and has repaired all the temples *in the Eleusinion* and made all the preparations in the *sanctuary of Pluto*, and furthermore, *has expended* out of her private means more than a hundred drachmas *for the annual sacrifices*; be it resolved *by the Meliteans*—with Good Fortune—*to commend the priestess of the Thesmophoroi, Satyra, the wife of Krateas of Melite, and to bestow upon her a crown of myrtle in return for her good will and piety toward the goddesses and the deme of the Meliteans*; (and be it further resolved) *to grant her the right to set up a painted portrait (of herself) in the temple of Demeter and Kore in accordance with the privilege bestowed upon other priestesses. The treasurer of the demesmen is to have this decree inscribed upon a marble plaque and placed at the approach to the Eleusinion, the cost of this work to be paid out the common funds.*"

The date of the inscription, so far as it can be determined on the basis of letter forms, is the first half of the second century B.C. The lettering may be compared with *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 277, no. 74 (dated 184/3); *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 141, no. 78. There is nothing in the contents to determine the date more closely.

The length of the lines can be fixed within narrow limits. A median line extending vertically through the apex of the gable would bisect the inscribed area, provided the left margin was of the same width as the existing margin on the right. Eight half-lines preserved to the right of the center show a variation of only two letters. On this basis a line of 52-58 letters should be restored. Line 9, the restoration of which may be regarded as certain, unless it contained a misspelling, has 53 letters. The other lines, in the restoration here proposed, vary between 52 and 56 letters.

The restorations in some of the lines are conjectural, and it would be unsafe to base any far-reaching conclusions on evidence from the restored part of the text. Fortunately the general sense is certain, and the important points of information are for the most part contained in the preserved portions.

Line 1: The inscription began with the name of the mover, followed by his father's name in the genitive.⁶⁸ Both names must have been unusually long to occupy the available space of 23 or more letters. Names of that length are rare, but by no means unknown, in the period to which the inscription belongs. The omission of any formula for dating shows that it is not a decree of the Athenian assembly, and the words *τῶν δημοτῶν* preserved in lines 2 and 13 indicate that it was passed by one of the demes. Since the woman honored was the wife of a man from Melite, we are justified in restoring the name of that deme in lines 8 and 11.

The husband's name Krateas is unusual in Attic prosopography. Among the tombstones published in the last volume of the *Editio Minor* there is one (*I.G.*, II²,

⁶⁸ In most of the preserved demotic decrees the father's name is omitted, but one other example, *I.G.*, II², 1186, is similar to ours in this respect.

6860) bearing the name of Krateas son of Nikolaos of Melite, which is dated by the editor in the second century B.C. It can hardly be doubted that he is the husband of the priestess honored in the decree.

Line 2: The participle from *προκρίνω* has been restored on the basis of a passage in Isaios (see below, p. 271, note 78), describing the election of the women who assisted the priestess at the Thesmophoria. It is not known whether the priestess acquired office in the same way, but the process is similar to that used in the election of priests of other cults. The aorist participle *προκριθείσα* would be more in keeping with common usage, but it is too short to fill the space. *Χειροτονηθείσα* would have the right number of letters, but priests were seldom elected by a show of hands, and it is unlikely that this method was used in Satyra's case. Whatever was the exact word, there can be little doubt that it denoted the selection of the priestess by or from the body of demotai.

Lines 4-5: The restoration of the phrase *ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ* is conditioned upon acceptance of the view presented above with regard to the location of the Thesmophorion. If, as seems likely, the word *ἐπεσκέυακεν* in line 4 refers to actual repairs of the buildings, the restoration *παρ]εσκέυακεν* in line 5 is probably justified. The latter term would then be used to describe the various preparations of the cult places for the celebration of the festival. If *ἐπεσκέυακεν* had been repeated in line 5, we should expect the article *τά* to follow *πάντα*. As the text stands *πάντα* can best be understood as a cognate accusative with *παρεσκέυακεν*.⁶⁹

The word beginning at the end of line 5 can hardly be anything but the name of a deity. The letters ΠΛ are clearly preserved, and there is possibly room for two letters following the lambda. In view of the fact that alpha in this inscription is written without the horizontal stroke as often as with it, some other name like Πλ[νός] could be restored instead, but the cult association of Pluto with the Eleusinian goddesses makes the proposed restoration more probable.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Various preparations and minor repairs in the Thesmophorion at Delos were made in successive years shortly before the festival, which there as at Thebes appears to have been celebrated in Metageitnion. See M. P. Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 314, note 5, and p. 317; *I.G.*, XI, 203, lines 48-51; 287, lines 68-69; *Inscriptions de Délos*, 290, lines 5, 87-91; 291, lines 25-28; 316, line 103; 338, line 44; 354, line 82; 372, line 88, etc.; and cf. R. Vallois, *B.C.H.*, LIII, 1929, pp. 250-278. It is possible that *πάντα* in line 5 of our decree is the object of the verb, and in that case we must assume that the article was omitted by haplography. Cf. Dittenberger, *Syll.*³, 1106, line 111: *πάντα τὰ δέοντα παρσκευάζετε*.

⁷⁰ In a fragmentary inscription from Eleusis, *I.G.*, II², 1363, containing the fasti for the month Pyanopsion, the priestess of Pluto is mentioned in close connection with the Thesmophoroi. The passage doubtless refers to the celebration of the Thesmophoria. A sanctuary of Pluto was connected with the Thesmophorion at Pagasai-Demetrias; see *Πρακτικά*, 1915, pp. 191 ff. At Delos the male divinity regularly associated with the Thesmophoroi is Zeus Eubouleus, who is almost the equivalent of Pluto; cf. J. E. Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.*, p. 101. See *Inscriptions de Délos*, 290, lines 87-88; and *I.G.*, XI, 287, line 69.

Line 6: For the restoration compare *I.G.*, II², 956, line 18; and *I.G.*, XI, 161A, line 116 (Delos, 279 B.C.): εἰς τὰ Θεσμοφόρια προσαναλώσαμεν πρὸς ᾧ παρὰ ταμίου ἐλάβομεν.⁷¹ The use of the article with a numeral following the preposition ὑπὲρ should not be interpreted as denoting a specific sum fixed by regulation. The words ὑπὲρ τὰς mean nothing more than πλεῖον ἢ. The same use of the article occurs in other inscriptions, most of which are dated in the second century B.C. Cf. *I.G.*, II², 956, line 19; and 958, line 15.

Line 8: Instead of Μελιτεῦσι the word δημόταις, which has one less letter, might be substituted. These are the only obvious alternatives possible within the spacial limits determined by line 9. There is no trace of the nu of Σάτυραν, although there is room for it at the edge of the stone.

Line 11: The formula δοῦναι εἰκόνας ἀνάθεσιν ἐν πίνακι, if correctly restored, refers to the permission granted to Satyra for placing her portrait somewhere in the sanctuary, but does not specify how the funds are to be provided. Another formula, more commonly found, ἀναθεῖναι εἰκόνα ἐν πίνακι (cf. *I.G.*, II², 1327, line 24), implies that the demos would pay for the portrait. These formulas vary a great deal, especially in decrees passed by local assemblies and religious organizations.

Line 12: The restoration of this line is quite uncertain. It probably contained specification of the place where the painting was to be exhibited. But it may also be restored: δέδοται καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἱεραῖαις ταῖς] τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς Κόρης.

Line 14: Here again, as in line 5, the proposed restoration is to some extent determined by the relation of the Thesmophorion to the Eleusinion. Since the decree is in honor of a priestess of the Thesmophoroi, the phrase ἐν τῷ Θεσμοφορίῳ, which fits the space, might be expected. It was a common practice to erect honorary decrees in or near the place most closely connected with the activities and the benefactions of the person honored. This is especially true of priests and others whose duties had to do with the cults. On the other hand, it is unlikely that dedications of this kind were set up in the sacred area that bore the name Thesmophorion in a restricted sense. The ἱερόν proper was evidently closed to the public throughout the year, except on festival days, when it was accessible only to women;⁷² and it would have defeated the purpose of the honorary decree to post it in such a place. The entrance way to the Eleusinion,

⁷¹ This and other inscriptions, cf. *I.G.*, II², 1186, lines 34 ff.; 1198, lines 13 ff.; 1206, lines 7 ff., show that, in addition to the prescribed sum granted for sacrifices from the common funds, individuals in charge of the festivals (whether priests or laymen) were in the habit of adding out of their private means. In a decree from Eleusis, *I.G.*, II², 847, lines 17-20, 31-32, the epimeletai are honored for fitting out at their own expense (παρεσκεύασαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων) a team for transporting the sacred objects at the festival. The public money designated for this purpose was in this case given back to the Boule. Cf. also the inscription from Rhamnous, P. Roussel, *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1930, p. 269, lines 27 f.

⁷² See J. Martha, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

on the other hand, which was in the form of a prothyron, is often given as a place for the erection of inscriptions and dedications.⁷³

The phrase εἰς ταῦτα need not apply to anything more than the ἀναγραφὴ and ἀνάθεσις of the stele. If it were intended also to cover the expense for the painting of the portrait, such a provision would normally be stated in specific terms.

Line 15: For the restoration of the last line compare *I.G.*, II², 1206, lines 10-11.

The inscription gives rise to certain points of inquiry which need to be discussed at some length. It has an important bearing upon the location of the Thesmophorion and its relation to the Eleusinion ἐν ἄστει, and it supplies new information about the priestess of the cult.

The inscription belongs to a period of which few other demotic decrees are known. It was passed by Melite, which was not only a city deme but actually situated within the confines of the city proper. Most demotic decrees hitherto published are from demes outside of Athens. By far the largest number have been found at Eleusis, which, like Peiraeus, held a peculiar position among the demes of Attica. Very few decrees of city demes are known, and most of these are from Peiraeus or from demes located at some distance from the heart of the city. This is hardly accidental. The demotic decrees with few exceptions have to do with the cults of the demes. Some contain regulations about sacrifices and the administration of the sanctuaries; others, like the Satyra decree, were passed in honor of officials or donors for services rendered in connection with the cults. It is unlikely that the demes in the city had many cults, apart from those of their eponymous heroes,⁷⁴ which were not shared by the rest of the Athenians. The country demes, on the other hand, consisting of villages too remote to give the inhabitants easy access to the festivals celebrated in Athens, would be more likely to duplicate the cults in the city.

The most difficult problem arising from the decree is to determine whether the cult of the Thesmophoroi, of which Satyra was priestess, was the city cult or a local

⁷³ Cf. W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 97, no. 18; and p. 105, no. 20, line 26. An entrance-way is so often referred to in connection with sanctuaries of Demeter, both in Athens and elsewhere, that it appears to have been a prominent feature of her cults. Herodotus, VI, 91, mentions the πρόθυρα Δήμητρος Θεσμοφόρον on the island of Aigina; at Gambreion in Asia Minor an inscription was set up πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ Θεσμοφορίου, Dittenberger, *Syll.*³, 1219, line 32; an inscription from Koroneia refers to repairs of the πρόθυον and the ἀμφίθυον, made by the priestess of Demeter Thesmophoros, *I.G.*, VII, 2876; an honorary decree of the Eleusinians was set up παρὰ τὰ προπύλαια τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς Κόρης, *I.G.*, II², 1187; the inscription relating to the Thesmophorion at Peiraeus was placed at the ascent to the sanctuary, πρὸς τῇ ἀναβάσει τοῦ Θεσμοφορίου, *I.G.*, II², 1177, line 23. For Delos see R. Vallois, *B.C.H.*, LIII, 1929, pp. 275-276.

⁷⁴ B. Haussoullier, *La Vie Municipale en Attique*, p. 151, states categorically that all the demes had cults of their eponymous heroes, but cites very few examples. If such cults existed in all the Attic demes, they had, of course, only local significance and thus would not be frequently mentioned either in inscriptions or in literature.

cult of the deme Melite. If the latter, we should have to assume that there were demotic cults of the Thesmophoroi with local festivals celebrated in all the city demes, in addition to the celebration in the Thesmophorion of the city. This is in itself highly improbable. The expense alone, which devolved upon the well-to-do citizens whose wives served on the committees,⁷⁵ would have been difficult to meet if several celebrations had been staged simultaneously throughout the city. Moreover, the celebrants were apparently required to spend the whole time of the festival, three days and nights, in the Thesmophorion,⁷⁶ and this practice would have made it impossible for the same women to participate both in the local and in the city celebrations. Aristophanes' description of the festival in the *Thesmophoriazousai* conveys the impression that the women of the whole city were gathered in the main sanctuary which was crowded with tents and other equipment.

It would be difficult, furthermore, to explain lines 4 and 5 as referring to sanctuaries within the deme Melite. Not only was there a separate cult place of Pluto, which was somehow included in the celebration of the Thesmophoria, but there were several other temples with which Satyra as priestess of the Thesmophoroi goddesses was directly concerned. Not a few sanctuaries are known to have existed in the deme of Melite,⁷⁷ but these did not, so far as can now be determined, house demotic cults.

On the other hand, there is evidence to show that certain arrangements for the celebration of the state Thesmophoria were in the hands of special committees appointed in the demes. Two women called archousai, who served under the priestess of the Thesmophoroi, were in charge of the preparations, for which they had to contribute in kind and cash out of their own or their husbands' private means. These committee women were chosen by lot from a number of available candidates, previously selected (*προκριθεῖσαι*) by the married women of the deme.⁷⁸ An inscription passed by the deme Cholargos⁷⁹ specifies what provisions the archousai are to bring for the festival of the Thesmophoria.⁸⁰ These were to be handed over to the priestess,

⁷⁵ See L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 57, and cf. Isaïos, III, 80. In Menander's *Epitrepontes*, lines 533-535, these litourgiai are referred to as a ruinous drain on the resources of Charisios, who had to contribute twice, once for his wife and a second time on behalf of his mistress.

⁷⁶ See L. Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁷⁷ Cf. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 182 f.

⁷⁸ The method used in selecting the *ἀρχονσαι* is referred to by Isaïos, VIII, 19-20. The orator points to this process as proof of the good family of the defendant. The duties performed by the archousai were probably similar to those of the *μέγαρχαι*, who are honored in a decree of the deme Athmonon, *I.G.*, II², 1203. At the celebrations of the Lesser Mysteries at Agrai and of the Greater Mysteries at Eleusis a committee of two epimeletai was in charge, cf. *I.G.*, II², 661. In other cults the duties of the *ἱεροποιοί* would correspond to those of the archousai. Cf. Isaïos, VIII, 20, where the term *συνιεροποιεῖν* is used to describe the function of the archousai.

⁷⁹ *I.G.*, II², 1184. It is dated in the year 334/3.

⁸⁰ Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 57, following L. Ziehen, *Phil. Woch.*, XXXVII, 1917, col. 1259 ff., concludes that the contributions, because of their smallness, were not intended for a common meal but rather for a cake offering to the goddesses.

who was responsible for the disposition of the material.⁸¹ It is further stipulated that these contributions are to be made annually on behalf of the deme: ὅπως δ' ἂν γίγνηται ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Χολαργέων κατὰ τὰ γράμματα εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον. Cholargos, too, was a city deme,⁸² situated a little to the north of Athens between Acharnai and the city proper. It seems most improbable that the contributions made by the archousai of Cholargos were intended for a local celebration in the deme. The stipulations in the inscription are in complete agreement with those to which Isaios refers, and the most logical interpretation is that both have to do with the city celebration of the Thesmophoria.⁸³

There is no direct evidence to show how the priestess of the Thesmophoroi was appointed. But the method of selecting the archousai, as described by Isaios, is the same as that commonly employed for choosing priests of other cults,⁸⁴ and it would be a natural inference that the priestess of the Thesmophoroi came into office in the same way. It is possible that the archousai from the different demes together selected the priestess by lot out of their own number, but this remains a conjecture. However that may be, the deme from which the priestess hailed would naturally feel honored by her appointment and if her duties were well performed she might receive recognition from her own demesmen.⁸⁵ Since the individual demes were represented at the

⁸¹ The text as it stands reads: τὰς δὲ ἀρχούσας κοινῇ ἀμφοτέρας διδόναι τῆς ἱερείας εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν Θεσμοφορίων, but the editors are doubtless right in changing τῆς ἱερείας, which cannot be construed, to τῇ ἱερείᾳ.

⁸² For its location see Milchhoefer, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Cholargos; H. Hommel, *ibid.*, s.v. Trittyes, col. 367; and cf. S. Solders, *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte* (map), who places Cholargos among the country demes. That Cholargos, which was also the name of a trittys, belonged to the city demes has been shown by Meritt, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 53-54.

⁸³ This is the view held by L. Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 57. Haussoullier, *op. cit.*, p. 139, on the other hand, interprets the Isaios passage as referring to a local Thesmophoria in the deme Pithos. Cf. S. Solders, *op. cit.*, p. 19, no. 21, who lists the Cholargos decree among the testimonia referring to cults in the Attic demes outside the city.

⁸⁴ Cf. Demosthenes, *Euboulides*, 46: ὡς ὑπ' αὐτῶν τούτων (τῶν δημοτῶν) προεκρίθην ἐν τοῖς εὐγενεστάτοις κληροῦσθαι τῆς ἱεροσύνης τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, and *ibidem*, 62. For the various methods employed in the selection of priests see J. Martha, *Les Sacerdotes Athéniens*, pp. 29 ff.

⁸⁵ It was not unusual for demes to honor officials chosen from their number, even if they had been appointed to represent the whole tribe or city in some capacity involving no duties directly concerned with the deme. A good example of this kind is furnished by an inscription discovered in the Agora excavations (see W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 104 ff.), in which the taxiarchs for the year 302/1 B.C. were honored by the Athenian demos. The inscription records that these officials, who were appointed one from each tribe (see Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, LXI, 3, and cf. Ch. I. Karouzos, *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, VII, 1923, p. 90), had previously been crowned by committees appointed in their own demes. Pritchett has interpreted the clause καὶ ἐστεφάνωσαν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐπὶ ταῦτα αἰρεθέντες ἐκ τῶν δήμων as referring to the epimeletai in charge of the εὐκοσμία. This does not explain the phrase ἐκ τῶν δήμων, and the parallel cited, *I.G.*, II², 354, is hardly to the point, inasmuch as the ἐπιμελετὰι τῆς εὐκοσμίας τῆς περὶ τὸ θέατρον did not have anything to do with the crowning, nor were they elected ἐκ τῶν δήμων but by the Boule (cf. *I.G.*, II², 223 B). The αἰρεθέντες ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν δήμων in the inscription from the Agora were bodies chosen by the ten demes that

festival, it is not unlikely that the priestess performed sacrifices on behalf—and at the expense—of her own deme. Such acts would not conflict with her duties as priestess of the state cult.⁸⁶

The inscription has an important bearing on the location of the Thesmophorion in Athens. At first sight it may appear to confirm the former view, connecting the sanctuary of the Thesmophoroi with the assembly place, since the Pnyx is known to have been situated in the deme of Melite.⁸⁷ But if the conclusion reached above is correct, that Satyra served in the state cult, it is a mere coincidence that the priestess for the particular year in which the decree was passed happened to be from the deme Melite. Whatever was the exact method of election, it is obvious that the priestess was not always chosen from the same deme. Moreover, among the scanty remains on the Pnyx hill, interpreted as belonging to the Thesmophorion, one looks in vain for foundations of temples that can be identified with those mentioned in the decree.

On the other hand, the inscription offers valuable additional evidence for connecting the Thesmophorion with the Eleusinion *ἐν ἄστει*. In the first place, it was discovered in the general vicinity of the Eleusinion, but the importance of its provenance is lessened by the fact that it had been built into a modern wall. A stone of

had furnished the taxiarchs. Since there was only one taxiarch elected from the whole body of phyletai, the choice probably fell indiscriminately among the demes of each tribe. The individual demes from which the taxiarchs were chosen would then appoint committees to be in charge of the crowning ceremonies. In ordinary instances this duty devolved upon some of the regular officials: in the Athenian demos upon the proedroi, in the demes upon the demarch and the treasurer (either separately or in collaboration with each other), in tribal assemblies upon the epimeletai. In special cases, however, a committee, whose members were sometimes called Elders, was appointed to function in this capacity. See *I.G.*, II², 555; *I.G.*, II², 1186, lines 30-32; *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1930, pp. 269-270, lines 43-47; Ch. I. Karouzos, *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, VIII, 1923, p. 90, no. 2; and p. 98, no. 4. It is to committees of this kind that the *αἰρεθέντες ἐκ τῶν δήμων* must refer in the inscription published by Pritchett.

An inscription set up on the Acropolis, *I.G.*, II², 1156, contains four separate decrees in honor of the epheboi of the tribe of Kekropis and of their sophronistes. These men were honored by their tribe, by the Boule, by the deme of Eleusis where the epheboi had been stationed as guards, and by the deme of Athmonon to which Adeistos, the sophronistes, belonged. In the last of these instances the sophronistes was praised for his services to his deme as well as for those rendered on behalf of the whole tribe, *ὅτι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπεμελήθη τῶν τε δημοτῶν (καὶ τῶν) ἄλλων ἀπάντων τῶν τῆς Κεκροπίδος φυλῆς*, although he owed his appointment not to his deme directly but to his tribe and to the Athenian demos. For the procedure of electing the sophronistai see Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, XLII, 2.

⁸⁶ Thus a priest of Asklepios could be honored by his tribe *εὐσεβείας ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς φυλέτας καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων* and a copy of the decree be set up in the Asklepieion, *I.G.*, II², 1163. The demes seem to have performed certain prescribed sacrifices in Athens on their own behalf, as we learn from a decree of the deme Plothea: — *θύεν τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ τε ἐς Πλωθει[ᾶς κ]οινὰ καὶ τὰ ἐς Ἀθηναίους ὑπὲρ Πλ[ωθέω]ν τῷ κοινῷ κτλ.*, *I.G.*, II², 1172, lines 25-33; and cf. *I.G.*, II², 1362, in which a priest of Apollo makes proclamations in connection with his office *ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων*.

⁸⁷ See W. Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 168; and H. Thompson, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 183.

that size might have been transported a considerable distance. But the contents of the document cannot easily be reconciled with the old view. The repairs and embellishment by the priestess of several temples and of a sanctuary of Pluto can best be explained on the theory that the Thesmophorion was physically connected with the Eleusinion. The likelihood of finding a temple on the Pnyx hill near the assembly place is disposed of by Thompson in the following terms: "None of the remains on the site can be construed as those of a temple, nor is it likely that a temple (which, had it ever existed, must have stood in some prominent part of the area now thoroughly explored) should have disappeared without leaving a trace."⁸⁸ It is not necessary to assume that there was a temple called the Thesmophorion, for it is likely that the temple of Demeter and Kore in or near the Eleusinion served as the chief center of worship in all the festivals of the two goddesses. This building is in all probability mentioned in line 12 of our inscription. The reference to several temples in line 4 agrees well with the prayer of the women in Aristophanes' play,⁸⁹ which is directed to several deities: Pluto, Kalligeneia, Kourotrophos, Hermes, and the Charites, in addition to the Thesmophoroi goddesses themselves. Whether all these gods and goddesses had cult places in the vicinity of the Eleusinion our records do not reveal, but the inscription shows beyond a doubt that several temples, *πάντας τοὺς ναοὺς*, besides the sanctuary of Pluto, were sufficiently closely related to the cult of the Thesmophoroi to share in the generosity of the priestess. From Pausanias⁹⁰ we know that a temple of Triptolemos stood near that of Demeter and Kore, and a Ploutoneion is known to have existed at no great distance from the Eleusinion.⁹¹ In view of these facts it seems necessary to suppose that the Eleusinion comprised a considerable area including sanctuaries of other deities whose cults were connected with that of Demeter and Kore.

OSCAR BRONEER

⁸⁸ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 186.

⁸⁹ *Thesmophoriazousai*, lines 295 ff.

⁹⁰ Book I, 14, 1, 4.

⁹¹ See Pausanias, I, 28, 6. Cf. J. Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.*, p. 101; and W. Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

ACCOUNTS OF TREASURERS

52. There are here published several fragments which belong to the treasurers' accounts of the last year of the Peloponnesian War (*I.G.*, II², 1686). It has not been possible as yet to build any consecutive text with the aid of the new pieces, but some general observations may be made about their relative disposition.

The stone now published as *I.G.*, II², 1686 is opisthographic, and the obverse and reverse, respectively, have been denoted by the letters A and B. Face A is represented by the two fragments *a* and *b*, but the back of *b* is broken away and does not appear in Face B. Although the spacing of the lines in this document is irregular, there is a tendency which may be observed on both faces to employ wider spacing at the top, and a much closer spacing near the bottom. With this characteristic of the stones in mind, one should probably place fragment *b* above fragment *a* in any attempted reconstruction of Face A.¹

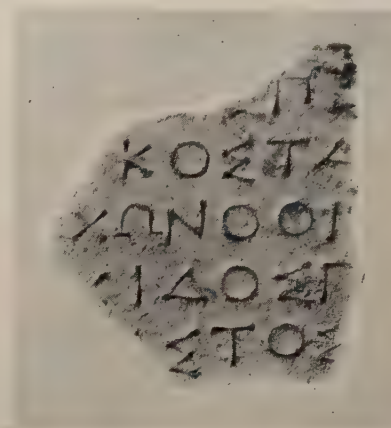
One new piece from the Agora belongs with Face A, and is here listed as fragment *c*. The stone was found on June 3, 1935, in a disturbed fill of Byzantine date in Section II. It is of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, and has the following measurements:

Height, 0.076 m.; width, 0.07 m.; thickness,
0.023 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.-0.009 m.²

Inv. No. I 2982 (cf. Dinsmoor, *loc. cit.*).

----- ς πρ[υτανείας -----
-- χρυσίο 'Αττ]ικὸ στα[τήρας -----
-- ἐλήφθη εἰ]χων ΟΟ Ι[-----
- ἐπὶ τῆς 'Αντιο]χίδος π[ρυτανείας -----
5 -----]ας ΤΟΞ[-----



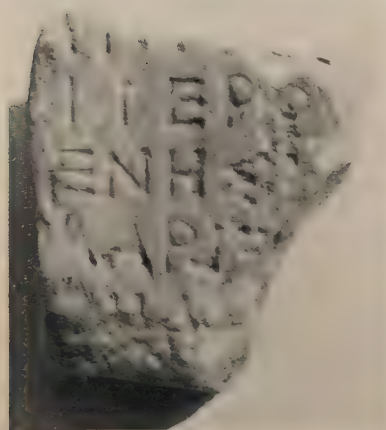
No. 52. Fragment *c* of Obverse

¹ So also Dinsmoor, *Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil.*, Suppl. Vol. I, 1940, p. 171, who notes that an uninscribed space at the bottom of fragment *a* indicates that it belongs to the bottom of the stele.

² The height of letters for the fragments published in the *Corpus* is incorrectly reported as 0.007 m.

The spacing of lines is suitable for association with *I.G.*, II², 1686, lines 19-23, but I have found no satisfactory restorations. The reading suggested above for line 3 has been taken from *I.G.*, II², 1686, line 23, and the sums paid out in staters of Attic gold are appropriate also for association with this part of the inscription. In line 2, the restoration should probably be $\sigma\tau\alpha|\tau\eta\rho\alpha\varsigma$ rather than $\sigma\tau\alpha|\tau\eta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$, because of the high probability that *I.G.*, II², 1687 (which exhibits the form $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta\rho\alpha\varsigma$) belongs also to this inscription. The hand in both texts is the same, and there is no greater variation in spacing than is observable within the text of *I.G.*, II², 1686 itself.³ In fact, throughout the text of *I.G.*, II², 1686 the accusative $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta\rho\alpha\varsigma$ should perhaps be substituted in the restorations for $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta\rho\epsilon\varsigma$. If this is true, then the restoration in line 5 may be either $[\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\eta\rho]_{\alpha\varsigma}$ or $[\pi\rho\upsilon\tau\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}]_{\alpha\varsigma}$. These two possibilities, not to exclude others, are the first that suggest themselves.

A small fragment now preserved in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens (E. M. 3032; cf. Dinsmoor, *loc. cit.*) should also be assigned to this inscription, probably to Face A, and I list it here as fragment *d*. It is of Pentelic marble, and has the following measurements:



No. 52. Fragment *d* of Obverse

Height, 0.07 m.; width, 0.062 m.; thickness, 0.025 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

----- Ι Ν Ι Ι -----
 ----- Ι Ι Ε Ρ Ο -----
 ----- Ε Ν Η Ξ -----
 ----- φ ι ά λ | α ἀ ρ γ | υ ρ ᾶ δύο -----
 5 ----- Δ -----

The difficulty of restoration prevents its being united directly as part of *I.G.*, II², 1686, lines 3-7, but the reference to the silver bowls indicates that this is its approximate position.

The fragment published by Broneer in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 165-166, no. 26,⁴ and illustrated by him with a photograph which shows the letters clearly, must also be included here. His restorations will have to be modified, but I have been unable to find any definite place for this fragment in relation to the others. I list it merely as fragment *c*.

From the Agora, a fragment broken on all sides, and with the relatively wide spacing (four lines in five centimeters) of the upper part of the stele, may belong to

³ Cf. Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, pp. 75-76, note 3.

⁴ Cf. Dinsmoor, *loc. cit.*

this same inscription. It was found in a late Roman fill in Section ZZ on May 16, 1939. I list it here as fragment *f*.

Height, 0.09 m.; width, 0.103 m.;
thickness, 0.027 m.

Height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 2486 *b*.

--- ο ---
--- ἀπὸ τῇ[s] ---
--- οιν δυοῖν ---
--- ν ἐπαργυν ---
--- Δ[||||] ἐπιϛ[τατ] ---
--- οκλῆι Σθ[ενο] ---
--- τῇ]ς πρυτ[ανε] ---



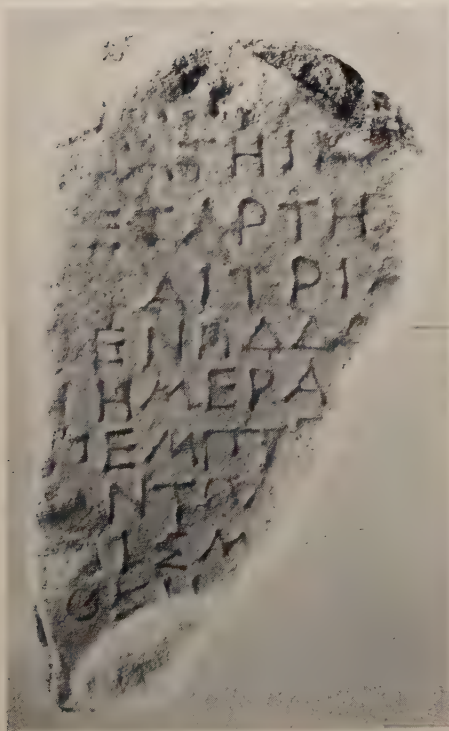
No. 52. Fragment *f*

A small fragment found on February 22, 1935, in Section II of the Agora excavations belongs to Face B. It preserves its left margin, but is broken on all other sides. The measurements are as follows:

Height, 0.151 m.; width, 0.089 m.; thickness,
0.051 m.

Height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 2486 (cf. Dinsmoor, *loc. cit.*)



No. 52. Fragment *b* of Reverse

[ἐν] ἀτῆι κα[ὶ] ---
[τ]ετάρτη[ι] ---
[.] καὶ τρια[κοστῇ] ---
[.] ἐν ΗΔΔΔ[---]
5 ι ἡμέραι [---]
πέμπτῃ[ι] ---
[.] ν τῶμ[--- νο]
[μ]ισμ[---]
ΟΞΗ[---]
10 υ [--- vacat ---]

This fragment comes from the same margin of the stone as fragment *a*, and the close spacing of the letters shows that it should be placed below *a* in the reconstruction. I list it as fragment *b* of Face B.

The importance of this document as evidence for conditions in Athens in the last year of the war is set forth by Ferguson, *Treasurers of Athena*, pp. 77-84.

HONORARY DECREE

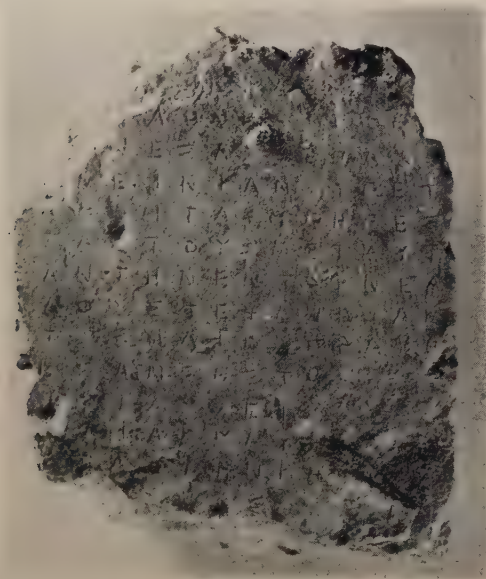
53. Fragment of Hymettian marble, with part of the smooth-dressed right side preserved, found on May 12, 1938, in Section Σ.

Height, 0.24 m.; width, 0.194 m.; thickness, 0.094 m.

Height of letters, *ca.* 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5439.

The inscription is written stoichedon. Ten lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.125 m., and ten letters (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of 0.122 m.



No. 53

301/0 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 30

[.....¹³..... εὐνοίας ἐν]εκα [καὶ φι]
 [λοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βο]υλὴν καὶ τὸν [δ]
 [ἥμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων· ἐπαι]νέσαι δὲ καὶ Ὑ
 [.....¹⁷..... Ἀ]μεινίαν Ξυπετ
 5 [αἶονα¹¹.....]έα κ[α]ὶ τὰς ὑπηρεσ
 [ίας καὶ τοὺς στρατι]ώτας τοὺς μετ' αὐτ
 [ῶν οἱ¹².....]σαν τὴν ἐν Τορνέα
 [ι καὶ στεφανῶσαι θα]λλοῦ στεφάνωι· ἂν
 [αγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψή]φισμα τὸν γραμμ
 10 [ατέα τὸν κατὰ πρυταν]είαν ἐν στή[λῃ λ]
 [ιθίνῃ καὶ στήσαι ἐν τ]εῖ αὐλεῖ [τοῦ . .]
 [.....¹⁰..... εἰς δὲ τῇ]ν ἀναγραφ[ὴν τῆς]
 [στήλης δοῦναι τὸν ἐξ]εταστὴν κα[ὶ τοὺ]
 [ς τριττῆάρχους ὁ ΔΔ ὁ δραχμ]άς. *vacat*

The approximate date of the inscription may be inferred at once from the fact that the expense was borne by the exetastes and the trittarchs (lines 12-14), for these officials appear in the decrees as disbursing officers only after the establishment of the military oligarchy of 301/0 B.C., and their last appearance is in a decree of

295/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 646).⁵ The history of these years, and of the tyranny of Lachares, has been much clarified by the new evidence of one of the papyri from Oxyrhynchus (A. S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XVII, no. 2082), for which a full account has been given by Ferguson in *Cl. Phil.*, XXIV, 1929, pp. 1-31.⁶ Lachares became "tyrant" in the year 300 B.C., about the time of the Dionysiac festival, and his usurpation of power was the culmination of the struggle precipitated by Charias' action in seizing the acropolis.⁷ The papyrus states (Fr. 2) that Charias, Peithias, Lysandros, and Ameinias were condemned and put to death, though they had taken refuge in the temple of Athena. These men were the leaders of the defeated faction, and were doubtless all members of the college of generals in 301/0 B.C. Charias is named in the papyrus as (στρατηγός) ἐπὶ τῶν [δ]πλῶν and Lachares as (στρατηγός) ὁ [τῶ]ν ξένων ἡγούμε[ν]ος (Fr. 1).

Ameinias now appears again in our present inscription, where he receives, along with others, the praise of the Council and Demos of the Athenians for the successful prosecution of some military exploit. The inscription is so fragmentary that it does not itself specify what the expedition was, but there is evidence that crews of ships (line 5) and mercenaries (line 6) were involved, and that they also were praised. It is now evident that the inscription must be dated before the ill-fated seizure of the acropolis because of which Ameinias lost his life, for the praises voted to him here must have preceded that event.

The military expedition which may be inferred from the inscription is probably to be identified with the *στρατία* named in the papyrus (Fr. 1). This must be dated in the late summer of 301 B.C., and Ferguson claims for it the joint activity of the Argives and Athenians which led to the recovery of the Long Walls and the Peiraeus from the garrisons of Demetrios.⁸ The sequence of narrative in the papyrus shows that Charias and Lachares were already rivals when the campaign took place, but that it was only after the campaign that Charias forced the issue by seizing the acropolis. Ameinias, as general, took part in both ventures; for the first he received the praise of Athens, and for the second he lost his life.

It is evident from this new inscription that the exetastes and the trittarchs were exercising control over funds which in the period immediately preceding had been drawn upon by ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει, by the *ταμίας τοῦ δήμου*, or by the *ταμίας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν*,⁹ even before Lachares achieved his "tyranny." The new financial con-

⁵ Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 64.

⁶ See also Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 389-390 (with references) and *List*, pp. 29-31.

⁷ Ferguson, *Cl. Phil.*, XXIV, 1929, p. 14.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 11, 15. These events of 301 B.C. are referred to in *I.G.*, II², 774, b, 1-9, for the restoration of which see *S.E.G.*, III, 98 (Wilhelm). De Sanctis brings this inscription to a later date and associates it with the downfall of Lachares (*Riv. di Fil.*, XIV, 1936, pp. 141-144).

⁹ Kahrstedt, *Untersuchungen zur Magistratur in Athen*, p. 14, wishes to separate fragments

trol, essentially military rather than civilian,¹⁰ was not introduced by Lachares alone, but by the military party which came into power in 301/0 B.C.¹¹ This military usurpation came as a reaction to the policies of Stratokles and other followers of Demetrios. The departure of Demetrios for Asia in 302 B.C. weakened his party in Athens, and after the defeat of Ipsos in the summer of 301 his prestige and influence were so slight that Athens, under new leaders, recovered the Long Walls and the Peiraeus and prepared to maintain its independence.¹² The military basis for the newly won freedom is proved from the beginning by the appearance in this decree of the exetastes and the trittarchs. The importance of the mercenary troops is further emphasized by the services they rendered, as recorded in line 6 of the present document, and by the fact that their paymaster, the exetastes, shared in the control of contingent funds. Lachares was general of the mercenaries but it was only after the settlement in his favor of the dispute between himself and his fellow generals that he became "tyrant" of the city.

Line 4: Chairman of the board of proedroi in one of the preserved decrees of 305/4 B.C. was [.....] Ἀμεινίου Ξυπετα(ίων).¹³ He was undoubtedly related to the Ameinias of the present text, either father or son.

Line 7: Tornea is apparently the name of a place otherwise unknown.

Lines 11-12: the restoration [ἐν τ]εῖ αὐλεῖ [τοῦ βουλευτηρίου] seems probable, but the place of finding of the fragment, small though it is, and the military character of its contents make a location for the stele [ἐν τ]εῖ αὐλεῖ [τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἀρεως] also a possible conjecture.¹⁴

a and *b* of *I.G.*, II², 505 so that he may remove the ταμίης τοῦ δήμου from the year 302/1 B.C.: but see the comments by Ferguson in *A.J.P.*, LIX, 1938, pp. 230-231; by Meritt in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 72 and *ibid.*, X, 1941, p. 56; by Pritchett in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 108-111, and *ibid.*, X, 1941, pp. 271-272. Cf. also Kahrstedt in *Hermes*, LXXV, 1940, pp. 332-334. For the ταμίης τῶν στρατιωτικῶν see especially Schweigert, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 349 and 351, and Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 43, note 41.

¹⁰ See Ferguson, *Cl. Phil.*, XXIV, 1929, pp. 16-17.

¹¹ Nor was this control by the exetastes and the trittarchs terminated when Lachares lost his power in the spring of 295. They appear as disbursing agents in *I.G.*, II², 646, a decree of the archonship of Nikostratos (295/4 B.C.), though the stele on which they are recorded was paid for by the single officer of the administration. For this divided responsibility, see Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 64 (also De Sanctis, *Riv. di Fil.*, XIV, 1936, p. 257).

¹² The news of Ipsos probably did not reach Athens before the third prytany of 301/0, for Stratokles was still influential late in the second prytany (*I.G.*, II², 640). Cf. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.*, IV, 2, p. 245.

¹³ *I.G.*, II², 796; for the date see *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 201-205.

¹⁴ For the location of the temple of Ares in the age of Pausanias, see Shear, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 320-322. The original position of the temple, which had been moved and rebuilt when Pausanias saw it, was presumably not far away. See Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 1-52.

THE ARCHONSHIP OF NIKIAS

54. Fragment of Pentelic marble with the left side preserved, and with the spring of a moulding at the top, found on October 17, 1939, in a modern wall on the north slope of the acropolis.

Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.

Height of letters, 0.01 m.

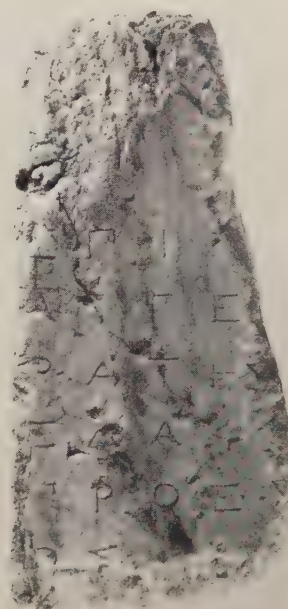
Inv. No. I 5886.

The inscription is stoichedon. Five lines occupy a vertical space of 0.101 m., and three letters (measured on centres) occupy a horizontal space of *ca.* 0.06 m.

296/5 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 33

ἐπὶ Ν[ικίου ἀρχοντος τοῦ ὑστέρου ἐπὶ τῆς]
 Αἰγε[ίδος δευτέρας πρυτανείας ἥι Ἀντικ]
 ράτη[ς Κρατίνου Ἀζηγιενὸς ἐγραμμάτευν·]
 Ἐλαφ[ηβολιώνος μετ' εἰκάδας τῶν]
 5 προέδ[ρων ἐπεψήφισεν¹⁵]
 ος [Ῥ]α[μνούσιος καὶ συμπρόεδροι]



No. 54

The formula of date in line 1 is slightly different from that of the two other known decrees of this year, *I.G.*, II², 644 and 645 (ἐπὶ Νικίου ἀρχοντος ὑστέρου), but evidently it refers, just as they do, to the latter part of the year for which Nikias was archon.¹⁵ The change in government presumably came after the fall of Lachares at about the time of the Dionysiac festival of 295.¹⁶ This date within the year has been inferred from the equation between month and prytany in *I.G.*, II², 644 (Mounichion 16 = Prytany IV, 7), and is now confirmed by the fact that some date in Elaphebolion, possibly near the end of the month, fell in the second prytany. The restoration *δευτέρας* in line 2 seems certain.

¹⁵ The text of line 1 might be made to agree precisely with that of *I.G.*, II², 644 and 645 by assuming a dittography like that which appears on the stone in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, no. 15: ἐπὶ Εὐθίου ἀρχον{χον}τος, but such restoration is not to be recommended. It should be noted that the restoration ἐπὶ Ν[ικίου ἀρχοντος τὸ δεύτερον] is also possible. This would imply that Nikias was archon twice within the same year, but the best interpretation of the other evidence is that he held one archonship, divided into two parts. See Kirchner's note on *I.G.*, II², 644; Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 70, 389; Dinsmoor, *List*, pp. 30-31.

¹⁶ Cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, pp. 389-390; *List*, p. 29, note 27, and p. 31. See commentary on No. 53, above.

A DECREE OF ORGEONES

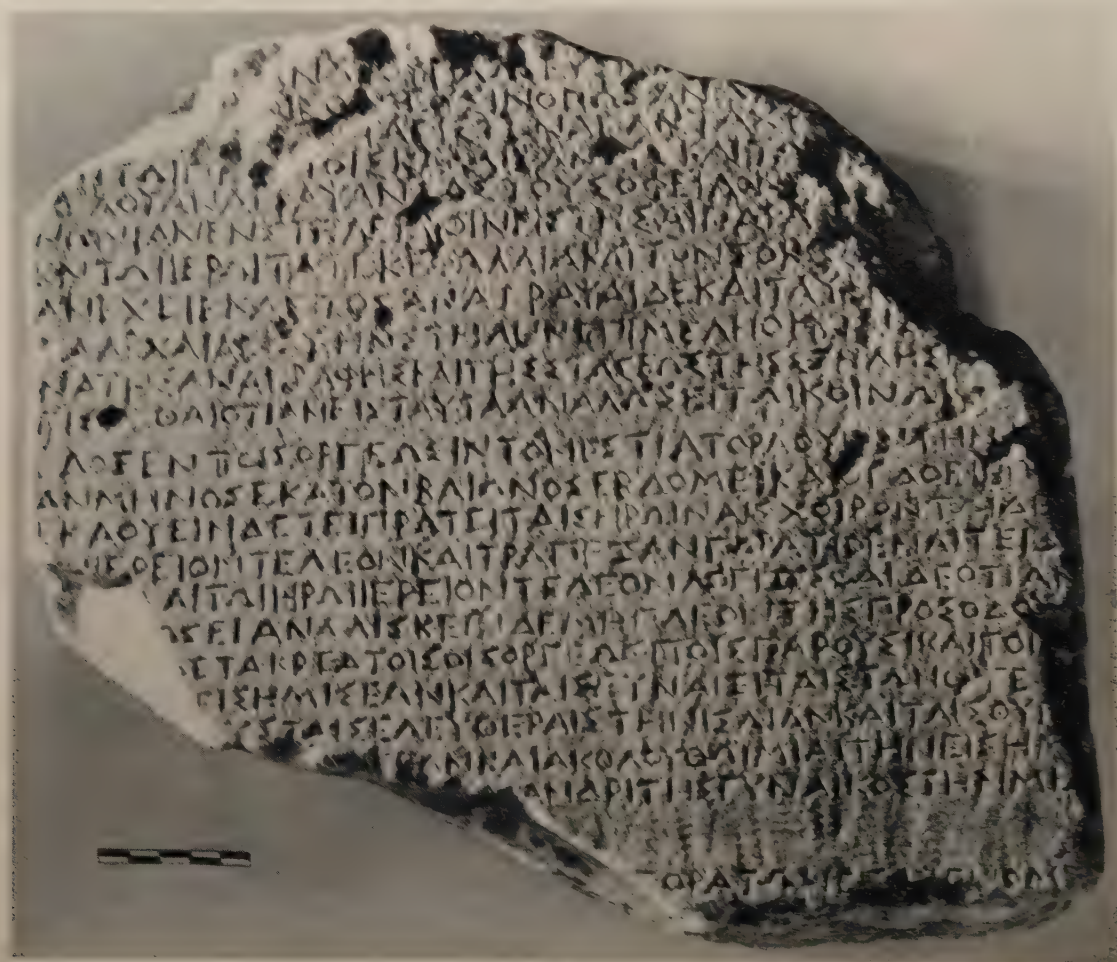
55. Inscribed stele of Hymettian marble, found April 28, 1934, on the Areopagos. The stone is broken at the bottom and at the upper corners, but the back and parts of the original sides and top are preserved.

Height, 0.293 m.; width, 0.315 m.; thickness, 0.082 m.

Height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. 11906

Ten lines occupy a vertical space on the stone of 0.14 m. The inscription is not stichedon.



No. 55

Early Third Century B.C.

- [Λυσίας Περι]άνδρου Πλωθεὺς ε[ἶπεν· ἀγαθεὶ τύχει·]
 [δεδόχθαι τ]οῖς ὁ[ρ]γεῶσιν· ὅπως ἂν δι[ατηρῇται τῶν]
 [θυσιῶν ἢ κοινω]νία εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρό[νον τῶι κοι]
 [ν]ῶι τῶι πρὸς τοῖς Καλλιφάνους καὶ τῶ[ι τοῦ ἥρωος Ἔ]
 5 χέλων ἀναγράφαντας τοὺς ὀφείλοντά[ς τι εἰς κοι]
 νωνίαν ἐν στήλει λιθίνει στήσαι παρὰ τ[ὸν βωμόν]
 ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τά τε κεφάλαια καὶ τὸν τόκο[ν ὀπόσον]
 ἂν ἔχει ἕκαστος· ἀναγράφαι δὲ καὶ τὰ ψη[φίσματα]
 τὰ ἀρχαῖα εἰς τὴν στήλην· ἐπιμεληθῆναι δ[ὲ]
 10 να τῆς ἀναγραφῆς καὶ τῆς στάσεως τῆς στήλης κ[αὶ λο]
 γίσ[α]σθαι ὅ,τι ἂν εἰς ταῦτα ἀναλώσει τῶι κοινῶι. *vacat*
 ἔδοξεν τοῖς ὀργεῶσιν· τὸν ἐστιάτορα θύειν τὴν [θυσί]
 αν μηνὸς Ἑκατονβαιῶνος ἐβδόμει καὶ ὀγδόει ἐπ[ὶ δ]
 ἑκα· θύειν δὲ τεῖ πρώτῃ ταῖς ἡρώιναις χοῖρον τῶι δὲ [ῥ]
 15 [ρ]ῶι ἱερεῖον τέλεον καὶ τράπεζαν παρατιθέναι, τεῖ δ[ὲ]
 [ὑστερ]άαι τῶι ἥρῳι ἱερεῖον τέλεον· λογίζεσθαι δὲ ὅ,τι ἂν
 [ἀναλ]ώσει· ἀναλίσκειν δὲ μὴ πλεον τῆς προσόδου· [ν]
 [έμειν] δὲ τὰ κρέα τοῖς {οῖς} ὀργεῶσι τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ τοῖ[s]
 [ὑοῖς τὴν] εἰς ἡμίσεαν καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς τῶν ὀργεῶ[ν]
 20 [ων μετ' αὐτ]ῶν ταῖς ἐλευθέραις τὴν ἰσαίαν καὶ ταῖς θυγ[α]
 [τράσι τὴν εἰς ἡμί]σεαν καὶ ἀκολουθῶι μιᾷ τὴν εἰς ἡμ[ί]
 [σεαν· παραδοῦναι δὲ τ]ῶι ἀνδρὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τὴν με
 [ρίδα. *vacat*] *vacat*
 [ἔδοξεν τοῖς ὀργεῶσιν· τὸν ἐστιά]τορα τῶν ἐπιγενομέ[ν]
 25 [ων -----]

The decree belongs to the early years of the third century, and was passed on the motion of Lysias, son of Periandros, of Plotheia. The orator is probably to be identified as the father of Περί[αν]δρος Λυσ[ί]ου (Πλωθεύς) who was one of the prytaneis of the tribe Aigeis in 256/5 B.C.¹⁷ Apparently the purpose of the decree was to provide for a perpetual community of sacrifices between two religious groups, one whose locale was near the property of Kalliphanes, and the other an association whose hero was Echelos. Reference may be made to line 11 for the restoration of the word κοινῶι in lines 3-4. The restoration of the word [κοινω]νία in line 3 finds some support, if not complete justification, in the appearance of the word [κοι]νωνίαν in lines 5-6. It signifies a community of interest, but is never used in the same sense as κοινόν (cf. line 11).¹⁸ The fact that the community of interest in this instance

¹⁷ P.A., 11799. Cf. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 10 (= I.G., II², 678) and, for the date, Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxi.

¹⁸ Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, p. 164, note.

concerned sacrifices is revealed by the text of the decree inscribed in lines 12-23. The restoration [θυσιῶν] in line 3 has been made by inference from the directions for sacrifice *θύειν τὴν* [θυσί]αν and *θύειν* in lines 12-13 and 14.

The hero Echelos (lines 4-5) gave his name to the district Ἐχελίδαί, which is now identified near New Phaleron by the discovery of a group of related monuments, one of which shows in relief a representation of Echelos above which his name is inscribed.¹⁹ This is the so-called Echelos-Basile relief, and is usually interpreted as



The Names Ἐχελος-Ἰασίλη of *I.G.*, II², 4546 A

depicting the rape of Basile by Echelos. The hero is driving a four-horse chariot, holding the reins in his right hand and supporting with his left arm the not unwilling victim of his capture. Above their heads is the inscription ΕΧΕΛΟΣΙΑΞΙΛΗ. When the stone was first found Kavvadias reported the discovery and read the names as Ἐχελος and Ἰασίλη, though he later accepted Lolling's suggestion that the maiden's name was Βασίλη.²⁰ This emended reading has been generally accepted, though some have recognized the epigraphical difficulty involved. A good photograph made soon after the monument was found appears in Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1893, plate 9. The supposed beta exists only as a vertical stroke, spaced so close to the alpha which follows that it is difficult to suppose it was ever intended by the stonecutter as beta.²¹ Walter noted

¹⁹ This group is recently discussed by Otto Walter, Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1937, pp. 97-119. For the inscription, see *I.G.*, II², 4546.

²⁰ Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1893, pp. 109-110 and 129-146.

²¹ See the photograph of the inscription here published.

this (*loc. cit.*, p. 113, note 3) though he thought that one could see between the upright and the alpha "Kratzer, die mit einem B vereinigt werden könnten." I think one must admit, if he wishes to read the name as Βασίλη, that the supposed scratches, too faint to register in a photograph where all the other strokes are bold and distinct, are not sufficient evidence for the emendation; if the reading Βασίλη is desired, then one must assume candidly that the stonecutter inscribed a clear and properly spaced iota instead of what might have been at best an ill-spaced beta. With this interpretation the epigraphical rendering should be ασίλη.

There has been some suggestion that an error here would not be surprising, in view of errors in the other inscriptions on this relief, like the two unnecessary iotas in the name of Hermes and the unnecessary rough breathing.²² The rough breathing should not in any case be called an error, for in the early fourth century such an aspirate was frequently used,²³ and might appear even when eta was employed later in the same word.²⁴

But, in Walter's opinion, one might claim the aspirate in *ἡερμῆς* to be by a different hand from the one which cut the true reading *Ἑρμῆς*. This same different (and earlier) hand, according to him, was responsible for the unnecessary iota between rho and mu and for the unnecessary stroke to the left of the aspirate.

It would be a delusion to explain the problem of this name by seeking refuge in the assumption of an earlier unfinished inscription which could conveniently remove all troublesome elements. The stonecutter probably intended from the beginning to cut *HEPMHΣ*. Possibly he began too far to the left, and the first unnecessary "iota" is the relic of this miscalculation. His second attempt was perhaps too far to the right, and the second superfluous "iota" is probably the relic of this second attempt.²⁵ Neither mark was erased, and the true inscription entirely disregards them both. This explanation may not be the only one possible, but the fact is that these chance strokes should not be called "iotas" if they were never intended as such and if they have no more value than misplaced and meaningless marks. As finally cut, the name *ἡερμῆς* exhibits no error which can be used as an analogous argument for probable error in *Ἰασίλη* at the other end of the stone.

To associate Echelos with Basile on epigraphical evidence of this character seems to me hazardous. Walter (*loc. cit.*, p. 113) has suggested again the possibility of reading the name as it is written: *Ἰασίλη*, interpreting this as a feminine form of *Ἰάσιλος* < *Ἰασίλαος*. The full masculine form (Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.) is analogous to the known Attic name *Ἰασίδημος* (*P.A.*, 7422), and this interpretation of the name *Ἰασίλη* here finds some confirmation in the similar etymology of *Ἐχελος*

²² See Walter, *loc. cit.*, p. 113; Broneer, *supra*, p. 138, note 38.

²³ As in numerous *ῥοι*-inscriptions.

²⁴ See the form *ἡελίκης* in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 77, no. 24.

²⁵ A photograph may be seen in *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1937, p. 112.

< Ἐχέλαος. The hero was "Ruler of the People," and the heroine was "Healer of the People."²⁶ One will note further that there is no mention of Βασίλη in our present text and no lacuna where her name may be supplied. Her known associations in Attica are with Kodros and Neleus in a sanctuary below the theatre of Dionysos (*I.G.*, I², 94), and not with Echelos in Phaleron or on the north slope of the Areopagos where this inscription was found. It is perhaps significant that a heroine who was named as eponym in one cult, together with Kodros and Neleus, does not appear as eponym (if one wishes to posit the association) in the cult of Echelos.

The existence of a place named Ἐχελίδαί, localized now by the discovery of the Echelos-Iasile relief, gives evidence for a cult and sanctuary of Echelos near Phaleron (Walter, *op. cit.*, p. 112). The new inscription was found in the city, and a sanctuary (line 7: ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ) with an altar (line 6: [βωμόν] restored) should be sought probably not far from the place of its discovery. There is no reason to claim the new site for Echelos rather than for the orgeones who carried out sacrifices, as we learn from this decree, in common with the κοινόν named in his honor.

The chthonic nature of the Echelos cult has been emphasized by Bloch (*Riv. di Fil.*, XIII, 1935, pp. 317-331). In spite of the fact that much of his argument was concerned with Basile, whose cult we prefer not to associate with that of Echelos, the case for Echelos is strong, and his chthonic character is further emphasized by the discovery that a band of orgeones celebrated religious rites in his name, and that a pig was the sacrifice offered to the ἡρώϊναι. The interpretation of the Echelos-Iasile relief remains a problem, but even granted the chthonic nature of the cult, I believe that Walter has advanced arguments of some weight against the Echelos-Iasile = Hades-Persephone equation (*loc. cit.*, p. 114 and note 4). His alternative suggestion is that the scene represents the myth of the initiation of chariot-racing at the Panathenaic games (*loc. cit.*, pp. 118-119).

I have found no title to supply the lacuna at the end of line 9, and suggest that the reading may involve a proper name which ends with the letters nu alpha at the beginning of line 10.²⁷

The "ancient decrees" of the orgeones (lines 8-9: τὰ ψη[φίσματα] τὰ ἀρχαῖα) were inscribed in lines 12 ff. The first may be restored in its entirety, but of the second only part of one line is preserved. Lines 17-23 provide for the distribution of the

²⁶ The etymology of the name Ἐχelos is fully discussed by H. Bloch, *Riv. di Fil.*, XIII, 1935, pp. 318-320.

²⁷ That an individual should be thus named here without his title is odd, but there are examples from Athens of the name with title under similar circumstances: *I.G.*, II², 1255, lines 14-17 ([ἀνα]γράψα[ι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στή]λει λ[ιθίνει καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερ]ῷ τ[ῆς Βενδίδος τὸν γραμματέα Θ]άλλ[ον —]); *I.G.*, II², 1292, lines 27-28 ([τὸ] δὲ γενόμενον εἰς ταῦτα ἀνάλω[μα μερίσαι ἐκ τ]οῦ κοινοῦ τὸν ταμίαν Ζώπ[υ]ρον). Cf. also Kern, *Inschriften von Magnesia*, no. 90, lines 31-33 ([τὴν δὲ] ἔγδοσιν τῆς στήλης καὶ τῆς ἀνα[γραφῆς τοῦ ψηφίσματος πο]ύησασθαι Ἰππόλυτον τὸν ἐργ[επιστάτην]).

meat at the sacrifices. All orgeones present were to receive a full share and their sons a half share. The wives of the male orgeones were to have an equal share with the women who were orgeones of their own right,²⁸ and the daughters of orgeones were to receive a half share. A half share was also to be allowed to one female attendant. If the suggested restoration in line 22 is correct, the wife's share was to be given in the division to her husband.²⁹

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE SAFETY OF ATHENS

56. The decree published as *I.G.*, II², 791 is augmented by two new pieces of Hymettian marble. The larger fragment (*e*) was found on February 24, 1937, in Section N; the smaller fragment (*f*) was found on February 25, 1938, in Section AA.

e: Height, 0.336 m.; width, 0.155 m.; thickness, 0.077 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.; in lines 30-33, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 4536 *a*.

The right side is partly preserved, but the other sides are broken. The surface is badly worn. This fragment joins the right side of *I.G.*, II², 791, fragments *b* and *c*.

f: Height, 0.236 m.; width, 0.201 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.

Height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 4536 *b*.

Part of the left margin is preserved. This fragment joins fragment *d* of *I.G.*, II², 791, at the bottom of the stele.

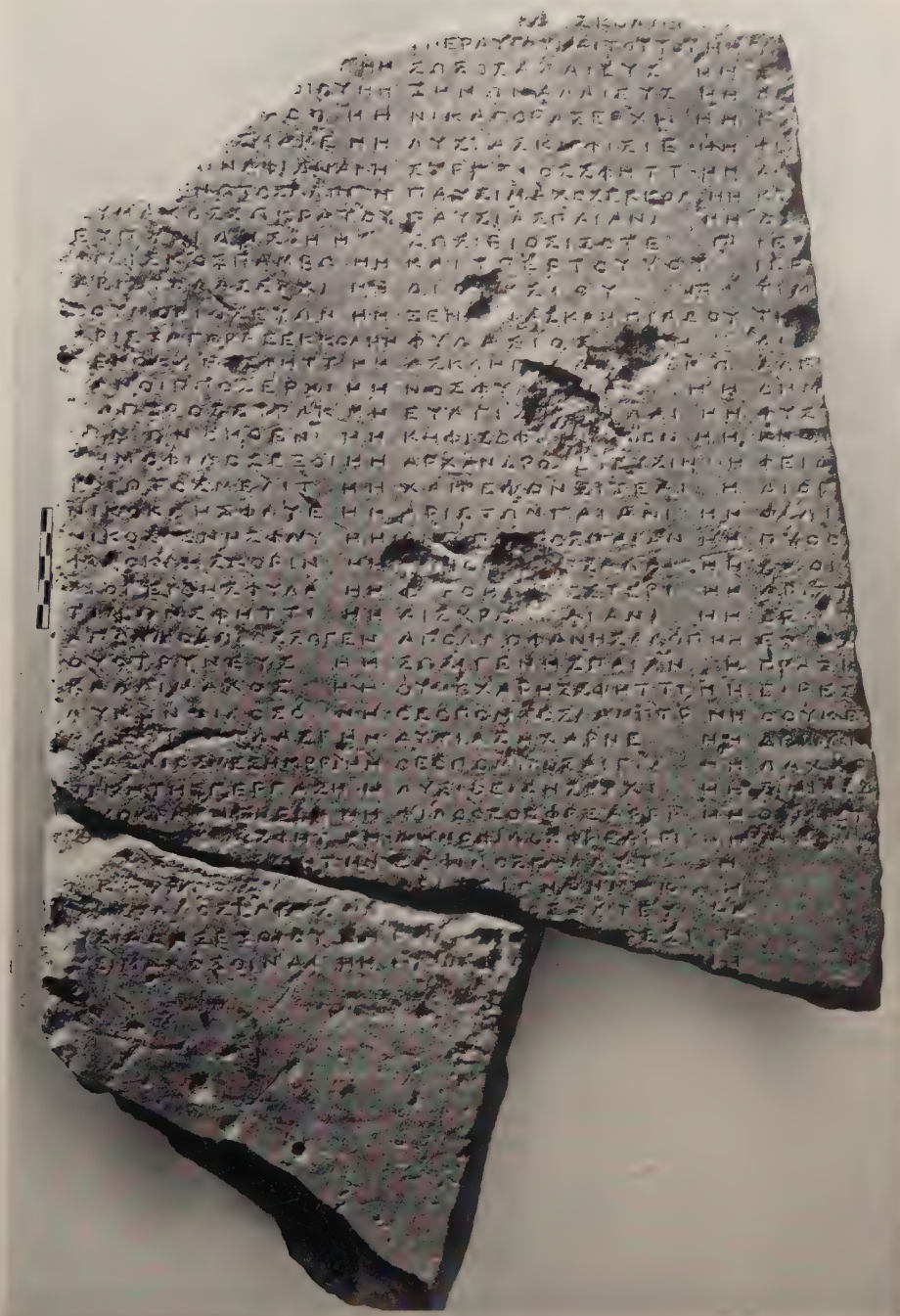
The following transcript shows the changes in the text of *I.G.*, II², 791 necessitated by the discovery of the new fragments. For the demotic of the secretary's name in line 4 see Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 28-31, and for the spelling ἐ[πεψήφισεν] in line 6 cf. *ibid.*, p. 30. The date 247/6 B.C. for the archon Diomedon is now advocated by Pritchett and Meritt, *op. cit.*, *passim*. The orator Kallistratos son of Telesinos of Erchia appears also in 243/2 as sponsor of a decree to honor the agoranomoi of 244/3 B.C. (*op. cit.*, pp. 23-26).

²⁸ The primary meaning of ἐλευθέρας here in line 20 seems to be "independent"; the dative form depends on ἰσαίαν.

²⁹ For με[ρίδα] in lines 22-23 cf. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens*, p. 258.



No. 56. Fragment *e*, Joining Fragments *b* and *c* of *I.G.*, II², 791



No. 56. Fragment *f*, Joining Fragment *d* of *I.G.*, II², 791

247/6 B.C.

- Τ α μ ί α ς σ τ ρ α τ ι ω [τ ι κ ῶ ν]
 Ε ὕ ρ υ κ λ ε ί δ η ς Μ ι κ ί ω ν ο ς | Κ η φ ι σ ι ε ὕ ς |
 [Ἐ]πὶ Διομέδοντος ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς [. . . . [. . . . dos] δεκάτης πρ]
 ντανείας, ἥι Φορυσκίδης Ἀριστομένου Ἀ[ναγυράσιος ἐγγραμμά]
 5 [τε]υεν· ὕ Ελαφηβολιώνος ἔνει καὶ νέαι ἐμ[βολίμωι, δευτέραι τ]
 [ῆς] πρυτανείας· ἐκκλησία· τῶν προέδρων ἐ[πεψήφισεν Καλλίσ]
 [τρ]ατος Τελεσίνου Ἐρχι[ὺς κ]αὶ συμ[πρόεδροι·]
 ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμωι·
 [Θε]όφημος Τιμοκλέους Μαραθώνιος εἶπε[ν· ὅπως ἂν χρημάτων]
 10 [π]ορισθέντων ἔχει ὁ ταμίας μερίζειν τὰ [δεόμενα, ἵνα κατὰ τὸ]
 [ν κ]ατάλοιπον χρόνον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ συνκ[ομισθῶσιν οἱ ἐκ γῆς]
 [κ]αρποὶ μετ' ἀσφαλείας· ὡ ἀγαθεὶ τύχει δε[δόχθαι τῇ βουλευῇ ὡ]
 [τ]οὺς λαχόντας προέδρους εἰς τὴν ἐπιού[σ]αν ἐκκλησίαν χρημ
 [α]τίσαι περὶ τούτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλε[σ]θαι τῆς βουλῆς, ὅτι
 15 δοκεῖ τῇ βουλευῇ, ὡ τοὺς βουλομένους τῶ[ν] πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλ
 λων τῶν οἰκούντων ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπιδιδό[να]ι εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν
 ν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς χώρας ἐ[ν] τῶι δήμωι ἢ ἐν τῇ β
 ουλειῇ ἢ πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγούς ἀπογραψα[μ]ένους μέχρι τοῦ Μο
 ννιχιῶνος· ὡ μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ μηθενὲ ἐπιδου[να]ι πλέον ΗΗ ὡ δραχμῶν
 20 μηδ' ἔλαττον ὡ [Ἐ]· ὡ εἶναι δὲ τοῖς ἐπιδου[σι]ν [ν κ]αὶ κοινεῖ καὶ ἰδία
 ι ἐπαινεθῆναι καὶ τιμηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καθότι ἂν εἰ ἄξι
 ος ἕκαστος αὐτῶν· ὡ τὸν δὲ γραμματέα τοῦ δ[ή]μου ἀναγράψαι τό
 [δ]ε τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἐπιδόντ[ω]ν ἐν στίλει λιθίν
 ει-κ[α]ι στῆσαι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὅπως ἂν φανερ[ὰ] ἦι ἅπασιν ἢ φιλοτ
 25 ιμία τῶν βουλομένων εὐεργετεῖν τ[ὸν] δῆμ[ο]ν· ὡ τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τ
 ὁ γενόμενον εἰς τε τὴν στήλην καὶ τὴν ἀ[ναγ]ραφὴν τῶν ὀνομάτ
 ων μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει· τὸ δὲ ψή[φ]ισμα τόδε, ἐπειδὴ
 περὶ πόρου χρημάτων ἐστὶν στρατιωτικῶ[ν, ἅπαν] εἶναι εἰς φυ
 λακὴν τῆς χώρας. *vacat*
 30 Οἱ δὲ ἐπέδωκαν εἰς τὴν σ[τ]ρω[τ]ηρίαν τῆς π[ό]λ
 λεως καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς [χ]ώρας κατὰ τ[ὸ]
 ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου.
 Ἀντιφῶν Ἐρχι ΗΗ Δρακοντίδης Ἐρχι ΗΗ [---] κλη[ς] Σ[φ]ήτ [---]
 Εὐρυκλείδης Κηφισ ΗΗ Ἀριστοφῶν Ἐρχι ΗΗ [. . . .]όμαχος Ὀῆθ [---]
 35 Μικίων Κηφισ ΗΗ Ἱεροκλῆς Σουνιε ΗΗ [. . . .]δοτος Ἀχαρ [---]
 [Δ]ρομέας Ἐρχι ΗΗ Μικίων Θριάσι ΗΗ [.]δης Πρ[---]
 [Διο]κλῆς [Ἐ]ρχι ΗΗ Σπονδίας Τειθρά ΗΗ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ [τοῦ υἱοῦ]
 ----- -- [. . . .]ορος Θημακ ΗΗ . . . ΙΩ . ΙΔΩ[---]
 ----- -- [.]ρας Ἀφιδ ΗΗ [. . .] κλη[ς] Ἀζ[ην] ---
 40 ----- -- ----- Εἰρεσ ΗΗ Ἀ[ντ]ιφάτης [---]

-----	--	[--- ἐκ Κ οίλ lacuna	H[H]	[.....]ωπος [-----]
-----	--	[...]ωνίδης Κολων	--	-----
-----	--	ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ	HH	Υ -----
45 ----- ν	HH	Σώσος Ἀλαιοῦς	HH	Λυ -----
----- ἐξ] Οἶον	HH	Ζήνων Ἀλαιοῦς	HH	Θε -----
----- αθο	HH	Νικαγόρας Ἐρχι	HH	Κα -----
... ⁶ ... ης Μακε	HH	Λυσίας Κηφισιε	HH	Φιλ -----
... ⁵ ... ων Ἀφιδναῖ	H	Στράτιος Σφήττ	HH	Αἰ -----
50 ... ⁵ ... γνωτος Ἀλωπ	H	Πανσίμαχος ἐκ Κολ	HH	Κτ -----
Εὔμαχος Σωκράτου		Πανσίας Παιανι	HH	Δ -----
Εὐπυρίδης	HH	Σωσίβιος ἰσοτε	⌊	Ἴερ -----
Φιλίσκος Παμβω	HH	καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ		Ἴερ -----
Ἀριστόλας Ἐρχι	HH	Διο[ν]υσίου	⌊	Τιμ -----
55 Θουμόριος Εὐων	HH	Ξέν[ω]ν Ἀσκληπιάδου		Τι[μ -----]
Ἀρισταγόρας ἐκ Κολ	HH	Φυλάσιος	[H]H	Αἰ -----
[Ξ]ενοκλῆς Σφήττ	HH	Ἀσκληπιάδης[ς Ξ]ένω		Ἀλκ -----
[Ξ]άνθιππος Ἐρχι	HH	νος Φυλ[ά]σιος	HH	Δημ -----
[Ζ]ώπυρος Συρακ	HH	Εὐαγίδης Φιλαί	HH	Φυστ -----
60 [.]ίμων Ὀῆθεν	HH	Κηφισοφ[ῶν Ἀθ]μον	HH	Κηφι[σ -----]
[Δ]ημόφιλος ἐξ Οἶ	HH	Ἀρχανδρος Ἐλευσίν	HH	Φειδ -----
Ἐρίωτος Μελιτ	HH	Χαιρεφῶν Εἰτεαῖ	H	Διογ -----
Νικοκλῆς Φλυε	HH	Ἀρίστων Παιανι	HH	Φιλι -----
Νικοσθένης Φλυ	HH	Ἀντίπατρος Παιαν	HH	Πυθο -----
65 Φι[λ]οκλῆς Κορίν	HH	[Ἀγ]ροκ[ράτ]ης Ἀλαιο	HH	Ἀμοι -----
Διοπέιθης Φυλά	HH	Φυρόμ[αχ]ος Στε<ι>ρι	HH	Ἀριστ -----
Τίμων Σφήττι	HH	Λῆσχωρον Παιανι	HH	Θεα[ί]τ[ητος -----]
Ἀπολλόδωρος Σωγέν		Ἀπολλοφάνης Ἀλωπ	HH	Ἐπι[φ]ά[νης -----]
ου Ὀτρυνεύς	HH	Σωσιγένης Παιαν	H	Πραξιτ[έλης Τιμάρχου]
70 Καλλίμαχος	HH	Θυμοχάρης Σφήττι	HH	Εἶρεσ[ίδης -----]
Δύκων φιλόσο	HH	Θεόπομπος Λαμπτρ	HH	Θουκρ[ιτ -----]
Ἀλε[ξ]ι[ς] Φυλάσι	HH	Αὐτίας Ἀχαρνε	HH	Δωρίων -----
Ἐκαταῖος Μεσημβρι	HH	Θεόπομπος Αἰγίλ	HH	Λαχάρ[ης -----]
Νικήτης Περγασῇ	H	Λυσιθείδης Ἐρχι	HH	Σιμίας Δ -----
75 [Νικ]οκρά[τη]ς Μελ	HH	Φιλόθεος Φρεάρρι	HH	Θ[ε]μ[ι]στο -----
----- Σφήτ	HH	Δημόφιλος Φρεάρρι	H	[Ν]ικομα[χ -----]
[...]οσθ[έν]ης Σφήτ	HH	Σώφιλος Κολλυτ	HH	vacat
Νικήρατος Φλυε	[...]	Ἀριστίων Θημακ	H	
[Θρά]συλλος Ἐλευσ	HH	-----ος Φλυεύ	HH	
80 [Λ]υσιάδης ἐξ Οἶον	HH	Κ[.]λ[----- Εἰ]ρεσί	H	
[Λ]υσίμαχος Οἶναῖ	HH	Ἰππόλοχο[ς -----]	HH	
vacat		vacat		

Among the new names of contributors to the national defense named in fragment *f*, Nikeratos of Phlya may be identified (a) with the ephebos (*P.A.*, 10745) Νικήρατος Νικηράτου (Φλυεύς) of the archonship of Menekles (269/8 B.C.),³⁰ or (b) with [Νι]κήρατος Εὐβ[---] (Φλυεύς) whose name appears in a list from the third century.³¹ Lysiades of Oion belongs to the same family with the two Athenians (*P.A.*, 2656 and 2657) who bore the name Ἀστύνομος Λυσιάδου ἐξ Οἴου (grandfather and grandson?) and may have been the son of the younger.

I have already noted (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 113) that Antiphon of Erchia, known from the old fragment (line 33), should be identified as the archon of 258/7 B.C. (date not certain; cf. Pritchett and Meritt, *op. cit.*, p. xx).

In line 60 Κηφι[σ---] and in line 72 Δωρίων stand *in rasura*.

A DEDICATION

57. Upper part of a small dedicatory column of Pentelic marble. The larger fragment was found on January 28, 1935, near the surface in Section N; the smaller fragment was found on March 12, 1937, in Section Σ.

Height, 0.08 m.; estimated original diameter, 0.39 m.

Height of letters, 0.005 m.

Inv. No. I 2334.

The inscription is not stoichedon; three lines occupy on the stone a vertical span of 0.028 m. In the top is a rectangular cutting, apparently a dowel-hole, 0.012 m. in depth.



No. 57

208/7 B.C. (?)

[Ἀθη]ναίων οἱ πλείοντες ἐν ταῖς φυλακίσιν τρ[ιη]μιολίαις καὶ Οἱ ---
 [ἐπ' Ἀγ]κύλου ἄρχοντος Ἀνδροκλῆς Νεοκλείδου Λαμπτ[ρεύς] ----
 [] *vacat* καὶ οἱ τριήραρχοι *vacat* []
 [-----]ο[] Φλυεύς Ἀγνοκράτ[η]ς [Ἀ]γ[ν]οθέου ----
 5 [-----] -----

³⁰ Cf. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 134, for the date of Menekles; also Pritchett-Meritt, *op. cit.*, p. xix.

³¹ Cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, no. 50.

At the end of line 1 the last preserved vertical stroke may represent iota, but Γ, Η, Ν, ΙΙ, and Ρ are also possible. Enough of the surface is preserved after the stroke to render Κ unlikely.

The archonship of Ankylos has been dated tentatively by Dinsmoor in 208/7 B.C.³² A date after the creation of the tribe Ptolemais is certain, for a decree of his year, published by Dow,³³ was proposed by the orator [Ξ]ενοφῶν Εὐφάντου Βερενικίδης. Mention of the deme Berenikidai precludes an earlier year. Dow has also called attention to the characteristic late third century script of the decree, which is much more significant for a determination of date than the script of the present dedication, and to the fact that Ξενοφῶν Βερενικίδης is known from another inscription which must be dated soon after 211/0 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1304, line 52: Ξ[ε]νοφῶν Βερενικ[ίδης]). It may be noted also that the calendar equation in the decree favors a year during the period of the thirteen tribes³⁴ and so before the end of the third century.

The name of Androkles, son of Neokleides, of Lamptrai appears in line 2. In the archonship of Polyeuktos³⁵ one of the epheboi of the tribe Erechtheis was Androkles, son of Neokles, of Lamptrai (*I.G.*, II², 681, line 20). These men were obviously from the same family and approximately contemporaries. In any family where there was a Neokles there might of course be also a Neokleides; it is possible that in one of the two instances here cited the patronymic has been incorrectly given, but this would imply an error in the epigraphical record.

PRAISE OF A HIEROPHANTES

58. Three fragments of Hymettian marble. Fragments *a* and *c*, which join, were found on January 18 and March 3, 1937, in Section ΘΘ; fragment *b* was found subsequently on September 12, 1938, in the wall of a modern house in Section ΒΒ.

a + *c*: Height, 0.42 m.; width, 0.315 m.; thickness, 0.19 m. at the top, 0.162 m. below the mouldings.

Height of letters, 0.006 m.-0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 4389.

b: Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.175 m.; thickness, 0.112 m. (not original).

Height of letters, 0.006 m.-0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 5556.

The inscription is not stoichedon, but so far as can be determined the lines end in complete words or syllables. Ten lines occupy a vertical space of 0.11 m. Some letters still retain traces of red coloring matter.

³² *List*, p. 167; cf. Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxv.

³³ *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 38.

³⁴ Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

³⁵ 249/8 B.C.; cf. Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxi.

No. 58. Fragments *a* + *c*

148/7 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

- ἐπὶ Λυσιάδου ἄρχοντος Π[υ]νανοψ[ι]ῶνος ἔκ[τε] ἐπὶ
 δέκα κατὰ θεόν, κατὰ δὲ ἄρ[χ]οντ[α] πέμπτει [ἴστα]
 μένου, ἀγορᾷ κυρίαι ἐν [. . .^{ca. 6} . . .] νδίωι, Ἄμυν[ό]μαχος]
 Εὐκλέους Ἀλαιεύς ἐ[ἵ]πεν· ἐπε[ῖ]δὴ ὁ ἱεροφά[ν]της]
 5 Ἀριστοκλῆς Περιθοίδ[ης] εὖνου]ς τε ὧν διατ[ε]λεῖ]
 κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκάστωι κα[ὶ] κοινῇ πᾶ[σιν] Εὐμολπ[ιδ]αῖς,
 κατασταθεὶς δὲ ἱερο[φάν]της ἐπ[ὶ] Ἑρμογέν[ου] ἄρχοντος]
 ἀνενεώσατό τε τῇ[ν] διαγραφῇ]ν τὴν τοῦ [ἱεροφάν]του]
 ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων γρα[μματεῖ]ων [τῶ]ν ἐν τ[ῷ] Ἑλευσινί]
 10 ωι καθ' ἣν ἔδει τὸν [ἀεὶ ἱερ]οφάντ[ην] τ[. . .^{11?} . . .]]
 συνέγραψαν Εὐμ[ολπ]ιδαὶ ἐπιδι[δόναι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ]
 ψήφισμα Φιλον[αύ]του καὶ κατὰ τ[ὰ] ἄλλα ψηφίσματα]
 τοῦ δήμου τὰ ἐ[ἴ]στα] γώγεια καλῶς [ἔ]πραττεν ὅσα ἐτά]
 [χ]θῇ μετασχόντ[ω]ν καὶ Εὐμολπιδῶ[ν] τούτων μετὰ πάσης]
 15 [ἀρ]ετῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ψηφίσματ[α] δὲ εἰσῆνεγκε πε]
 [ρὶ] ἀναγρα[φῇ]ν εἰσαγωγ[έ]ϊον ἐν στή[λαις] λιθίναις ἐν]
 [τῷ] Ἑ[λευ]σιν[ί]ωι, ἐκλελειμμένων [δὲ] πολλῶν θυσιῶν]
 [δι' ἐτ]ῶν [π]λειόνων διὰ τοὺς καιρ[οὺς] ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυ]
 [τῷ] ἐκά[στωι] ἔθυσεν τε αὐτὸς [καὶ] νῦν πρόσδο[ν]
 20 [ποι]ῆσ[α]μενος πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν [γνώ]μας ἐνεφάνισεν]
 [περὶ] αὐτῶν καὶ ψηφίσμα[τα] εἰσῆ[νε]γκεν — — —]]
 [. . .]λων γινομένων εἰς — — — — —]]
 [τοῖ]ς θεοῖς κατὰ τὰ — — — — —]]
 [. . .] ΟΥΑΓΩ — — — — —]]
 25 [. . .] ΟΝΚ — — — — —]]

The date of the inscription is given by the name of the archon Lysiades, who must be assigned to some year between 166 and 147 B.C.³⁶ Ferguson prefers the year 148/7 to the earlier suggestion of Dinsmoor that he be placed in 159/8 B.C., and this date has been adopted by Pritchett and Meritt.³⁷ The name Lysiades appears also in a Delian inscription (*Inscriptions de Délos*, no. 1505) and in an Athenian catalogue of hieropoioi for the festival of the Ptolemaia (*I.G.*, II², 1938). The present text throws little new light on the problem of a more exact definition of his year, though the lapse of sacrifices (lines 17-18) because of troubled times may be interpreted as a reference to the lean years before Delos was awarded to Athens by the Romans.

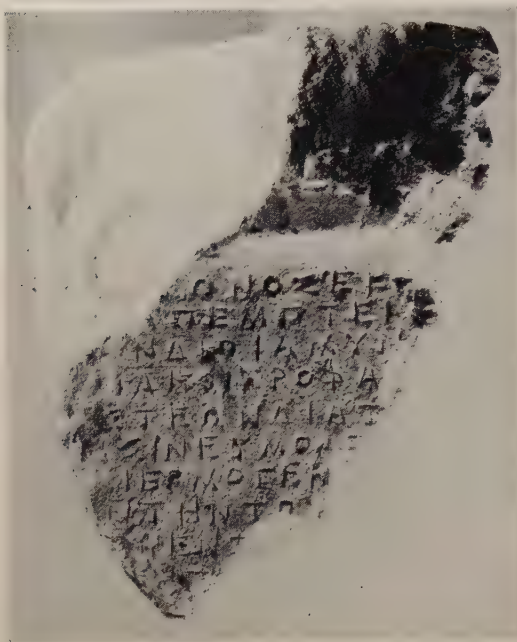
The inscription is a decree of the *genos* of the Eumolpidai (cf. line 14), honoring one of their number who had been appointed hierophantes. Presumably the stele was

³⁶ Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 261; Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 30.

³⁷ Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxx.

erected in the Eleusinion, which was located near the place where the fragments were discovered.³⁸ The day of the assembly is given both *κατὰ θεόν* and *κατ' ἄρχοντα*, though in the reverse of the usual order. Such dates are known in several years of the second century, but their calendar significance is not yet clear.³⁹ In this instance the sixteenth *κατὰ θεόν* is equated with the fifth *κατ' ἄρχοντα*.⁴⁰

The orator Amynomachos, son of Eukles, of Halai, was probably a younger brother of the hierophantes, Aristokles of Perithoidai, in whose honor the decree was



No. 58. Fragment *b*

passed. Both men are listed in a catalogue of contributors from the archonship of Hermogenes (183/2 B.C.),⁴¹ the same year in which Aristokles became hierophantes (line 7). Aristokles paid not only for himself, but *καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ Εὐ[κλ]έου[ς] καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελ[φ]οῦ Ἀμυνομάχου Ἀλαιο[έ]ω[ς]*. Kirchner's note (*P.A.*, 1881) reads: *Erat nimirum Amynomachus frater uterinus Aristoclis, adoptione in familiam civis cuiusdam Halaeensis receptus*. From our present text it is clear that the adoptive father was Eukles, possibly a descendant of Eukles, son of Eukleides, of Halai, of the fourth century (*P.A.*, 5715). The father of our present Eukles is doubtless to be identified as that *Εὐκλῆς Εὐκλέους Ἀλαιοεύς* who was ephebos in 258/7 B.C. in the archonship of Antiphon.⁴² His son would then have been of mature years when he adopted the young Amynomachos early in the second century.

The family tie thus indicated between Eukles and Aristokles is also manifest in the fact that Aristokles named his own son Eukles (*I.G.*, II², 961, line 21; *I.G.*, II², 2332, line 50).

Amynomachos, who was taken into the family at Halai, and who in the archonship of Lysiades proposed this decree honoring Aristokles, was himself hierophantes at a later date, and his name appears with this title on a dedication found at Eleusis

³⁸ For the site of the Eleusinion, cf. Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 207-211; IX, 1940, p. 268.

³⁹ See Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. v. Double dating occurs in the following years: 196/5: *Hesperia*, V, 1936, no. 15; 179/8: *Hesperia*, V, 1936, no. 16; 166/5: *I.G.*, II², 946, 947; 155/4: *Hesperia*, X, 1941, no. 25; 122/1: *I.G.*, II², 1004, 1006.

⁴⁰ Pyanopsion 5 was the day of the Proërosia; cf. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 68.

⁴¹ *I.G.*, II², 2332, lines 49-52; the date of the document is given in line 119.

⁴² *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, no. 20, line 53; for the date, see Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xx.

(*I.G.*, II², 3469). The squeeze in the collection of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton shows clearly that the reading of this dedication must be

Ἱεροφάντ[ης] Ἀμυνόμαχ[ος]
Εὐκλέ[ους] Ἀλ[αίου].

In lines 8-11 the significant words needed to yield the sense of the passage are missing from the stone. The verb ἐπιδι[δόναι] in line 11 suggests ἐπιδόσεις, such as were made from time to time in case of emergency. One such list from the year of Hermogenes is preserved (*I.G.*, II², 2332) though its connection with the present text, if any, is not clear. A measurement across the stone shows that there was space in line 1 for only about 33 letters; hence the complete restoration must be οἷδε ἐπ[ὶ] ἔδωκαν ἐπὶ Ἑρμογένον] ἄρχ[οντος], and there is no space for the restoration of any phrase to specify the purpose of the contributions. It is noteworthy that the name Ἀριστοκλῆς Περιθ[οί]δης appears in this list (line 49) without the title of Hierophantes. Perhaps he had not yet been chosen when the contributions were made.⁴³

The lines from 11 to 17 record the zeal of Aristokles in collecting the εἰσαγωγεία and in inscribing the records of them on stone. These records must have covered more than one year, for apparently he proposed more than one decree (ψηφίσματ[α] in line 15) to insure their inscription, and set them up on more than one stele of stone (ἐν στή[λαις λιθίναις] in line 16 is preferable to ἐν στή[λῃ λιθίνῃ] for reasons of space). The εἰσαγωγεία must be fees of initiation, which the hierophantes was under obligation to exact.⁴⁴ That these initiation fees were collected according to the decree of Philonantes, about which we are otherwise uninformed, and according to the other decrees of the Demos shows that they were not concerned with the genos of the Eumolpidae alone; they must have been the initiation fees for the Eleusinian mysteries, and as such they were a proper subject for legislation by the Demos.* The name Φιλον[αύτ]ου in line 12 is partly restored, and some other supplement may be possible. However, I note that there is room in the lacuna between the two fragments of stone for three full letters, and that in the genitive form Φιλον[εῖκ]ου (the only other appropriate name listed in Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica*) part of the kappa should appear on the right-hand fragment.

We do not know who proposed the decree now published as *I.G.*, I², 6, and I do

⁴³ One might not expect to find at this time the title Ἱεροφάντης supplanting the name, though this practice had commenced as early as the end of the third century. Yet the title might have been added if Aristokles were already holding the priesthood. Cf. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis*, p. 175.

⁴⁴ An inscription from Cos has the form εἰσαγωγίον, which is translated by Van Herwerden, *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum*, s. v., as *pretium introductionis* (Ditt., *Syll.*³, 1106, lines 52-56: εἰσαγωγίον δὲ διδότης οἱ κα γένηται παιδίον, οἱ[s] μέτεστι τῶν ἱερῶν, χο[ῖ]ρον, ἱερά, λιβανωτόν, σπονδάν, στέφανον).

* For a further note on relations between the Eumolpidae and the Demos see R. Schlaifer, *Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil.*, LI, 1940, p. 238.

not suggest the name of Philonautes for it, but this inscription gives the earliest epigraphical record so far preserved of initiation fees which the *μύσται* were obliged to pay (lines 88 ff.).⁴⁵ The principal fragment of *I.G.*, I², 6, which is now in London, is reported to have been found near the so-called Theseum. It probably stood in the Eleusinion, near where several small fragments that belong with it have been found recently in the Agora excavations.

In line 18 the restoration [δι' ἐτ]ῶν [π]λειόνων may be compared with *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, no. 47, lines 4-5: ψα[φι]ξαμένου τοῦ δάμου τοῦ Ἀθηναί[ων] πέμπειν τὰν Πυθαῖδα ποθ' ἀμὲ δι' ἐτῶν πλειόνων; *I.G.*, II², 1006, lines 34-36: καταπάλτην λιθοβόλον ἕνα τῶν ἀρ[χαίων ἐ]κ τῶν ιδίων ἐθερά[πενσαν καὶ τὰ ἐλλείπον]τα προσκατασκευάσαντες ἀνενεώσαντο διὰ πλειόνων ἐτ[ῶν] τήν τε χρήσιν τοῦ ὀργάνο[υ καὶ μάθησιν]. The meaning is "after a lapse of some years"; cf. Boethius, *Die Pythais*, pp. 65-66.

In lines 19-20, for [πρόσοδον ποιησ]άμενος πρὸς τὴν βουλήν, followed by some form of the verb ἐμφανίζω, cf. e. g., Ditt., *Syll.*³, 706, 718, 756 (*I.G.*, II², 1012, 1034, 1046).

ADDENDA

59. A decree of the archonship of Chairephon was discovered in the excavations of the Agora in 1931. The text was given a preliminary publication in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 160-161, where a drawing was published, with restorations, to show the disposition of letters upon the stone. The name of the orator was read as: O-o[.]ος Νίκων[ος ---].

It has since been possible to decipher more of the orator's name. The reading is almost certainly [---]όδοτος, a word which can be readily expanded either as [Δι]όδοτος or as [Θε]όδοτος. When this restoration is made it becomes apparent that the division of lines must be recorded in a manner different from that represented in the drawing. The verb ἐπεψήφισεν in lines 4-5 must be restored with all but the last syllable in line 4 (ἐπεψήφι|ζεν) so as to make room at the commencement of line 5 for the two additional letters which must be restored at the beginning of the orator's name. In this way, the principle of syllabic division at the ends of lines may be observed but the lines themselves are lengthened by approximately two letter-spaces.

There are other advantages in this disposition, for it is now possible to preserve correct syllabic division at the end of line 3 by restoring the complete name of the month Βοηδρομιῶνος. This in turn leaves two spaces to be filled by restoration at the beginning of line 4, so the date within the month should be restored not as the 10th but rather as the 11th or 12th. The calendar equation of the year may now be read; Boedromion 11 = Prytany III, 15. The year was an ordinary year in the period of

⁴⁵ See also Pringsheim, *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Kults*, pp. 38-41.

the thirteen tribes. One of the first two prytanies contained 28 days, and the other must have contained 27. The text is as follows:

219/8 B.C.

[Ἐ]πὶ Χαιρεφώντος ἄρχοντος[ος ἐπὶ τῆς - - - -]
 [τ]ρίτης πρυτανείας ἥι Φ[- - - - -]
 [Κυ]δαντίδης ἐγραμμάτ[ευεν· Βοηδρομιώνος]
 [ἐν]δεκάτῃ, πέμπτῃ κ[αὶ δεκάτῃ τῆς πρυ]
 5 [ταν]είας· ἐκκλησία· τ[ῶν προέδρων ἐπειψήφι]
 [ζεν . .]όδοτος Νίκων[ος - - - - -]

One will note that this restoration does away with the slight irregularity that had to be admitted when δεκάτῃ without its modifier ἱσταμένου represented the 10th of the month. There is no need for the modifier with the date [ἐν]δεκάτῃ. Furthermore, with the somewhat longer line, there is no reason to believe that the prytany during which the decree was passed was one with the short name Aigeis or Oineis.

60. In *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 158-160, there was published a new catalogue of ephebic officials. This list has played an important part in the arguments which have been made during the last decade for the chronology of inscriptions during the third century and later. It was first utilized by Ferguson, and a synoptic table of ephebic officials was presented in his publication, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, pp. 104-105. There are now certain readjustments that must be made in this table.

Hermodoros, son of Heortios, of Acharnai, who is well known to students of Hellenistic chronology, was paidotribes at least from the archonship of Menekles (269/8 B.C.)⁴⁶ to some year after the archonship of Philoneos (244/3 B.C.).⁴⁷ Inasmuch as Heortios, the son of Hermodoros, was an ephebos in the archonship of Philoneos, he may have been of age, let us say, to act as paidotribes himself about 232/1 B.C., and this is the year to which we now assign the inscription published in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 158-160. In this inscription Heortios is named as paidotribes (lines 1-4). Although Heortios was probably paidotribes for many years after 232/1 B.C., we do not give to the new inscription a later date because it mentions Lysikles of Sypalettos as akontistes. Lysikles had been priest of Asklepios in 263/2 B.C.;⁴⁸ he first appears as akontistes in the archonship of Antiphon in 258/7 B.C.;⁴⁹ and he appears in this capacity in the archonship of Philoneos (244/3 B.C.)⁵⁰ as well as in the new inscription. Dinsmoor has already pointed out the disadvantage of assuming

⁴⁶ *I.G.*, II², 665, lines 25-26.

⁴⁷ *I.G.*, II², 766, lines 8, 42-43. The dates of inscriptions here cited are those given by Pritchett and Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*.

⁴⁸ Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xx.

⁴⁹ *I.G.*, II², 700 + *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 110-112.

⁵⁰ *I.G.*, II², 766, lines 9, 47-48.

that Lysikles continued the active exercise of his profession to an advanced old age.⁵¹ We may assume, therefore, that Heortios began to serve as paidotribes about 232/1 B.C. The evidence for his tenure of this office lies in the new inscription published in *Hesperia*.

It has been generally assumed that this Heortios is to be identified with him who is mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 944b.⁵² This assumption is incorrect, for it may be demonstrated that the Heortios of *I.G.*, II², 944b is the grandson of the Heortios of *Hesperia*. II, 1933, p. 159. I cannot myself test the forms of the letters in *I.G.*, II², 944b, but Kirchner reports that they are "post init. s. II." In his publication in the *Corpus* he represents specimen letters with pronounced finials and this implies a date much closer to the middle of the second century than to its beginning. These are the epigraphical considerations. There is also a prosopographical item in the name of the katapaltaphetes. The name is given in *I.G.*, II², 944b as [---]δρον Πεδ[ιέ]ως ἐκ Κερ[α]μέων.

An ephebic inscription which names the officials of the year 172/1 B.C. was discovered in the Agora in 1932.⁵³ One of the officials was Neandros from the Kerameikos (lines 124-126). Although Neandros was here named without his title, it is clear that he must have been the katapaltaphetes, and Roussel used the evidence of the new inscription to restore in *I.G.*, II², 944b the complete name [Νέαν]δρον Πεδ[ιέ]ως ἐκ Κερ[α]μέων.⁵⁴

About the year 123/2 B.C.⁵⁵ Pedieus from the Kerameikos is known to have been aphetes. His name also appears in the new fragment, as yet unpublished, of an ephebic decree which names officials of 128/7 B.C.⁵⁶ So Pedieus from the Kerameikos was aphetes, or katapaltaphetes, about 125 B.C. If we recede one generation of thirty-three years from this date, his father, whose name was Neandros, should be dated about 158 B.C. It is to this approximate period that I assign *I.G.*, II², 944b which names the katapaltaphetes Neandros son of Pedieus from the Kerameikos. He is to be identified with Neandros from the Kerameikos who is precisely dated as katapaltaphetes in 172/1 B.C. His father, Pedieus from the Kerameikos, should be dated one generation earlier, so for him we recede another thirty-three years to 191 B.C. It is quite probable that the restoration [Πεδιέα Νεάνδρου ἐκ Κεραμέων] should be made in lines 22-23 of *I.G.*, II², 900.⁵⁷ Although the names Pedieus, as here

⁵¹ *The Athenian Archon List*, pp. 76-77; cf. Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 27-28.

⁵² Ferguson, *Cycles*, p. 107; Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 94; *Ath. Archon List*, p. 75; Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 27.

⁵³ *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 14-18.

⁵⁴ *B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, p. 91, note 1.

⁵⁵ *I.G.*, II², 1007.

⁵⁶ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, no. 37, p. 75, line 76. The reading is: [καταπαλταφέτην Π]εδιέα ἐκ Κεραμέων, to be restored also in lines 199-201.

⁵⁷ An unpublished fragment (Agora Inv. No. I 1025c) of an ephebic inscription shows that Sosos was akontistes. His name should be so restored in *I.G.*, II², 900, line 23. The lacuna in

restored, represents the official who was active in the archonship of Eupolemos (185/4 B.C.) he is of course the same as the Pedieus whose *floruit* we have dated *ca.* 191 B.C. If we recede still another generation in this family of katapaltaphetai we discover that the official active *ca.* 224 B.C.⁵⁸ was Pedieus of Oe. It is significant that before and after this date the family name is the same but the deme changes. I assume the Pedieus of Oe had no son who carried on the profession after him but that he had a sister who married a man named Neandros. One of their sons was named Pedieus after his uncle, and it is the nephew who carried on the profession. One difficulty of dating *I.G.*, II², 944*b* in the twenties of the third century is that one cannot explain the family relationship between Pedieus of Oe and Pedieus from the Kerameikos. The family tree of Pedieus may now be represented as follows:

TABLE I

ca. 224	Πεδιεύς Ὀγήθεν ——— (sister) ~ Νεάνδρος (I) ἐκ Κεραμέων <i>Hesperia</i> , II, 1933, p. 159 (<i>ca.</i> 232/1 B.C.)
191	[Πεδιεύς (I) Νεάνδρον ἐκ Κεραμέων] <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 900, lines 22-23 (185/4 B.C.)
158	Νεάνδρος (II) Πεδιέως ἐκ Κεραμέων <i>Hesperia</i> , III, 1934, p. 16 (172/1 B.C.) <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 944 <i>b</i> (<i>ca.</i> 158 B.C.)
125	Πεδιεύς (II) ἐκ Κεραμέων <i>Hesperia</i> , IV, 1935, p. 75, line 76 (unpublished) (128/7 B.C.) <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1007 (<i>ca.</i> 123/2 B.C.)

This table of relative dates is in conformity with the genealogical evidence for the family of Hermodoros, whose stemma may be outlined as follows:⁵⁹

line 22 should be supplied with the name of the toxotes, Nikomachos (cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 18). These lines should read as follows: ἐπαινέ[σαι] δὲ καὶ τοὺς διδασκ[άλους, τὸν τε ὀπλομάχον Περ]σαῖον Συμμάχον Κικιννέα καὶ τὸν παιδοτρίβην [Ἐρμό]δωρον Ἐορτίου [Ἀχαρνέα καὶ τὸν τοξότην Νικόμαχο]ν Νικομάχον Ἀφιδναῖον καὶ τὸν καταπαλταφ[έτην Πεδιέ]α Νεάνδρον ἐκ Κεραμέων καὶ τὸν ἀκοντιστῆ[ν Σῶ]σον Προξένον Σφήττιον καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκ[αστον αὐ]τῶν θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι· ——. In line 19 the name of the kosmetes should also be supplied as Θεόβουλον Θε[οβούλου Ἐλευσίνιον]; see *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 179.

⁵⁸ Attested for *ca.* 232/1 B.C. by *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 159.

⁵⁹ The table in Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica*, s. v. Ἐρμόδωρος (I) Ἀχαρν(εύς) [*P.A.*, 5137], is now antiquated. See also Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 94.

TABLE II

323 B.C.	Ἑρμόδωρος (I) Ἀχαρν(εύς) <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 1631, line 439 (323/2 B.C.)
290	Ἑόρτιος (I) Ἀχαρνεύς See under Ἑρμόδωρος (II)
257	Ἑρμόδωρος (II) Ἑορτίου (I) Ἀχαρνεύς <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 665, lines 25-26, 68-70 (269/8 B.C.) <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 700, line 28 (258/7) <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 681, lines 4-5 (249/8) <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 766, lines 8, 42-43 (244/3) See also under Ἑόρτιος (II)
224	Ἑόρτιος (II) Ἑρμοδώρου (II) Ἀχαρνεύς <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 766, line 28 (244/3) <i>Hesperia</i> , II, 1933, p. 159 (ca. 232/1)
191	Ἑρμόδωρος (III) Ἑορτίου (II) Ἀχαρνεύς <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 900, lines 21-22 (185/4 B.C.) <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 901, lines 8-9 (ca. 185/4 B.C.)
158	Ἑόρτιος (III) Ἑρμοδώρου (III) Ἀχαρνεύς <i>I.G.</i> , II ² , 944b (ca. 158 B.C.)

61. In *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 47-49, Oliver has published a list of prytaneis of the tribe Aigeis from about the year 181/2 A.D.⁶⁰ The names of the prytaneis are listed in this inscription in two columns and the text, as published, indicates that with one exception all the men named in column I belong to the large deme Gargettos. The exception appears in line 26 where the reading is Στα Ὀνήτορ· Κολλυ(τεύς). In the index of this inscription in *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 98, this reading was expanded as Στα(τίλιος) Ὀνήτορ(ος) Κολλυ(τεύς), but it seems preferable to read instead Στά(τιος) Ὀνητορ(ίδης) Κολλυ(τεύς). The extraordinary feature about the name is that a citizen from Kollytos should appear here in the first column among fellow prytaneis from Gargettos.

⁶⁰ For the date see *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 87.

A close examination of the photograph of this document (*op. cit.*, p. 47) will show, I believe, that Statios in line 26 was the first of a group of four men at the bottom of column I, all of whom were from Kollytos. The disposition of the stone indicates that the deme heading was inadvertently omitted by the stonecutter, and that he recognized his error only when he had almost finished cutting the name Στά(τιος) Ὀνητορίδης. When he saw his mistake he abbreviated the name and added the demotic after it. This demotic is so inscribed that it slopes upward slightly at the right as though the stonecutter wished to indicate that it belonged in fact between its line and the line above. The change in deme from Gargettos to Kollytos is further signalized by a horizontal stroke between lines 25 and 26, indicating a new paragraph. This is a true paragraph sign and not a mark of abbreviation over the letters Στα in line 26. No abbreviation in this document is indicated by the horizontal line which is sometime elsewhere used for this purpose.

A complete panel of forty names is obtained if two names, plus titles (perhaps eponymus and tamias) are supplied in the erasures of lines 5-8. The erasures were, therefore, apparently due not to carelessness and subsequent correction, but to *damnatio memoriae*.

62. In *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 186, a Christian inscription was published by Broneer with restorations which do not, however, give a symmetrical arrangement upon the stone, or a symmetrical arrangement beneath the cross which appears near the upper margin. I suggest that this difficulty can be remedied by interpreting the document as an epitaph to two brothers, possibly twins, to be read as follows:

[κν]μητήρ[ι]
 [ον] Μελίτι
 [ον] κ(αὶ) Ἀφρο
 [δισ]ίον.

This is the complete text of the inscription.

BENJAMIN D. MERITT

NOTES ON ATTIC PROSOPOGRAPHY

Ἀθηνοκλῆς Σαλαμινίου Ἀλαϊεύς

In 247/6 B.C. Ἀθηνοκλῆς [ς Ἀλ]αϊεύς was among the commissioners who assisted the στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπισκευήν in the preparation of the inventories of Asklepios.¹ Several years later the same Athenokles may have held the higher office of στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπισκευήν,² for his full name ([Ἀθηνο]κλῆς Σαλαμινίου [ς Ἀλ]αϊεύς) can be restored in an inscription containing a list of officials.³ This inscription has been dated by J. Kirchner *ca.* 230 B.C.,⁴ but it may now seem preferable to date it in one of the years following the archonship of Diomedon (247/6 B.C.).

Ἀντισθένης Ἀντισθένους Κυθήρριος

The name of Antisthenes from Kytheros, whose family is well known in the fourth century B.C.,⁵ may be restored in an inscription recording the lease of mines in the year 342/1 B.C.⁶ From this identification one might conclude that the wealth of the family consisted of mining property which was located in the deme Amphitrope.⁷

Ἀρτέμων Πολυμήλου Πειραιεύς

Artemon, son of Polymelos, from Peiraieus, made a public donation in 183/2 B.C.⁸ and he was also responsible for the honors accorded to Diodoros in 168/7 B.C.⁹ His tombstone can be recognized in the inscription published as *I.G.*, II², 7154: Ἀρτ[έμ]ω[ν] Πολυ[μ]ή[λ]ο[υ] Πει[ραιεύς].¹⁰

¹ *I.G.*, II², 1534, line 165; for the date and interpretation of this inscription, see Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. vi, 31, 63, 71, and 73; for the date, see also J. Kirchner, *H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. Vol. I, pp. 503-507.

² For this office, see Busolt and Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, p. 1123, note 1; W. Schwahn, *R.E.*, Suppl. VI, s. v. strategos, cols. 1090-1091.

³ *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 45-47, no. 13, line 7.

⁴ *I.G.*, II², 1705.

⁵ See J. Kirchner, *P.A.*, no. 1196; add *I.G.*, II², 1951, line 99.

⁶ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 398, no. 10, line 6 ([Ἀντισθέ]νος: Κυθ:) and line 8 ([Ἀντισ]θένος: εἰδαφ: Κυθ).

⁷ For this mining district, see J. Young, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 28-30.

⁸ *I.G.*, II², 2332, col. I, line 135.

⁹ *I.G.*, II², 945, line 8.

¹⁰ The new reading was made from a squeeze. The inscription may now be dated *ca.* 150 B.C.

Αὐτίας Αὐτοκλέους Ἀχαρνεύς

The secretary of 327/6 B.C., Autokles, son of Autias, from Acharnai,¹¹ is known also from a catalogue of the tribe Oineis which is dated *ca.* 330 B.C.¹² His grandfather who had the same name was councillor of the tribe Oineis in 360/59 B.C.¹³ The short interval between the periods of activity of Autokles and of his grandfather may be understood if the secretary Autokles was a rather young man when he held office in 327/6 B.C., while his grandfather was rather old when he served as councillor in 360/59 B.C. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that Autokles' son Autias was taxiarch in 283/2 B.C.¹⁴ and made a public donation thirty-six years later (247/6 B.C.).¹⁵ This Autias, son of Autokles, was honored as taxiarch in 283/2 B.C. after his return from a mission to Boiotia, and it so happens that a contemporary decree of the Oropians honors the Athenian Autias, son of Autokles, who was apparently identical with the taxiarch.¹⁶ It is tempting to assume that the taxiarchs went not only for the celebration of the Basileia to Lebadia but that they also participated on behalf of Athens in the celebration of the Amphiareia at Oropos.

Βλέπυρος Πειθάνδρου Παιονίδης

P. Roussel restored (*B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, p. 91, note 1) the letters of the second and third lines of the fragment *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 63, no. 54, to: [γραμματεὺς τῇ] βουλῇ Βλ[έπυρος] Πει[θάν]δρο Παιον[ίδης]. This restoration is based on *I.G.*, II², 1747, lines 33-34, where mention is made of the γρ[α]μματεὺς [τ]ῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ [Βλ]έπυρος Πειθάνδρο Παιονίδης. There is an uninscribed space preserved on the Agora fragment to the left of the first letters of the last two lines, and the whole title of Blepyros may therefore be restored to read:

[γραμματεὺς τῶι] δ[ήμῳ]
[καὶ τῇ] βουλῇ Βλ[έπυρος]
Πει[θάν]δρο Παιον[ίδης]
ὑπηρέτης : Μητροδ[. . .].

Both the shortness of the lines and the thickness of the fragment (which is broken at the back but still measures 0.315 m.) make it seem probable that it was once

¹¹ See *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 4; X, p. 45.

¹² *I.G.*, II², 2408, line 3.

¹³ *I.G.*, II², 1745, line 45; see also *I.G.*, II², 5789, which is the tomb inscription of his daughter Demostrate.

¹⁴ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 562, no. 40, line 23, and p. 565. The name of the proedros in this decree (line 6) should be read as Διοκλῆς Ἰσχυρίου Πτελεάσιος.

¹⁵ *I.G.*, II², 791, fragment *d*, line 30; for the date, see Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxii; compare, however, J. Kirchner, *H.S.C.P.*, Suppl. Vol. I, pp. 503-507; see above, p. 291, no. 56, line 72.

¹⁶ *I.G.*, VII, no. 4266.

part of a monument similar to *I.G.*, II², 1747. This would mean that the fragment belongs to a dedication made by the victorious prytaneis of a tribe other than Aigeis: for it must be of the same year as *I.G.*, II², 1747 which is a dedication of the prytaneis of the tribe Aigeis.

A *terminus post quem* both for the Agora inscription and for *I.G.*, II², 1747 can be determined from the last line of the former: ὑπηρέτης Μητρόδ[...ος]. Only one other fourth century inscription of this type contains the mention of an official in addition to that of the secretary (*I.G.*, II², 1740, lines 55-56): [ἀντι]γραφεύς [Ἀρισ]-τίων Ἀριστονύμο Παλληνεύ[ς]. It is safe to assume that both Μητρόδ[...ος] of the Agora inscription and the ἀντιγραφεύς in the earlier inscription performed the same duties in the Council. It is known that the office of ἀντιγραφεύς was discontinued in 355/4 B.C. and reestablished probably in 335/4 B.C., and it may be assumed that the duties of the ἀντιγραφεύς in the Council were taken over by one of the public slaves.¹⁷ Μητρόδ[...ος] was a slave as is indicated by the fact that his name is recorded without father's name and without demotic. This is assured by the known length of the line; for any addition to the name Μητρόδ[...ος] would have been engraved in another line. Both the Agora inscription and *I.G.*, II², 1747 belong therefore to one of the years after 354 B.C.

Ἐπάγαθος Κορίνθου Ἀναφλύστιος

The inscription published as *I.G.*, II², 4055a has already been published as *I.G.*, III, 2055, but the restoration suggested in *I.G.*, III, 2055 is incorrect since the fracture on the right side of the fragment coincides with the centre of the inscribed architrave as shown by an arch which appears below it. The inscription may now be restored to read:

[—⁵—⁶—]ἰς Ἐπαγάθου Ἀν[αφλυστίου θυγάτηρ]
[Αἰλ. Γ]έλωτος Φαληρέως [γυνή^{ca. 14}—].

The restoration of the second line has already been suggested by Kumanudis (see *I.G.*, III, 2055). Αἰλ. Γέλως is the archon of 162/3 A.D.; see *I.G.*, II², 3687, and above, p. 86. The restoration of the name of the dedicator's father Ἐπάγαθος Ἀν[αφλύστιος] is based on *I.G.*, II², 2020, line 45, where an Ἐπάγαθος Κο(ρίνθου) Ἀναφ(λύστιος) is mentioned as ephebe ca. 110 A.D.; his father Κόρινθος Ἀναφ(λύστιος) was ephebe ca. 90 A.D. (*I.G.*, II², 1996, line 146), and his brother Κόρινθος Ἀναφ(λύστιος) was councillor in 138/9 A.D. The Agora inscription can therefore be dated ca. 160 A.D.

¹⁷ Compare G. Busolt and H. Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, p. 1043, note 1; U. Kahrstedt, *Untersuchungen zur Magistratur in Athen*, pp. 317-319.

Ἐπιγένης Δίου Μελιτεύς

The descendants of Epigenes, son of Dios, from Melite, who proposed a prytany decree in 124/3 B.C.,¹⁸ have been discussed by D. M. Robinson who has not mentioned, however, that Epigenes himself as well as his father and grandfather are known from other inscriptions.¹⁹ Epigenes was epimeletes in Delos shortly before 126/5 B.C., and he was honored there by at least three statues.²⁰ Epigenes' father Dios made *ca.* 150 B.C. a public donation on his own behalf and for his two children Epigenes and Aristotime.²¹ He may be identical with Dios, son of Achaïos, who won in 157 B.C. several tribal contests for Kekropis.²² Roussel suggested (see note 2) that Ἀχαιὸς Βου[--- Με]λιτεύς, who was ephēbe in 117/6 B.C.,²³ and the ἱππεύς of the tribe Kekropis in 106/5 B.C.²⁴ were the same person. It may be that this Achaïos was the grandson of Achaïos, the father of Dios (*I.G.*, II², 957, lines 86-90). The younger Achaïos was born in 135 B.C., his father Βου[---] may have been born *ca.* 168 B.C., and his grandfather Achaïos *ca.* 201 B.C.; this last date agrees well with Achaïos' akme *ca.* 190 B.C. as determined from *I.G.*, II², 957, lines 86-90.

Ἐπιθέτης Ἀντικράτου Αἰθαλίδης

The name of Epithetes, son of Aproditos, from Aithalidai, is found in a catalogue from *ca.* 125 B.C.²⁵ One of his descendants, possibly his grandson, may be recognized in a prytany list of Leontis from *ca.* 50 B.C.: [Ἐπι]θέτης Ἀντικράτου (Αἰθαλίδης).²⁶ This restoration gives the width of the column and makes it possible to restore the names of several other councillors: line 2, [Μ]άνιος; line 5, [Κηφισ]όδωρος (Αἰθαλίδης); line 6, [Ἀρτέ]μων (Αἰθαλίδης).²⁷

Ἐπικλῆς Καλλιμάχου Ἰφιστιάδης

The inscription now published as *I.G.*, II², 6297 belongs to the tomb monument of Epikles, son of Kallimachos, who was undersecretary in 256/5 B.C.²⁸ This inscription may be restored as [Ἐ]πι[κ]λῆς (or Ἐπ[ικ]λῆς) [Κ]αλλιμάχου [Ἰ]φιστιάδης.

¹⁸ S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, pp. 158-160, no. 92, line 5; both the restoration and the commentary of this inscription are by D. M. Robinson.

¹⁹ See P. Roussel, *Délos colonie Athénienne*, p. 105.

²⁰ *Inscriptions de Délos*, nos. 1643, 1644, and 1703.

²¹ *I.G.*, II², 2335, lines 10-13.

²³ *I.G.*, II², 1009, col. III, line 81.

²² *I.G.*, II², 957, lines 86-90.

²⁴ *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, p. 36, no. 28, line 35.

²⁵ *I.G.*, II², 2452, line 38. He may be identical with the mint magistrate Ἐπιθέτης (*P.A.*, no. 4836) whose activity belongs to *ca.* 115 B.C.; I owe this information to Margaret Thompson.

²⁶ *I.G.*, II², 1754, line 4; see S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 172, no. 103.

²⁷ See [Ἀ]ρτέ[μων] νε(ώτερος) (Αἰθαλίδης) who is mentioned in a contemporary list of tribesmen from Leontis, *I.G.*, II², 2461, line 52; for the date of this inscription, see S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 169.

²⁸ S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 46, no. 9, lines 111-113; p. 51, note on *I.G.*, II², 678, line 52; for the date, see Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxi.

Ἐπικράτης Πεισιάνακτος Σουνιεύς

One of the lochagoi of 333/2 B.C., Epikrates, son of Peisianax, from Sounion,²⁹ can be identified with one of the cult officials mentioned in an inscription dating from the same period.³⁰ To the same family probably belongs also the treasurer of the prytaneis of Attalis whose name may be restored in a prytany decree from *ca.* 170 B.C.: [Ἐπι]κράτην Σο[υνιέα].³¹

Εὐάγγελος Θεοφίλου Ἑρμείου

The tombstone published as *I.G.*, II², 6077 reveals that Dexikrateia, the wife of Euangelos, son of Theophilos, from Hermos, was the daughter of Thrasymedes from Acharnai; the monument is dated after the middle of the fourth century B.C. An inscription from the Agora shows how Euangelos and Dexikrateia first met: their fathers Theophilos from Hermos and Thrasymedes from Acharnai, were colleagues on a military board in 373/2 B.C.³² A great grandson of Euangelos and Dexikrateia may have been the ephebe of 237/6 B.C. whose name can be restored as [Δέξι]κράτης Θεοφίλου Ἑρμει(ος).³³

Ἡγέμαχος Σατύρου Λευκονοεύς

The family of Hegemachos, son of Satyros, from Leukonoe, may be reconstructed from the tomb inscriptions of several of its members: *I.G.*, II², 6720, 6734, 6741, 9975. The grandson of Hegemachos [Ἡ]γέμαχος Ἀνδρέο[υ Λε]ωντίδος φυλῆς was an ephebe *ca.* 140 B.C.,³⁴ and Hegemachos himself made a public donation in 183/2 B.C.³⁵ His name may be restored in a prytany list of *ca.* 170 B.C.: [Ἡγέμ]αχος (Λευκονοεύς).³⁶ No members of the family are known from the third century, but it is possible that either Tharsynon or Tharreas, sons of Satyros from Leukonoe who

²⁹ *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 62-63, no. 8, col. I, lines 24-25; col. II, lines 17-19.

³⁰ *I.G.*, II², 1933, line 5: Ἐπικράτην [Πε]σιάνακτος [Σουνιέα].

³¹ S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 142, no. 78, lines 4-5 and 9-10; for the date of this inscription, see the discussion of Φιλοκλῆς Τρινεμεεύς.

³² *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 4, no. 2, lines 5-7 and 9-10; for other members of the family, see p. 4, note 1.

³³ *I.G.*, II², 787, frag. c, line 12.

³⁴ *I.G.*, II², 961, line 27; see J. Sundwall, *Nachträge*, p. 87. He may have been the third mint-magistrate of the series Aphrodisios-Apolexis (see *P.A.*, no. 6281). Concerning the date of this series, I owe the following information to Margaret Thompson: "The series of ΔΙΟΓΕ-ΠΟΣΕΙ and ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙ-ΑΠΟΛΗΞΙ are probably to be separated by thirty or forty years. Money of the first magistrates is similar in style to that of ANTIOXOΣ-ΝΙΚΟΓ which is dated *ca.* 176 B.C. ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙ-ΑΠΟΛΗΞΙ seem to have minted in the third quarter of the century."

³⁵ *I.G.*, II², 2332, col. I, line 38; see also *P.A.*, no. 6281; he may be the third mint-magistrate of the series ΔΙΟΓΕ-ΠΟΣΕΙ (see note 34).

³⁶ *I.G.*, II², 918, line 21; S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, pp. 139-141, no. 77; for the date of this inscription, see the discussion of Φιλοκλῆς Τρινεμεεύς.

were ephebes in 333/2 and 324/3 B.C. respectively, was one of Hegemachos' direct ancestors.³⁷ It may even be suggested that Satyros from Leukonoe, the assistant secretary of the hellenotamiai in 443/2 and 442/1 B.C., belongs at the head of the whole stemma.³⁸

Ἡνιοχίδης Εὐφιλήτου Τρικορύσιος

Trikorysians bearing the names Heniochides and Euphiletos were known from the fourth and second centuries B.C.³⁹ The third century is represented by the fragment of a prytany list in which the name of [Ἡ]νιοχίδης Εὐφιλ(ήτου) (Τρικορύσιος) may now be restored.⁴⁰ To the same family may belong [-^{ca.}7-] Ἡνιόχου [Τρικορύσιος] who was ephebe in 258 B.C.⁴¹

Κάρπος Φιλοκράτους Συβρίδης

The demotic of Karpos, the treasurer of the prytaneis in 159/8 B.C.⁴² had eight letters, and the only demotic of Erechtheis in that period that fills this space is Συβρίδης. The name of Karpos' father of which only [...⁶...]άτου is preserved may be restored as [Φιλοκρ]άτου with reference to the inscription now published as *I.G.*, II², 7482, which may be his tombstone, and which may be dated *ca.* 160 B.C.

Νικάδας Ἀντιφάνους Μελιτεύς

Nikadas, son of Nikadas, from Melite, was hoplomachos in the year of Hipparchos (119/8 B.C.).⁴³ His grandson Antiphanes, son of Nikadas, held the same office in the year of Menandros (39/8 B.C.).⁴⁴ A son of Antiphanes may have been Νικάδ[α]ς (Μελιτεύς) whose name can be restored in a prytany list of Kekropis of the year 30/29 B.C.⁴⁵

Κίττος [Ἀ]μφίσ[---] ἐκ Κεραμέων

The inscription published as *I.G.*, II², 4921a is engraved on the vertical face of a circular plinth of Pentelic marble; it is dated, on the basis of its letter forms, in the

³⁷ *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 63, no. 8, line 35; *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1918, p. 75, no. 95, col. II, line 39.

³⁸ Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, p. 567.

³⁹ *I.G.*, II², 7553 and 2823; *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, p. 18, no. 8, line 20; see J. Sundwall, *Nachträge*, p. 88, and above, p. 240, note 39.

⁴⁰ S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 68, no. 24, line 4. Lines 1-4 of this list belong therefore to the panel of the councillors from Trikorythos.

⁴¹ According to a new reading by B. D. Meritt of the inscription published in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 112, no. 20, line 63; for the date of this inscription, see Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xx.

⁴² S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 145, no. 79, lines 45 and 49; for the date, see *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 278, note 28.

⁴³ *I.G.*, II², 1008, lines 39, 84, and 132-133.

⁴⁴ *I.G.*, II², 1043, lines 57, and 127-130.

⁴⁵ S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, pp. 176-177, no. 109, line 23. It is also possible that Νικάδ[α]ς was a brother of the hoplomachos of 39/8 B.C.

first half of the fourth century B.C. The name Kittos occurs in several instances in Attika,⁴⁶ and the dedicator may be identified as the potter Kittos, son of [᾽Α]μφισ[---], from Kerameikos, whose signature is preserved on a Panathenaic amphora dated ca. 380 B.C.⁴⁷ The fragment on which the inscription is engraved is the lower part of a pedestal for a marble basin,⁴⁸ and a series of late archaic marble basins were dedicated on the Akropolis by the vase painter Onesimos.⁴⁹

Νικόμαχος Κινέου Λαμπτραῖς

The names of Nikomachos, son of Kineas, from Lamptrai, and of his father Kineas, son of Nikomachos, have been restored in a name-list dated by its letter forms in the late third century.⁵⁰ The small inscribed fragment of a stele with pediment *I.G.*, II², 737 is evidently part of a tribal decree of Erechtheis, and it agrees in both its letter forms and in the spacing of the lines so well with the name list from the Agora that it may belong to the same stele. The tribal decree has the left edge preserved and its first two lines may be restored as Νικόμαχος Κινέου Λα[μπτραῖς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ----]ς καταστ[αθέντες >--]. The decree was followed by a name-list in which both the proposer of the decree Nikomachos and his father Kineas appear.⁵¹ This father Kineas is also known from an inscription found in Oropos in which the Athenian Kineas son of Nikomachos was honored by the Boiotian League.⁵² The names of two more members of the family are known: Nikomachos, son of Sosigenes, from Lamptrai, was an ephebe in 107/6 B.C.,⁵³ and Kleidikos, son of Kineas, from Lamptrai, is mentioned in an inscription from the Akropolis which has been dated in the middle of the first century after Christ.⁵⁴

⁴⁶ See E. Preuner, *Jahrbuch*, XXXV, 1920, p. 71, note 2; H. Pope, *Non-Athenians in Attic Inscriptions*, p. 162. Add Isokrates, XVII, 11 and 51; Demosthenes, XXXVI, 6; *I.G.*, II², 10925.

⁴⁷ See H. K. Süsserott, *Griech. Plastik des 4. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 27 (note 5 on p. 28), 47, 49 (note 78), and 74-75. For the full name, see *I.G.*, II², 6320; compare also Leonard, *R.E.*, s. v. Kittos.

⁴⁸ Fragments of marble basins were found in the Agora; see H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, p. 143.

⁴⁹ *I.G.*, I², 748-750, 752, and 754; see *Jahreshefte*, XXXI, 1938, Beiblatt, cols. 54-55; *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 70, nos. 15 and 16.

⁵⁰ *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 60, no. 49, lines 3 and 4. Nikomachos, son of Kineas, has been tentatively identified with the soldier Nikomachos from Lamptrai who is mentioned in a catalogue dated after the middle of the third century, *I.G.*, II², 1958, line 21. Two members of the same family are known from the fourth century: Kineas from Lamptrai who was trierarch in 356/5 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1612, line 370; the same person is mentioned also in *I.G.*, II², 2967), and his son Kineas who was trierarch in 323 B.C. (*I.G.*, II², 1631, lines 448-449, 586, and 652).

⁵¹ See note 50.

⁵² *S.E.G.*, I, no. 111.

⁵³ *I.G.*, II², 1011, col. I, line 93.

⁵⁴ *I.G.*, II², 4181.

Ξενοκλῆς Θρασυλόχου Εὐωνυμεύς

A direct ancestor of Xenokles, son of Thrasylochos, from Euonymon, the councillor in the year of Euboulos,⁵⁵ may be recognized in the poorly preserved tomb inscription now published as *I.G.*, II², 5712. The name of Xenokles' son has been restored by all editors as [Πολ]ύα[ρ]χ[ο]s, but it may now be completed as [Θρασ]ύ- <λ>[ο]χ[ο]s.⁵⁶ The date of the tomb inscription has been determined from its letter forms and from the identification of Xenokles with one of the trierarchs of 356/5 B.C.⁵⁷ It is chronologically possible that Xenokles, the trierarch of 356/5 B.C., was the grandfather of Xenokles, the councillor of 256/5 B.C., while Thrasylochos and his wife Chairestrate belong to the years between 330 and 270 B.C.

Προκλῆς Περικλέους Ἀλαιοῦς

The father of the secretary of 192/1 B.C. had the rare name Perikles, he belonged to the tribe Aigeis, and his demotic had *ca.* six letters.⁵⁸ It is tempting to assume that his demotic was Ἀλαιοῦς, and that his son, the secretary Προκλῆς Περικλέ[ους Ἀλαιοῦς], was the grandfather or the great-uncle of Thrasykles, son of Perikles, from Halai who was epimeletes between 130 and 120 B.C.⁵⁹ Thrasykles from Halai who made a public donation in 183 B.C.⁶⁰ may have been a brother of the secretary of 192/1 B.C. and the grandfather or the great-uncle of the epimeletes of *ca.* 130-120 B.C.⁶¹

Αἴλιος Πυθαγόρας Βησαιεύς

The name of the councillor of Hadrianis Αἴ(λιος) Πυθαγ[όρας] whose name is preserved in a prytany catalogue⁶² may be restored in another prytany list of the tribe Hadrianis which has been dated at the end of the second century after Christ.⁶³ The two inscriptions are contemporary.

Στέφανος Ἀττάβου Θορίκιος

The name of Stephanos, son of Attabos, from Thorikos, may be restored in a tomb inscription from *ca.* 200 B.C.,⁶⁴ and it may be assumed that his father Attabos

⁵⁵ S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 44, no. 9, line 42. This inscription has now been assigned to 256/5 B.C. by Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxi; but see also W. K. Pritchett, *A.J.P.*, LX, 1939, p. 259, and W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List*, p. 144.

⁵⁶ This part of the stone is now lost, and it is quite possible that the lambda was mistaken for an alpha.

⁵⁷ *I.G.*, II², 1612, line 324.

⁵⁸ Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. xxvi and 114, line 4.

⁵⁹ *I.G.*, II², 1939, line 21.

⁶⁰ *I.G.*, II², 2332, col. I, line 37.

⁶¹ An ancestor may be mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 5488.

⁶² *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 62, no. 52, line 6.

⁶³ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 49-50, no. 12, line 9: [Αἴ]λ(ιος) Πυθαγόρας.

⁶⁴ *I.G.*, II², 6241.

served as councillor in 257/6 B.C.⁶⁵ The stemma of this family has been drawn up by J. Kirchner,⁶⁶ and the occurrence of the name Stephanos among the ancestors of Attabos confirms the restoration suggested here.

Τεισικλῆς Τεισικλέους Ἀφιδναῖος

The letter forms of the dedicatory inscription published in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 58-59, no. 7, point to a date near 375 B.C. rather than at the middle of the fourth century. The dedicator Teisikles, son of Teisikles, from Aphidna, may therefore have been the father rather than the brother of Euktemon, son of Teisikles, whose name has been restored on another dedicatory base.⁶⁷ The two inscriptions cannot be contemporary; they differ not only in the letter forms but especially in the orthography. A son of Euktemon, Demetrios, proposed in 332/1 B.C. the honorary decree for Phanodemos,⁶⁸ and the same Demetrios may have been lampadephoros in the second half of the fourth century.⁶⁹ It is likely, as has been suggested before, that the diatetes Teisikles, son of Teisikles, from Aphidna,⁷⁰ is identical with the dedicator of *ca.* 375 B.C. The list in which his name occurs (see note 70) is dated *ca.* 345 B.C., and Teisikles must then have been sixty years of age; he could easily have made a dedication thirty years before, when he was about thirty years old.

Φιλοκλῆς Τρινεμεεύς

The dating of the two prytany decrees *Prytaneis*, nos. 77 and 78 is based on the restoration of the name of the herald as [Εὐκλῆν Τρινεμεέα].⁷¹ For the spacing of the letters was thought to yield "a preference for the shorter name of the Herald rather than the longer (Φιλοκλῆν Τρινεμεέα)." The spacing of *Prytaneis*, no. 77 (*I.G.*, II², 918) is too uneven to favor either one of the two possible restorations, but that of no. 78 favors the restoration of the name of Philokles. Lines 13-15, and 18-19 of this inscription have each between 37 and 39½ letters, while line 16, in its present restoration, contains only 35½ letters.⁷² The restoration of Philokles' name would give the line a length of 37 letters. It may therefore be suggested that *Prytaneis*, nos. 77 and 78 belong to *ca.* 170 B.C., when Philokles from Trinemeia was herald.⁷³

⁶⁵ *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 110, no. 20, line 7.

⁶⁶ *I.G.*, II², 6218.

⁶⁷ *I.G.*, II², 4329; see B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 59.

⁶⁸ W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, no. 287.

⁶⁹ *I.G.*, II², 1250, line 19.

⁷⁰ *I.G.*, II², 1927, lines 119-120.

⁷¹ S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 142, no. 78.

⁷² For the counting of half letters, see the well-considered remarks made by W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 391-393.

⁷³ See S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 17.

Φιλουμένη Τη[-^{ca. 6}-] Δεκελέως θυγάτηρ

The boundary stone published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 65, no. 57, is dated in the year 311/0 B.C., because the first lines of this inscription may be restored as Ἐ[πι] Σ[τ]ι[μ]ων[ίδου ἄρχ] | οντος.⁷⁴ The name of the woman whose dowry was secured by the mortgage may be restored as [Φιλο]υμ(έ)νει Τη[-^{ca. 6}-] Δ(ε)κελέως.⁷⁵ Philoumene belonged to a Dekelean family in which this name was hereditary,⁷⁶ and her father, whose name cannot be restored with certainty, may have been a brother of Phanodemos and a son of Nikodemos.

Ἀγαθοκλῆς Διονυσίου Φαληρεύς

The name of one of the councillors in a prytany catalogue of the tribe Aiantis has been read and restored in the first publication as Κρα[.] [ἰ]δης Διονυ[σίου] (Φαληρεύς).⁷⁷ The inscription was republished by S. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 166, no. 98, who read the name (line 8) as Ἀρα[.] [ἰ]δης Διονυ[σ - -] (Φαληρεύς). The name of the councillor may be completed to Ἀγα[θο]κλῆς Διονυ[σίου] [Φαληρεύς], and it may be assumed that Agathokles was the son of Dionysios, son of Agathokles, from Phaleron who was an ephebe in 102/1 B.C.⁷⁸ This identification confirms Dow's date of the prytany catalogue (shortly before 60 B.C.).

A. E. RAUBITSCHKE

⁷⁴ The reading of the first two letters of the archon's name is uncertain, but the restoration is confirmed by W. S. Ferguson's observation (*Klio*, XI, 1911, p. 265) that on this type of document the archon was mentioned only after 316/5 B.C. Simonides is in that period the only archon whose name contains the letters omega nu and fits the space available in front of these letters. The boundary stone published as *I.G.*, II², 2655 is not necessarily an exception to the rule discovered by Ferguson, because it may, as Koehler already observed, belong to the year of the second Euboulos (272/1 B.C.); for this date, see Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xix.

⁷⁵ The misspelling in [Φιλο]υμήνει is repeated in Δηκελέως.

⁷⁶ See the stemma suggested by J. Kirchner, *I.G.*, II², 5983.

⁷⁷ *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 54, no. 41, line 7.

⁷⁸ *I.G.*, II², 1028, col. III, line 116; see also line 124 and *I.G.*, II², 1034, frag. d, col. II, line 10. Compare also *P.A.*, no. 4255, and *I.G.*, II², 7601. For the date of *I.G.*, II², 1028, see Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. XXXV.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The following communication, concerned with Corinth, is printed in an "Agora Number" of *Hesperia* for the purpose of giving prompt publication to material connected with an article in the preceding number of this Journal.

NOTE ON A CIRCULAR MONUMENT IN THE CORINTHIAN AGORA

In his interesting study of the "Hero Cults in the Corinthian Agora," Oscar Broneer includes a brief description of the circular monument of which a single poros column drum now survives, 2.15 m. in diameter, encircled by a podium about 9 m. in diameter.¹ He proposes to identify this with the tall column monument shown on Corinthian coins of Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus, Septimius Severus, and Caracalla, previously interpreted as a representation of part of a stadium or hippodrome.² And he mentions, as additional evidence for its lofty original form, the discovery of fragments of a second drum found built into a modern garden wall in the vicinity. If this combination were accepted, we should obviously restore the monument in the form of a column at least as high, perhaps even higher than the diameter of the entire podium, with a surmounting colossal statue.

At this distance from Corinth and from my Corinthian notebooks it is difficult to give exact facts regarding this circular monument; yet it seems advisable to mention the general facts now, deferring the actual measurements for the final publication. When this monument, or at least the single poros column drum, was brought to light during the excavations of 1892 and 1896 below the southeast corner of the Tsellios yard and outbuildings,³ the inhabitants of the village recalled that there had been another drum above this, and that it had been removed and broken up for old stone within their own time.⁴ It was natural that this should suggest the restoration of a

¹ Broneer, *supra*, pp. 145, 153-154, figs. 4, 6; cf. *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 554, pl. LXI 1; XLI, 1937, pls. XV 2, XVI, XVIII 1.

² Broneer, *op. cit.*, p. 154, fig. 9; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *J.H.S.*, VI, 1885, p. 64, pl. LI (C), no. XLVIII = *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, p. 15, pl. C, no. XLVIII.

³ Skias, *Πρακ.*, 1892, p. 122; Richardson, *A.J.A.*, I, 1897, p. 469, fig. 3, pl. XVII (the original trench VII).

⁴ As a matter of fact, with the usual 100% of exaggeration, the natives spoke of *two* drums removed.

column built up with many poros drums, towering above the Agora much in the manner of the column represented on the above-mentioned coins. It was with considerable surprise, therefore, that I found in 1912 among the Elgin manuscripts in the British Museum a drawing of this very monument as uncovered and measured by Sebastiano Ittar, the Catanian architect on the archaeological staff of the Earl of Elgin in 1799-1803.⁵ Ittar had been in Corinth for three visits, aggregating thirty-seven days, in 1802; and in his time the monument still retained the second drum which was removed and broken up only two generations ago. From his drawing we ascertain that this second drum was the top one;⁶ around its upper edge and cut in the same stone was a projecting crowning cornice. In other words, the monument was a comparatively low cylindrical pedestal, its height hardly more than its diameter, and composed of only two drums.⁷ It is possible that, with the demolition of modern houses and foundations in recent years, some yet unrecognized fragments of these pedestal mouldings may have been brought to light. It is very clear in any case that, while the exact function and occasion of the monument remain to be ascertained, its form is definitely known. The coins ranging from Marcus Aurelius to Caracalla must refer to something quite different,⁸ and so are hardly to be utilized as evidence for the hero cults in the Agora; and, conversely, we have no evidence on the basis of coins for associating the circular monument with any hero cults or racing festivals, nor, indeed, for a survival of these cults in the time of the Roman colony.

WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

⁵ Concerning Ittar, see Hasluck, *B.S.A.*, XVIII, 1911/12, pp. 272, 275; Smith, *J.H.S.*, XXXVI, 1916, pp. 172-173, 212, 219, 254; Paton, *The Erechtheum*, p. 617. It will be necessary to discuss him at greater length in my study of *The Propylaea*.

⁶ The Ittar drawings are in five volumes in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum; the Corinth drawings are in vols. II and V. See also the lists in Kinnard, *Antiquities of Athens*, 2nd ed., IV, part 3, p. 28, note a; also Madden, *Catalogue of the Manuscript Maps, Charts, and Topographical Drawings in the British Museum*, III, pp. 79, 84-85.

⁷ This moderate height is more satisfactory for the very inadequate foundations.

⁸ It should be noted also that the equestrian statues on low pedestals appearing at either side of the column but still on the podium, according to the coins, seem incompatible with the extant remains.

EPIGRAPHICAL INDEX

NAMES OF MEN AND WOMEN

- Ἀγαθοκλῆς Διονυσίου Φαληρεὺς, councillor of Aiantis shortly before 60 B.C., p. 313.
- Ἀγαθοκρά[της] (Παιανιεύς?), councillor of Pandionis in 235/4 B.C., 47 49.
- [Ἀγ]κυλος, archon in 208/7 B.C. (?), 57 2.
- [Ἀ]γ[υ]όθεος, ca. 241 B.C., father of Ἀγνοκράτ[η]ς, 57 4.
- Ἀγνοκράτ[η]ς [Ἀ]γ[υ]όθεον, makes dedication in 208/7 B.C. (?), 57 4.
- [Ἀγ]νοκ[ράτ]η[ς] Ἀλαι(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 65.
- Ἀθηνοκλῆς Σαλαμινίου Ἀλαιεύς, στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπισκευήν after 247/6 B.C., p. 304.
- Αἰ[---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 49.
- Αἰ[---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 56.
- Αἴλιος Πυθαγόρας Βησαιοεύς, see Πυθαγόρας.
- Αἰσχρων Παιανι(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 67.
- Ἀλεξίας (Εὐωνυμεύς), ca. 400 B.C., father of Ἀλεξίμαχος, 43 12.
- Ἀλεξίμαχος Ἀλεξίου (Εὐωνυμεύς), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 12.
- Ἀλε[ξ]ι[ς] Φυλάσι(ος), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 72.
- Ἀλκ[---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 57.
- [Ἀ]μεινίας Ξυπετ[αιών], honored in 301/0 B.C., 53 4-5.
- Ἀμοι[---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 65.
- Ἀμιν[όμαχος] Εὐκλέους Ἀλαιεύς, orator in 148/7 B.C., 58 3-4.
- [Ἀ]μφισ[---] (ἐκ Κεραμέων), ca. 413 B.C., father of Κίττος, pp. 309-310.
- Ἀναξικράτης Ἀναξιμένους (Εὐωνυμεύς), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 9.
- Ἀναξιμένης (Εὐωνυμεύς), ca. 400 B.C., father of Ἀναξικράτης, 43 9.
- Ἀνδροκλῆς (Εὐωνυμεύς), ca. 400 B.C., father of [Αὐτ]ροκλῆς, 43 7.
- Ἀνδροκλῆς Νεοκλείδου Λαμπτ[ρεύς], makes dedication in 208/7 B.C. (?), 57 2.
- Ἀνδρομένης Θεογένους (Λαμπτρεὺς πάραλος), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 35.
- [Ἀντικ]ράτ[η]ς Κρατίνου Ἀξηνιεύς, secretary in 296/5 B.C., 54 2-3.
- Ἀντικράτης (Αἰθαλίδης), ca. 83 B.C., father of Ἐπιθέτης, p. 307.
- Ἀντίπατρος Παιανι(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 64.
- Ἀντισθένης (Κυθήριος), ca. 375 B.C., father of Ἀντισθένης, p. 304.
- Ἀντισθένης Ἀντισθένου Κυθήριος, in mine inscription of the year 342/1 B.C., p. 304.
- Ἀντιφάνης Μελιτεύς, ca. 63 B.C., father of Νικάδας, p. 309.
- Ἀ[ντ]ιφάτης, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 40.
- Ἀντιφῶν Ἐρχι(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 33.
- Ἀπολλόδορος Σωγέου Ὀτρυνεύς, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 68-69.
- Ἀπολλοφάνης Ἀλωπ(εκῆθεν), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 68.
- Ἀριστ[---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 66.
- Ἀρισταγόρας ἐκ Κολ(ωνοῦ), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 56.
- Ἀριστίων Θημακ(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 78.
- Ἀριστίων (Κηφισιεύς), ca. 400 B.C., father of Πυθόδωρος, 43 27.
- [Ἀ]ριστογένης (Λαμπτρεὺς καθύπερθεν), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 58.

- Ἀριστόκλε[ια ?], makes dedication in 229-206 B.C., 48 7.
- Ἀριστοκλε[ίδης ?], makes dedication in 229-206 B.C., 48 7.
- Ἀριστοκλῆς Περιθοῖδ[ης], hierophantes in 148/7 B.C., 58 5.
- Ἀριστόλας Ἐρχι(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 54.
- Ἀριστομ(---) (Pandionis), *ca.* 268 B.C., father of [---]as, 47 40.
- [Ἀρ]ισ[τό]μαχος (Προβαλίσιος), *ca.* 215 B.C., father of [---], 49 2.
- Ἀριστομένης (Ἀναγυράσιος), *ca.* 280 B.C., father of Φορυσκίδης, 56 3.
- Ἀριστοφῶν Ἐρχι(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 34.
- Ἀρίστων Παιανι(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 63.
- Ἀρτέμων Πολυμήλου Πειραιεύς, makes contribution in 183/2 B.C., p. 304.
- Ἀρχανδρος Ἐλενσί(ος), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 61.
- Ἀσκληπιάδης (Φυλάσιος), *ca.* 280 B.C., father of Ξέν[ω]ν, 56, col. II 55.
- Ἀσκληπιάδης[ς Ξ]ένωνος Φυλ[ά]σιος, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 57-58.
- Ἀτταβος (Θορίκιος), *ca.* 233 B.C., father of Στέφανος, pp. 311-312.
- Ἀτταλος, makes dedication in 229-206 B.C., 48 5.
- Αὐτίας Αὐτοκλέους Ἀχαρνεύς, honored as taxiarch in 283/2 B.C., p. 305; makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 72.
- Αὐτοκλῆς (Ἀχαρνεύς), *ca.* 316 B.C., father of Αὐτίας, p. 305.
- [Αὐτ]οκλῆς Ἀνδροκλέους (Εὐωνυμεύς), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 7.
- Ἀφρο[δί]σιος, in Christian tomb inscription, 62.
- [Β]αβύλαος Ξενοκλείδου (Ἀναγυράσιος), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 17.
- Βλέπυρος Πειθάνδρου Παιονίδης, secretary of council and demos after 354 B.C., pp. 305-306.
- Δ[---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 51.
- Δεκ[---], non-Athenian honored in Athens *ca.* 435-415 B.C., 42 5.
- Δημ[---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 58.
- Δημ[---] (Λαμπτρέως πόραλος), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of Δημοτίων, 43 39.
- Δημήτριος Φιλέου (Λαμπτρέως καθύπερθεν), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 56.
- Δημοτίων Δημ[---] (Λαμπτρέως πάραλος), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 39.
- Δημόφιλος (Λαμπτρέως πάραλος), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of Μένων, 43 36.
- [Δ]ημόφιλος ἐξ Οἴ(ου), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 61.
- Δημόφιλος Φρεάρρι(ος), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 76.
- Διογ[---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 62.
- Διογ[---] (Πρασιεύς), councillor of Pandionis in 235/4 B.C., 47 55.
- [Διο]κλῆς [Ἐ]ρχι(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 37.
- Διομέδων, archon in 247/6 B.C., 56 2.
- Διο[ν]ύσιος (Σωσιβίου ἰστοτελοῦ), *ca.* 220 B.C., 56, col. II 54.
- Διονύσιος (Φαληρεύς), *ca.* 93 B.C., father of Ἀγαθοκλῆς, p. 313.
- Διοπίθης Φυλά(σιος), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 66.
- Δίος (Μελιτεύς), *ca.* 157 B.C., father of Ἐπιγένης, p. 307.
- Διοφάνης (Κηφισιεύς), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of [Δ]ιοφάνης, 43 23.
- [Δ]ιοφάνης Διοφάνους (Κηφισιεύς), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 23.
- Δρακοντίδης Ἐρχι(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 33.
- [Δ]ρομέας Ἐρχι(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 36.
- Δωρίων, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 72.
- Ἐκαταῖος Μεσημβρι(ανός), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 73.
- Ἐόρτιος Ἐρμωδῶρου Ἀχαρνεύς, paidotribes in second century B.C., 60.
- Ἐπάγαθος Κορίνθου Ἀναφλύστιος, *ca.* 120 A.D., p. 306.

- Ἐπιγένης (Λαμπτρὲς πάραλος), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of Καλλίας, 43 40.
- Ἐπιγένης Δίου Μελιτεὺς, orator in 124/3 B.C., p. 307.
- Ἐπιθέτης Ἀντικράτου Αἰθαλίδης, councillor of Leontis *ca.* 50 B.C., p. 307.
- Ἐπικλῆς Καλλιμάχου Ἰφιστιάδης, undersecretary in 256/5 B.C., p. 307.
- Ἐπικράτης Ἐπιτέλους (Περγασεὺς καθύπερθεν), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 32.
- Ἐπικράτης Πεισιάνακτος Σουნიεύς, lochagos in 333/2 B.C., p. 308.
- Ἐπιτέλης (Περγασεὺς καθύπερθεν), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of Ἐπικράτης, 43 32.
- Ἐπι[φ]ά[νης]---, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 68.
- Ἐπιχάρη[ς] (Παιανιεύς ?), councillor of Pandionis in 235/4 B.C., 47 51.
- Ἐπ[ι]χαρίνος Φιλοχάρους (Εὐωνυμεύς), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 10.
- Ἐρίωτος Μελιτ(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 62.
- Ἐρμογέν[ης], archon in 183/2 B.C., 58 7.
- Ἐρμόδωρος Ἐορτίου Ἀχαρνεύς, paidotribes in second century B.C., 60.
- Εὐαγίδης Φιλαί(δης), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 59.
- Εὐάγγελος Θεοφίλου Ἑρμείου, *ca.* 350 B.C., p. 308.
- [Εὐθύδημος] (Διομειεύς), *ca.* 340 B.C., father of Στρ[ατοκλῆς], 46 5.
- [Εὐ]θυκλῆς Εὐθυκράτους (Ἀναγυράσιος), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 16.
- Εὐθ[υκλῆς] (Λαμπτρὲς πάραλος), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of Εὐθυκράτης, 43 42.
- Εὐθυκράτης (Ἀναγυράσιος), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of [Εὐ]θυκλῆς, 43 16.
- Εὐθυκράτης Εὐθ[υκλέους] (Λαμπτρὲς πάραλος), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 42.
- Εὐκλῆς (Ἀλαιεύς), *ca.* 181 B.C., father of Ἀμιν[όμαχος], 58 4.
- Εὐμαχος Σωκράτου Εὐπυρίδης, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 51-52.
- [Ε]ὐριπίδης Εὐρυκλείδου (Κηφισιεύς), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 22.
- Εὐρρήμων (Εὐωνυμεύς), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of [N]ανσιωνίδης, 43 13.
- Εὐρυκλείδης (Κηφισιεύς), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of [Ε]ὐριπίδης, 43 22.
- Εὐρυκλείδης Μικίωνος Κηφισ(ιεύς), ταμίης στρατιωτικῶν in 247/6 B.C., 56 1; makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 34.
- Εὐφίλητος (Τρικορύσιος), third century B.C., father of Ἡνιοχίδης, p. 309.
- Εὐφρόσυν[ος] (Παιανιεύς ?), councillor of Pandionis in 235/4 B.C., 47 52.
- Ζήνων Ἀλαιεύς, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 46.
- [Ζ]ώπυρος Συρακ(όσιος), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 59.
- Ἡγέμαχος Σατύρου Λευκονοεύς, councillor of Leontis *ca.* 170 B.C., p. 308.
- Ἡνιοχίδης Εὐφιλῆτου Τρικορύσιος, councillor of Aiantis in third century B.C., p. 309.
- Θε[---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 46.
- Θεα[ί]τ[ητος]---, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 67.
- Θ[ε]μ[ι]στο[---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 75.
- Θεογένης (Λαμπτρὲς πάραλος), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of Ἀνδρομένης, 43 35.
- Θεοκίδης (Λαμπτρὲς καθύπερθεν), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of Θουκιδίδης, 43 54.
- Θεόπομπος Αἰγιλ(ιεύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 73.
- Θεόπομπος Λαμπτρ(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 71.
- [Θε]όφημος Τιμοκλέους Μαραθώνιος, orator in 247/6 B.C., 56 9.
- Θεόφιλος (Ἑρμείου), *ca.* 383 B.C., father of Εὐάγγελος, p. 308.
- Θουγείτων (ἐκ Κηδῶν), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 52.
- Θουκρ[ιτ]---, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 71.
- Θουκιδίδης Θεοκίδους (Λαμπτρὲς καθύπερθεν), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 54.
- Θουμόριος Εὐων(υμεύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 55.

- Θρασέας Πολυζήλον (Ἀγρυλεὺς [ὑπένερθεν]), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 47.
 [Θρά]συλλος Ἐλευσ(ίνιος), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 79.
 Θρασύλοχος (Εὐωνυμεὺς), *ca.* 289 B.C., father of Ξενοκλῆς, p. 311.
 Θυμοχάρης Σφήττι(ος), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 70.
 Τερ[---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 52.
 Τερ[---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 53.
 Τεροκλῆς Σοννι(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 33.
 Τπόλοχο[ς ---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 81.
 Κ[.]λ[--- Εἰ]ρεσί(δης), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 80.
 Κα[---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 47.
 Καλλίας Ἐπιγένους (Λαμπρεὺς πάραλος), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 40.
 Καλλικλῆς Σατύρου (Ἀγρυλεὺς [ὑπένερθεν]), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 49.
 Καλλικρατίδης (Στειριεύς), *ca.* 50 B.C., father of [Σύ]νδρομος, 50.
 Καλλίμαχος, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 70.
 Καλλίμαχος (Ίφιστιάδης), *ca.* 289 B.C., father of Ἐπικλῆς, p. 307.
 Καλλιπ(---) (Pandionis), *ca.* 268 B.C., father of [---]ς, 47 42.
 [Καλλίστρ]ατος Τελεσίνου Ἐρχι(εύς), proedros in 247/6 B.C., 56 6-7.
 Καλλιφάνης, owns property near clubhouse of orgeones in early third century, 55 4.
 Καννω[νός] (Λαμπρεὺς πάραλος), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of Κλεινίας, 43 38.
 Κάρπος Φιλοκράτους Σνβρίδης, treasurer of the councillors of Erechtheis in 159/8 B.C., p. 309.
 Κηφι[σ---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 60.
 Κηφισοφ[ῶν Ἀθ]μον(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 60.
 Κινέας (Λαμπρεὺς), *ca.* 250 B.C., father of Νικόμαχος, p. 310.
 Κίττος [Ἀ]μφισ[---] ἐκ Κεραμέων, potter *ca.* 380 B.C., pp. 309-310.
 [Κ]λέαιχος Μενάιχμον (Εὐωνυμεὺς), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 8.
 Κλεινίας Καννω[νοῦ] (Λαμπρεὺς πάραλος), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 38.
 Κόρινθος (Ἀναφλύστιος), *ca.* 87 A.D., father of Ἐπάγαθος, p. 306.
 Κρατέας Μελιτεὺς, early second century B.C., husband of Σάτυρα, 51 2 and [9].
 [Κρατῖνος] (Ἀξηνιεύς), *ca.* 329 B.C., father of [Ἀντικ]ράτη[ς], 54 3.
 Κρίσος (?), non-Athenian honored in Athens *ca.* 435-415 B.C., 42 4.
 Κρίσων (?), non-Athenian honored in Athens *ca.* 435-415 B.C., 42 4.
 Κτ[---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 50.
 [Κ]τήσων Τίτωνος (Ἀναγυράσιος), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 19.
 Λαχάρ[ης ---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 73.
 Λυ[---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 45.
 [Λ]υκολίων Πυρράκου (Ἀναγυράσιος), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 18.
 Λύκων φιλόσο(φος), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 71.
 Λυσ[---] (Φηγούσιος), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of [ca. 5]ος, 43 60.
 Λύσανδ(ρος) (Pandionis), *ca.* 268 B.C., father of [ca. 5]ίας, 47 39.
 Λυσαν[ίας ?] (Λαμπρεὺς πάραλος), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of Λυσανίας, 43 41.
 Λυσανίας Λυσαν[ίου?] (Λαμπρεὺς πάραλος), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 41.
 Λυσιάδης, archon in 148/7 B.C., 58 1.
 [Λ]υσιάδης ἐξ Οἴου, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 80.
 Λυσίας Κηφισι(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 48.
 [Λυσίας Περ]άνδρον Πλωθείς, orator of decree of orgeones in early third century B.C., 55 1.

- Λυσυθείδης Ἐρχι(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 74.
 [Λ]υσίθεος (Ἀναγυράσιος), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 20.
 [Λ]υσίμαχος Οἰναῖ(ος), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 81.
 Λυσίστρατος Νικοξένου (Κηφισιεύς), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 26.

 Μέλητ[ος] (Πιθεύς ?), epistates *ca.* 435-415 B.C., 42 3.
 Μελίτι[ος], in Christian tomb inscription, 62.
 Μέναιχμος (Εὐωνυμεύς), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of [Κ]λέαιχμος, 43 8.
 Μένιππος Ξενοφάντου (Ἀγρυλαιεύς [ὑπένερθεν]), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 48.
 Μένων Δημοφίλου (Λαμπρεὺς πάραλος), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 36.
 Μηρόδωρος, makes dedication in 229-206 B.C., 48 8.
 Μικίων Θριάσι(ος), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 36.
 Μικίων Κηφισι(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 35; father of Εὐρυκλείδης, 56 1.
 Μηγήθεος Πρωτέου (Ἀγρυλαιεύς καθύπερθεν), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 29.

 [Ν]ασωνίδης Εὐρρήμονος (Εὐωνυμεύς), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 13.
 [Ν]αυφράδης (Εὐωνυμεύς), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of [c^a. 8.], 43 4.
 Νεάνδρος Πεδιέως ἐκ Κεραμέων, katapaltaphetes in second century B.C., 60.
 Νεοκλείδης (Λαμπρεὺς), *ca.* 241 B.C., father of Ἀνδροκλῆς, 57 2.
 Νεόστρατ[ος] (Παιανιεύς ?), councillor of Pandionis in 235/4 B.C., 47 50.
 Νικαγόρας Ἐρχι(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 47.
 Νικάδας Ἀντιφάνους Μελιτεύς, councillor of Kekropis in 30/29 B.C., p. 309.
 Νικήρατος Φλυε(ύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 78.
 Νικήτης Περγασῆ(θεν), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 74.
 Ν[ικίας], archon in 296/5 B.C., 54 1.

 Νικοκλῆς Φλυε(ύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 63.
 [Νικ]οκρά[τη]ς Μελ(ιτεύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 75.
 [Ν]ικομα[χ] ---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 76.
 Νικόμαχος Κινέου Λαμπρεὺς, orator in late third century B.C., p. 310.
 Νικοξένος (Κηφισιεύς), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of Λυσίστρατος, 43 26.
 Νικοσθένης Φλυ(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 64.
 Νικόστρ[ατος c^a. 4.] (Παιανιεύς ?), councillor of Pandionis in 235/4 B.C., 47 47.
 Νικοφῶν Τιμογέν[ους] (Θημακειεύς), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 45.
 Νίκων, *ca.* 250 B.C., father of [. .]όδοτος, 59 6.

 [Ξ]άνθιππος Ἐρχι(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 58.
 Ξενοκλείδης (Ἀναγυράσιος), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of [Β]αβύλαος, 43 17.
 Ξενοκλῆς Θρασυλόχου Εὐωνυμεύς, councillor of Erechtheis in 256/5 B.C., p. 311.
 [Ξ]ενοκλῆς Σφήττ(ιος), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 57.
 Ξερόφαντος (Ἀγρυλαιεύς [ὑπένερθεν]), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of Μένιππος, 43 48.
 [Ξ]ένων (Φυλάσιος), *ca.* 280 B.C., father of Ἀσκληπιάδης[ς], 56, col. II 57-58. Probably = Ξέν[ων] Ἀσκληπιάδου Φυλάσιος, who makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 55-56.

 Οἰνεύς, on horos-stone of fourth century B.C., 45.
 Στά(τιος) Ὀνητορ(ίδης) Κολλυ(τεύς), councillor of Aigeis *ca.* 181/2 A.D., 61.

 Πάμφιλο[s c^a. 4.] (Παιανιεύς ?), councillor of Pandionis in 235/4 B.C., 47 48.
 Παντακλῆς (Ἀγρυλαιεύς καθύπερθεν), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of Φιλοκύδης, 43 30.
 Πανσίας Παιανι(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 51.
 Πανσίμαχος ἐκ Κολ(ωνοῦ), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 50.
 Πεδιεύς Νεάνδρου ἐκ Κεραμέων, katapaltaphetes in the second century B.C., 60.

- Πείθανδρος (Παιονίδης), *ca.* 387 B.C., father of Βλέπυρος, pp. 305-306.
- Πεισιάναξ (Σουνιεύς), *ca.* 366 B.C., father of Ἐπικράτης, p. 308.
- [Περί]ανδρος (Πλωθεύς), *ca.* 330 B.C., father of [Λυσίας], 55 1.
- Περικλῆς (Ἀλαιοίς), *ca.* 225 B.C., father of Προκλῆς, p. 311.
- Πιττα[κός ?] (Πρασιεύς), councillor of Pandionis in 235/4 B.C., 47 54.
- Πίττα[λος ?] (Πρασιεύς), councillor of Pandionis in 235/4 B.C., 47 54.
- [Π]ολύζηλος, archon in 367/6 B.C., 43 2.
- Πολύζηλος (Ἀγρυλεὺς [ὑπένερθεν]), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of Θρασέας, 43 47.
- Πολυκ[---], *ca.* 215 B.C., father of Πυθογένης, 49 5.
- [Π]ολυκλῆς Πολυκράτους (Ἀναγυράσιος), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 15.
- Πολυκράτης (Ἀναγυράσιος), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of [Π]ολυκλῆς, 43 15.
- Πολύμηλος (Πειραιεύς), *ca.* 216 B.C., father of Ἀρτέμων, p. 304.
- [Π]ρα[ξ]ικλῆς Σωφόρτον (Εὐωνυμεύς), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 11.
- Πραξι[τέλης Τιμάρχου] Εἰρεσ[ίδης], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 69-70.
- Προκλείδης[ς] (Δαμπτρὲς πάραλος), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 43.
- Προκλῆς Περικλέους Ἀλαιοίς, secretary in 192/1 B.C., p. 311.
- Πρωτέας (Ἀγρυλαιοὺς καθύπερθεν), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of Μησίθεος, 43 29.
- Αἴλιος Πυθαγόρας Βησαιεύς, councillor of Hadrianis at the end of the second century after Christ, p. 311.
- Πυθείδης (Εὐωνυμεύς), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of [---], 43 6.
- Πυθο[---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 64.
- Πυθογένης Πολυκ[---], orator in 182/1 B.C., 49 5.
- Πυθόδωρος Ἀριστίωνος (Κηφισιεύς), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 27.
- Πυθοκλῆς (Δαμπτρὲς καθύπερθεν), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 57.
- Πύρρακος (Ἀναγυράσιος), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of [Λ]υκολίων, 43 18.
- Σαλαμίνιος (Ἀλαιοίς), *ca.* 280 B.C., father of Ἀθηνοκλῆς, p. 304.
- Σάτυρα, wife of Κρατέας Μελιτεύς, priestess of the Thesmophoroi in the early second century B.C., 51 2 and 8.
- Σάτυρος (Ἀγρυλεὺς [ὑπένερθεν]), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of Καλλικλῆς, 43 49.
- Σάτυρος (Λευκονοεύς), *ca.* 203 B.C., father of Ἡγέμαχος, p. 308.
- Σιμίας Δ[---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 74.
- Σπινδίας Τειθρά(σιος), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 37.
- Στά(τιος) Ὀνητορ(ίδης) Κολλυ(τεύς), see Ὀνητορ(ίδης).
- Στέφανος Ἀττάβου Θορίκιος, *ca.* 200 B.C., pp. 311-312.
- Στράτιος Σφήττ(ιος), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 49.
- Στρ[ατοκλῆς Εὐθυδήμου Διομ]εεύς, orator in 307-301 B.C., 46 4-5.
- [Σύ]νδρομος Καλλικρατίδου [Στ]ειριεύς, honored in the late first century B.C., 50.
- Σωγένης (Ὀτρυνεύς), *ca.* 280 B.C., father of Ἀπολλόδωρος, 56, col. I 68-69.
- Σωκράτης (Εὐπυρίδης), *ca.* 280 B.C., father of Εὐμαχος, 56, col. I 51.
- Σωσίβιος ἰσοτε(λής), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 52.
- Σωσιγένης Παιαν(ιεύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 69.
- Σῶσος Ἀλαιοίς, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 45.
- Σωφάνης (ἐκ Κηδῶν), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 51.
- Σώφιλος Κολλυτ(εύς), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 77.
- Σώφορτος (Εὐωνυμεύς), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of [Π]ρα[ξ]ικλῆς, 43 11.
- Τεισικλῆς (Ἀφιδναῖος), *ca.* 408 B.C., father of Τεισικλῆς, p. 312.
- Τεισικλῆς Τεισικλέους Ἀφιδναῖος, *ca.* 375 B.C., p. 312.

- Τελεσῖνος (Ἐρχιεύς), *ca.* 280 B.C., father of
[Καλλίστρ]ατος, 56 7.
- Τη[^{ca. 6}—] (Δεκελεύς), *ca.* 344 B.C., father of
Φιλουμένη, p. 313.
- Τιμ[—], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C.,
56, col. III 54.
- Τι[μ—], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C.,
56, col. III 55.
- [Τιμησι]ά[να]ξ, archon in 182/1 B.C., 49 1.
- Τιμογέν[ης] (Θημακειεύς), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of
Νικοφών, 43 45.
- Τιμοκλ(—) (Pandionis), *ca.* 268 B.C., father
of [—], 47 41.
- Τιμοκλῆς (Μαραθώνιος), *ca.* 280 B.C., father of
[Θε]όφημος, 56 9.
- Τίμων Σφήττι(ος), makes contribution in 247/6
B.C., 56, col. I 67.
- Τίτων (Ἀναγυράσιος), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of
[Κ]τήσων, 43 19.
- Τλήθυμο[s] Τληπολέμων (Κηφισιεύς), councillor
of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 25.
- Τληπόλεμος (Κηφισιεύς), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of
Τλήθυμο[s], 43 25.
- Υ[.....¹⁷.....], honored in 301/0 B.C.,
53 3-4.
- Υ[—], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56,
col. III 44.
- Υγιαίνων Χαιρεδήμ[ον] (Λαμπρεὺς καθύπερθεν),
councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 55.
- Φ[—] Κυ[δαντίδης], secretary in 219/8 B.C.,
59 2-3.
- Φειδ[—], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C.,
56, col. III 61.
- Φελλεύς (Περγασεὺς καθύπερθεν), *ca.* 400 B.C.,
father of Φιλεύς, 43 33.
- Φιλ[—], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C.,
56, col. III 48.
- Φιλέας (Λαμπρεὺς καθύπερθεν), *ca.* 400 B.C.,
father of Δημήτριος, 43 56.
- Φιλεύς Φελλεύς (Περγασεὺς καθύπερθεν), councillor
of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 33.
- Φιλι[—], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C.,
56, col. III 63.
- Φιλίνος (Λαμπρεὺς πάραλος), *ca.* 400 B.C., father
of Φιλοκράτης, 43 37.
- Φιλίσκος Παμβω(τάδης), makes contribution in
247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 53.
- Φιλόθεος Φρεάρρι(ος), makes contribution in
247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 75.
- Φι[λ]οκλῆς Κορίν(θιος), makes contribution in
247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 65.
- [Φιλοκλῆς (?) Τρινεμεεύς], herald in 235/4 B.C.,
47 32-33.
- Φιλοκλῆς Τρινεμεεύς, herald *ca.* 170 B.C., p. 312.
- Φιλοκράτης Φιλίνου (Λαμπρεὺς πάραλος), council-
lor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 37.
- Φιλοκράτης (Συβρίδης), *ca.* 192 B.C., father of
Κάρπος, p. 309.
- Φιλοκύδης Παντακλέους (Ἀγρυλιεύς καθύπερθεν),
councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 30.
- Φιλον[αὐτ]ῆς, orator of decree, 58 12.
- Φι[λόσ]τρατ[ος ^{ca. 22}—], proedros in 182/1 B.C.,
49 4.
- Φιλουμένη Τη[^{ca. 6}—] Δεκελέως, on horos-stone in
311/0 B.C., p. 313.
- Φιλοχάρης (Εὐωνυμεύς), *ca.* 400 B.C., father of
Ἐπ[ι]χαρίνος, 43 10.
- Φορυσκίδης Ἀριστομένου Ἀ[ναγυράσιος], secretary
in 247/6 B.C., 56 3.
- Φυρόμ[αχ]ος Στε<ι>ρι(εύς), makes contribution
in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 66.
- Φυστ[—], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C.,
56, col. III 59.
- Χαιρέδημ[ος] (Λαμπρεὺς καθύπερθεν), *ca.* 400
B.C., father of Υγιαίνων, 43 55.
- Χαιρεφών, archon in 219/8 B.C., 59 1.
- Χαιρεφών Εἰταῖ(ος), makes contribution in
247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 62.
- [.]εφ[—] (Πρασιεύς), councillor of Pandionis
in 235/4 B.C., 47 56.
- [.]ίμων Ὀγήθεν, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C.,
56, col. I 60.
- [.]όδοτος Νίκων[ος], proedros in 219/8 B.C.,
59 6.
- [...]κλῆς Ἀξ[ην—], makes contribution in
247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 39.
- [...]οσθ[έν]ῆς Σφήτ(τιος), makes contribution
in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 77.
- [...]δοτος Ἀχαρ[—], makes contribution in
247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 35.

- [...]*όμαχος* *Όγηθ* [---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 34.
- [...]*ορος* *Θημακ(εύς)*, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 38.
- [...]*ωνίδης* *Κολων(ήθεν)*, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 43.
- [...]*γνωτος* *Άλωπ(εκήθεν)*, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 50.
- [...]*ων* *Άφιδναί(ος)*, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 49.
- [...]*ωπος*, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 41.
- [...]*ης* *Μακε(δών)*, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 48.
- [...]*ρας* *Άφιδ(ναίος)*, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 39.
- [...]*δης* *Πρ* [---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 36.
- [...]*ν*, orator *ca.* 435-415 B.C., 42 3-4.
- [...]*εύς*, honored in 301/0 B.C., 53 5.
- [...]*ι* *άδον* *Άχ[αρνεύς]*, proedros in 307-301 B.C., 46 3-4.
- [...]*ος* [*Ρ*] *α[μνούσιος]*, proedros in 296/5 B.C., 54 5-6.
- [...]*θεος*, councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 65.
- [...]*ας* *Άριστομ* (---), councillor of Pandionis in 235/4 B.C., 47 40.
- [...]*ίας* *Λυσάνδ(ρον)*, councillor of Pandionis in 235/4 B.C., 47 39.
- [...]*ος* *Λυσ* [---] (*Φηγούσιος*), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 60.
- [...]*ας* (*Κηφισιεύς*), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 24.
- [...]*Πυθείδου* (*Εύωννμεύς*), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 6.
- [...]*Ν* *ανφράδους* (*Εύωννμεύς*), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 4.
- [...]*νομάχου* (*Εύωννμεύς*), councillor of Erechtheis in 367/6 B.C., 43 5.
- [...]*Κνδαθη* *ναιεύς*, treasurer of the council (?) in 235/4 B.C., 47 31.
- [...]*Προβ* *αλίσιο[ς]*, secretary of the councillors of Pandionis in 235/4 B.C., 47 30.
- [...]*κ* *λέους* (*Μελιτεύς*), orator of deme decree in early second century B.C., 51 1.
- [---]*αθο* (---), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 47.
- [---] *Άρ* *ισ[το]* *μάχου* *Π[ροβαλί]σιος*, secretary in 182/1 B.C., 49 1-2.
- [---] *Εῖρεσ* (*ίδης*), makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 40.
- [---] *εκ Κ* *οίλ(ης)*, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 41.
- [---] *έξ* *Οῖον*, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 46.
- [---] *ι* *άδης* (*Άχαρνεύς*), *ca.* 340 B.C., father of [---], 46 3.
- [---] *κ* *λῆς* (*Μελιτεύς*), *ca.* 230 B.C., father of [---], 51 1.
- [---] *κλῆ[ς Σ]φήτ* [---], makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. III 33.
- [---] *ο[. Φ]* *λυεύς*, makes dedication in 208/7 B.C. (?), 57 4.
- [---] *οκλῆς* *Σθ[ειρο]* [---], in account of treasurers of 407/6 B.C., 52, frag. f.
- [---] *ος* *Φλυεύ(ς)*, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. II 79.
- [---] *σι* (---) (*Παιανιεύς* ?), councillor of Pandionis in 235/4 B.C., 47 46.
- [---] *ς* *Καλλιπ* (---), councillor of Pandionis in 235/4 B.C., 47 42.
- [---] *σον* (---) (*Παιανιεύς* ?), councillor of Pandionis in 235/4 B.C., 47 43.
- [---] *σοντ* (---), councillor of Pandionis in 235/4 B.C., 47 43.
- [---] *ς* *Τιμοκλ* (---), councillor of Pandionis in 235/4 B.C., 47 41.
- [---] *Σφήτ(τιος)*, makes contribution in 247/6 B.C., 56, col. I 76.

MISANTHROPOI OR PHILANTHROPOI

Alfred Körte, in his learned and instructive comment¹ upon the didascalie inscription, of a unique type, found in the Athenian Agora in 1935, which Meritt published in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 116 ff., has raised objections to the restoration of line 8: *Μισα]νθρώποις Διφί(λου)*, for which Meritt gives me the credit. I regard Körte's reasons for preferring the title *Φιλα]νθρώποις*, however, as quite untenable. And inasmuch as American scholars are not now receiving *Hermes*² and other European journals, I quote Körte's objections in full.

Meritt expressed the opinion that, although the play is not otherwise attested, the proposed reading "seems quite certain." To this Körte replies:

Er hat übersehen, dass den Raumverhältnissen nach ebensogut *Φιλα]νθρώποις* ergänzt werden kann, und diese Ergänzung halte ich für ungleich wahrscheinlicher. Als Komödientitel sind beide Bildungen nicht belegt, und man würde sich ja freuen, einen antiken Vorgänger von Molières Misanthrope begrüßen zu dürfen, aber das Adjectiv *μισάνθρωπος* ist recht selten, *φιλάνθρωπος* dagegen sehr häufig, gerade in der nachklassischen Zeit. Ausserdem hat die mittlere und neue Komödie eine ausgesprochene Vorliebe für Titel, die mit *φιλο-* zusammengesetzt sind: Diphilos schrieb einen *Φιλάδελφος*, *Φιλάδελφοι* gab es von Amphis, Apollodoros von Gela, Menander, Philippides, Sosikrates, ich nenne weiter *Φιλοίκειος* (Timostratos), *Φιλαθήναιος* (Alexis, Philippides), *Φιλοθήβαιος* (Antiphanes), *Φιλολάκων* (Stephanos), *Φιλάργυρος* (oder *-ροι*: Philiskos, Dioxippos, Philippides), *Φιλοδέσποτος* (Sogenes, Theognetos, Timostratos), *Φιλοδικαστής* (Timokles), *Φιλευριπίδης* (Axionikos, Philippides), *Φιλοτραγωδός* (Alexis). Im ganzen finde ich unter den Titeln der μέση und νέα 38 mit *φιλο-* gebildete, denen mit *μισο-* nur der eine *Μισογύνης* Menanders gegenübersteht.

It is perfectly true, as Körte says, that there were two possibilities open to Meritt as editor of this inscription when called upon to fill a lacuna of four letters to precede *-νθρωπος*. It may therefore be assumed, not that the possibility of *φιλα-* was overlooked, but that the choice of *μισα-* was deliberate and that the criterion was the greater suitability, for the period of Diphilos,³ of a comedy on the subject of the misanthrope than one dealing with men of good will, benevolent persons. In this matter a statistical showing of the relative frequency of the two adjectives in either Greek literature or in the known titles of Attic comedies is by no means a safe guide. The large number of titles known to us which are unique is in itself a warning against the application of such a method here. Let us suppose that we found in a didascalie

¹ In *Hermes*, LXXIII, 1938, pp. 123 ff.

² I am indebted to Körte for his courtesy in sending a reprint of this article.

³ The play was produced in 256/5, the year before the archonship of Alkibiades, whose year of office is now placed by Pritchett and Meritt in 255/4: see their *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens* (1940), p. 97.

inscription, like that under consideration, merely . . . ΓΥΝΕΙ, and that we had no knowledge that Menander wrote such a play, what a blunder this new method would lead us to—Φιλογύνει! Körte's preference, then, comes to this—that he calls Φιλα]νθρώποις “ungleich wahrscheinlicher” on subjective grounds; and, as an outstanding scholar in the field of Attic comedy, he is entitled to his opinion. But I hope to offer some considerations, drawn from the history of Attic comedy, which will show that in the Old, Middle, and New periods the character of the misanthrope made a strong appeal to several poets and that we have records of a series of plays based upon that theme. We shall, however, have to deal with three titles, not one only, as Körte has chosen to do.

The earliest play of this kind was, so far as we know, the *Monotropos* of Phrynichos, contemporary of Aristophanes. Meineke⁴ describes the theme as follows: Nomen fabulae inditum ab homine tristi et moroso, qui Timonis instar solitariam vitam sequeretur et hominum lucem adspectumque fugeret. Ita Plutarchus *Moral.*, p. 479 c, coniunxit μονότροπον ἄμικτον ἄφιλον. This title, therefore, carries the same connotation as *Misanthropos* and is quite as important as statistics of word-formation for the determination of the problem how to restore the title in our inscription. We find it used again, in the Middle Comedy, by Anaxilas, a play of which a single fragment survives, and possibly also by Ophelion, though the statement of Suidas *s.v.* seems to have mingled titles of Phrynichos with those attributed to the practically unknown Ophelion. In the New Comedy the title recurs in *I.G.*, II², 2323, c ([— — Μονο-τ]ρόπωι), its author's name being lost; the date of its production is in the second century B.C.

Of the *Monotropos* of Phrynichos the most revealing fragment is from its prologue (Kock, *C.A.F.*, I, p. 375):

ὄνομα δὲ μοῦστι Μονότροπος . . .
 ζῶ δὲ Τίμωνος βίον
 ἄγαμον, ἄδουλον, ὀξύθυμον, ἀπρόσοδον,
 ἀγέλαστον, ἀδιάλεκτον, ἰδιογνώμονα.

The reference to Timon is significant of the type, for Timon had already in the time of Phrynichos impressed his contemporaries as being, more than any other man of his time, a professed hater of his kind. It is also significant that Phrynichos gave the name of “*Monotropos*” to his leading character, not “*Timon*,” whose manner of life he so cleverly characterizes in the two following lines. But Antiphanes, whose comedy was produced, it may be, a century⁵ after that of Phrynichos, preferred to give the

⁴ *Historia critica comicorum Graecorum*, p. 156 (vol. I, of *Frag. Comicorum Graecorum*, Berlin, 1839).

⁵ There is no need to discuss here the perhaps insoluble problem of the chronology of Antiphanes' life; the statement of Suidas that he died at the age of 74 may be correct, and also

bearer of the leading role his proper name, and in this he was followed by Lucian in his satire and by Shakespeare in his comedy. Meineke, *op. cit.*, p. 328, expresses the belief that Lucian may have based his *Timon* on that of Antiphanes, and Kock seems to share his view.

Körte omits all mention of another comedy of which Kock discovered two lines at least from Libanius' oration entitled *Timon*; it is in Förster's edition, Vol. V, p. 542 (*Orat.* XII, 15) and in Kock's *C.A.F.* (Vol. III, p. 436) under the Adespota of the New Comedy, No. 143. This remarkable oration purports to be an arraignment of himself before the Boule of Athens coupled with a petition that he be condemned to death, his crime being that he, who had spent a lifetime in the consistent practice of misanthropy, has become infatuated with the beauty of Alkibiades. The passage from which Kock makes his excerpt reads: Ταῦτα ἐλογιζόμεν, τοῦτον ἔζων τὸν βίον, ἐπὶ τοσαύτης διήγον εὐδαιμονίας καὶ τὸ καλὸν πρόσρημα 'Μισάνθρωπος' ὠνομαζόμεν, ἀλλ' οὐ 'Τίμων' ἔτι, τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τρόπου μεταλαμβάνων. ἀλλ' ὁ φθόνος καθ' ἡμῶν ἴσχυσε καὶ δαίμων τις πονηρὸς ἀνέτρεψέ μου τὸν βίον, κτλ. To judge by the free use of anapaests the quoted portion was taken from a play of the New Comedy, and when compared with the speaker of the prologue of the *Monotropos* of Phrynichos quoted above, who names his name in the comedy, this prologue was spoken by Misanthropos, bearer of the title-role, who tells us that his name in real life was Timon. The evidence seems to indicate a play entitled *Misanthropos*, and the author may well have been Diphilos himself.⁶ A good deal of this prologue seems to have been worked into Timon's speech as invented by Libanius, for we recognize other iambic verse-ends in addition to the two lines which Kock reconstructed, such as ταῦτ' ἐλογιζόμεν, τοῦτον ἔζων τὸν βίον, and οὐ Τίμων' ἔτι; but for our present argument we cite only the lines which Kock printed, namely:

καλὸν
πρόσρημα "Μισάνθρωπος" ὠνομαζόμεν,
προσηγορίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τρόπου μεταλαμβάνων.

The speaker, who "is known by the name of Misanthropos and no longer by his real name, Timon," explains that the title, of which he was proud, represents his real character, now ruined by his love of a human being. The plural title of the play of Diphilos indicates a second misanthrope, who served as a foil to the leading role. Kaibel, in his article "Antiphanes" in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v., 2519, makes this shrewd observation about these plural titles: "Unter den Titeln [i. e., of Antiphanes] wiegen die vor, welche Charaktertypen bezeichnen (über 30); merkwürdig oft kehrt

not out of harmony with the date of his *floruit* as given by Suidas, if we accept Bernhardt's correction ργ' (Olymp. 103) for the Ξγ' of Suidas. In that case he may have lived to 311. See Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, Supplement I, p. 93.

⁶ Though Kock's guess, *loc. cit.*, was: fortasse ex Antiphanis *Timone* excerptum.

das Motiv wieder, zwei gleichartige oder verschieden geartete Charaktere nebeneinanderzustellen — — —,” an observation which holds good for the best poets of the New Comedy also. But the fragment just quoted is cited chiefly to indicate that the misanthrope, both the character and the name, was by no means alien to Attic comedy in any of its three great periods, much less to the New Comedy, which restlessly sought after character-themes which lent themselves to the comic treatment exemplified in so many instances in the remains which have been preserved and in the Roman comedies modelled after Greek originals of that period.

EDWARD CAPPS

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

AN ARCHAIC INSCRIBED STELE FROM MARATHON

The stele published here for the first time contains parts of two inscriptions, one on the front, the other on the back. The first is a legal document dating from the time of the reforms of Kleisthenes which perhaps defines the powers and duties of local courts or judges. The second, which dates from just after the battle of Marathon, records some of the procedure governing the selection of officials for the Herakleian games at Marathon. Both inscriptions are unique.

The stone was found some ten years ago in the southern part of the plain of Marathon in the locality now known as Valaria, just north of the small swamp of Vrexisa.¹ It was transported by its finder, S. H. Kakares, to the village of Marathon and placed in the courtyard of his house where Professor George Soteriadis, who was then doing archaeological work in the Marathon region, saw it for the first time not long afterward. In the spring of 1940, at Professor Soteriadis' request, the Ministry of Education ordered the stone to be brought to Athens, and the order was promptly carried out by Mr. Marcellos Mitsos, Director of the Epigraphical Museum. The stone is now in the Epigraphical Museum and has received the inventory number 13,046.² I am indebted to Professor Soteriadis for allowing me to publish the stone, to his daughter, Mrs. Sedgwick, for assistance in locating it, in determining its provenience, and in many other matters, and to Professor James H. Oliver for a number of helpful suggestions on readings and restorations.

The stone (Figs. 1 and 2) is a tall, rectangular pillar of Pentelic marble 1.60 m. high, 0.36 m. wide, and 0.20 m. thick, with a flat top and bottom. It is inscribed on two faces, front and back, and may once have been inscribed on the sides as well. The sides, however, have been trimmed down, probably when the stone was reused as a building block, and their new faces neatly dressed with a toothed chisel. As the restoration of the text on the back indicates, four letter spaces or about 0.08 m. have

¹ E. Curtius und J. A. Kaupert, *Karten von Attika*, Blatt XIX, lower right corner. According to the finder, S. H. Kakares, it was discovered in a vineyard belonging to him a few metres south of the place marked "Unterbau und Baustücke."

² It may be noted in passing that another Marathonian inscription, the Herodes epigram, *I.G.*, II², 3606, was brought to the Epigraphical Museum in Athens at the same time (now E. M. 13,047). Since it was photographed by Svensson (*B.C.H.*, L, 1926, p. 528, fig. 1) its surface has become very worn, especially near the middle, so that many letters are now illegible, and it has been broken into three pieces. It was through the efforts of Professor Soteriadis that the stone was removed from the threshold of the stable where Svensson saw it and taken, first to police headquarters in Marathon village, and then to the Epigraphical Museum in Athens.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

Obverse and Reverse of the Stele from Marathon

been cut away, probably about half from one side and half from the other. The original width of the stele was thus 0.44 m. The front and back faces of the stone have also been largely reworked so that letters remain only on the upper parts for a

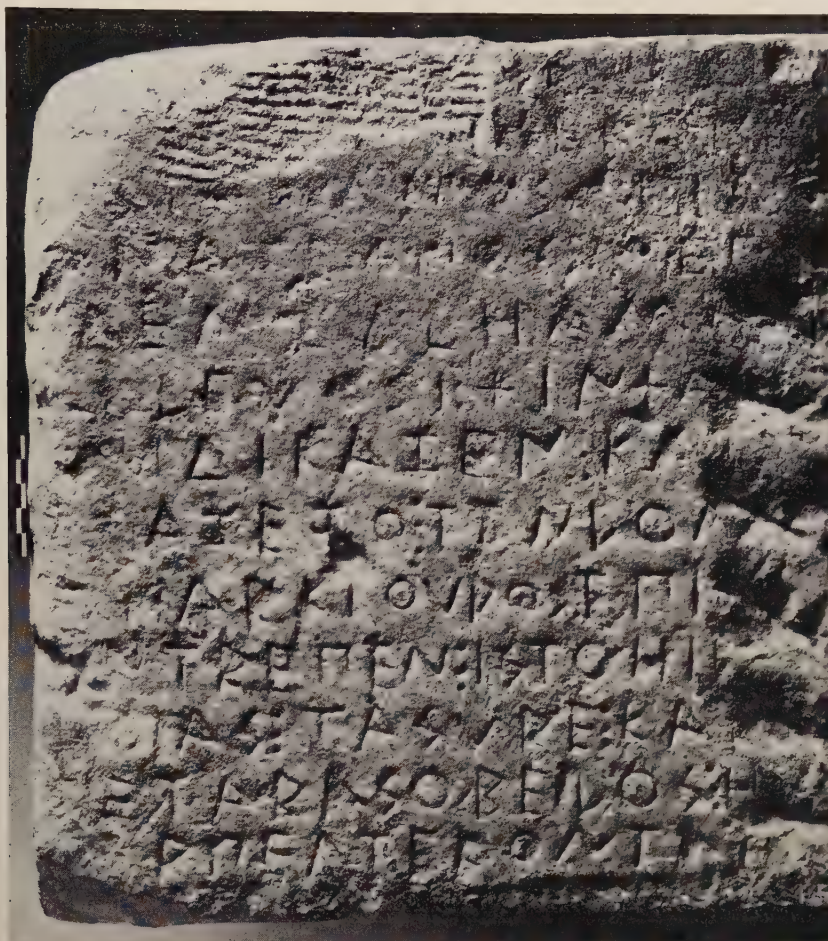


Fig. 3. Stele from Marathon. The Inscription on the Obverse Face

maximum distance of 0.30 m. from the top. Below this the surface has been roughly dressed down just enough to remove all traces of the rest of the inscriptions.³

The inscription on the front (Fig. 3), which is shown to be the earlier of the two by the forms of the letters, the use of punctuation marks, the generally non-stoichedon

³ This reworking of the front and back must have taken place when the stone was reused in a cross-wall of a building. The upper part of the stone was bonded into the side wall and thus protected, the remainder of the inscribed surfaces, which were exposed, were roughened to take a coat of plaster.

arrangement, and the fact that the lines read vertically downward instead of horizontally, dates from the late sixth century before Christ.⁴ It deals with legal matters (see below on line 7), but as at least three quarters of each line is missing, no consecutive text or even complete thought can be made out.

The text is as follows:⁵

Late sixth century B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

 ----- ν βολ -----
 ----- ια : ηεκον -----
 [.]σιον γνô Σ υ Ε Ι Δ -----
 5 [.]ν ἄτεχνος : μέ π[----- ἄλλοθ]
 [ι] δὲ μεδὲ χαμῶ -----
 κελεύοσι : χινχά[νευ -----]
 [ἐ]πιδικάζειν : κατ[----- ἐπιδ]
 [ι]καζέτο : τὲν λοι -----
 10 ν ἡΑρκτοῦρος : ἐπι[τέλλε -----]
 [.]ν τρέπειν : ἴστω ηι' -----
 [.]οιας : τὰσυρῆ : και -----
 τέταρας ὀβελός : η[----- ην]
 πῆρ πεντέκοντα : κ -----
 15 -----

Line 1. The first line was completely cut away when the sides of the stone were trimmed down.

Line 2. The first preserved letter is probably nu, but might possibly be upsilon. We may perhaps restore [τὸ]ν βολ[όμενον].

Line 4. The participle γνούς might also be read. After the sigma there appears to have been a round letter, omicron, theta, or phi. Several ways of resolving the second half of this line suggest themselves, but none seems very convincing.

Line 6. Compare *I.G.*, I², 16, line 11, and 100, line 4.

Line 7. Χινχά[νευ] = κινχά[νευ]. On chi for kappa see Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*³, p. 102. On nu for gamma, *ibid.*, pp. 84 and 113. The word κινχάνω is ordinarily found only in poetry. It was used by Solon, however, in a legal sense with the meaning "prosecute" as we learn from Photius' *Lexicon*, s.v. κινχάνειν: τὸ ἐπεξιέναι· οὕτως Σόλων. A similar statement appears in Suidas' *Lexicon*,

⁴ It resembles in many respects the first Attic decree, *I.G.*, I², 1; J. Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*, no. 12, plate 6; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 265, fig. 1.

⁵ Height of letters, 0.012 m.-0.02 m.

δ. ν. κῑγχάνειν: τὸ ἐπεξίέναι οἱ περὶ Σόλωνα. The occurrence of this word in our inscription, an Attic legal document of the sixth century B.C., suggests that we may have before us a part of Solon's law code. I find, however, no other connection between our text and Solon's laws,⁶ so the presence of a single "Solonian" word is of no great significance, especially as Solon's code must have set the standard for all subsequent legal phraseology. In any case, Suidas attributes the word not to Solon himself but to his followers. Furthermore, our stele stood at Marathon and there is no record that Solon's laws were ever published anywhere but in Athens.⁷ It is much more probable that our inscription is to be connected with the reforms of Kleisthenes. Aristotle tells us⁸ that under Peisistratos a board of circuit judges (οἱ κατὰ δήμους δικασταί) was established whose duty it was to travel around among the demes deciding small cases in which the total amount involved was ten drachmai or less. Kleisthenes appears to have abolished this board (for Aristotle says that it was re-established in 453/2 B.C.) and must have placed these minor judicial matters in the hands of the individual demes. Our inscription, which dates from the time of Kleisthenes, is probably to be connected with this change and perhaps it defined the duties and powers of the local judges or courts.

Line 9. The last letter may be gamma, mu or nu.

Line 10. The morning-rising of Arcturus was in mid-September, its evening-rising in late February. See the table in Boll's article "Fixsterne," Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, VI, cols. 2427-8.

Line 12. The word ἀστυρῆς has not hitherto been found in any text earlier than Polybius.

Lines 15 and 16. Line 16 was completely cut away when the sides of the stone were trimmed down. Line 15 was partially cut away at the same time and the rest of it disappeared when the new edge was damaged (see Fig. 3).

The inscription on the back (Fig. 4) may be dated on epigraphical⁹ and historical¹⁰ grounds in the early fifth century before Christ, just after the battle of Marathon. It deals with the selection of officials for the Herakleian games at Marathon, and, as only four letters are missing from most lines, an almost complete text for the first twelve lines can be secured. Below this the surface has been cut down and no letters remain, so that perhaps three quarters of the inscription is lost. The

⁶ C. Sondhaus, *De Solonis legibus* (Jena dissertation, 1909) is a collection of the laws attributed to Solon and contains an index of the principal words. There is also a useful summary in K. Freeman, *The Work and Life of Solon*, pp. 112 ff.

⁷ Even there, it appears, they were not published on stone until the end of the fifth century B.C. See Oliver, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 7 ff.

⁸ *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 16, 5; 26, 3; and 53, 1.

⁹ For the letter forms compare the Marathon epigrams, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 480 ff.; Kirchner, *Imagines*, no. 18, plate 9.

¹⁰ See commentary on line 1, below.

inscription is stoichedon with the exception of the first line, and there were twenty-one letters in each line. Seventeen letters are preserved in most of the lines and four more are to be restored, as is clearly shown by the phrase *μὲ ὄλεζον ἔ τριάκοντ[α ἔτε]* *γεγονότας* in lines 9-10. The other restorations fit easily and naturally into this scheme.

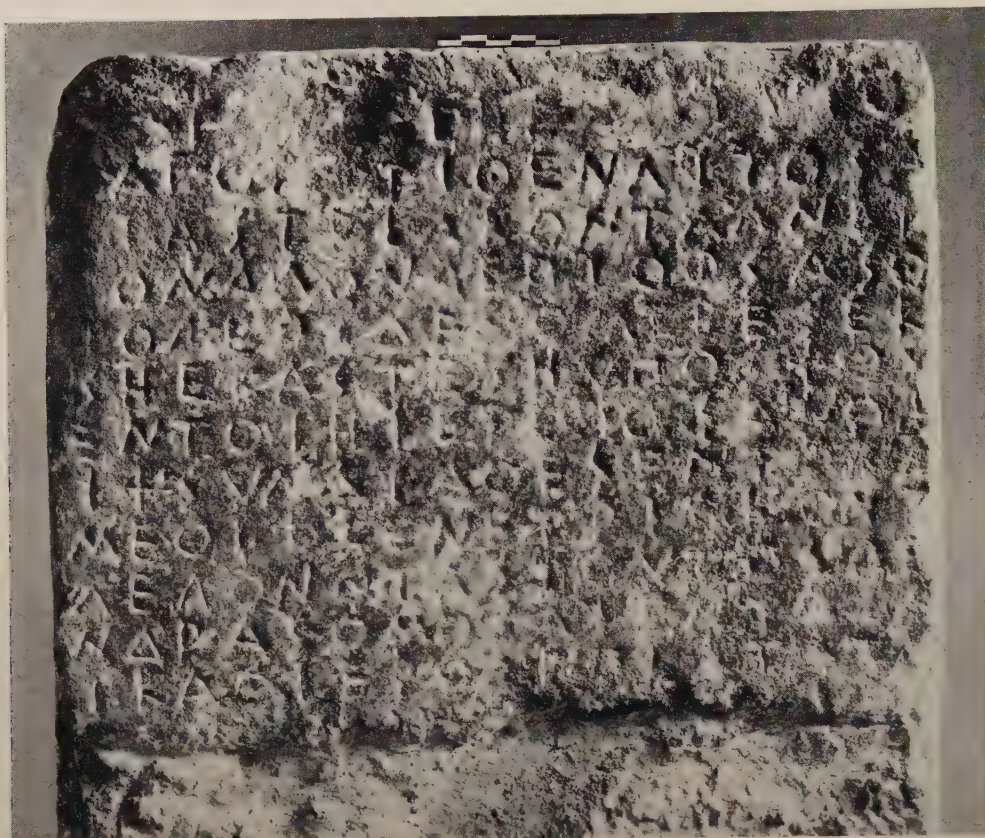


Fig. 4. Stele from Marathon. The Inscription on the Reverse Face

The text is as follows:¹¹

Shortly after 490 B.C.

	[. . . .] [. . . .] <i>ἡερακλείο[ισι]</i>	
	[. . .] <i>ΑΓΟ</i> , [.] <i>τιθέναι τὸς ἀ[θλ]</i>	ΣΤΟΙΧ. 21
	[οθ] <i>έτας τριάκοντα ἄνδρ[ας]</i>	
	[ές] <i>τὸν ἀγὼνα. ἐπιόφασθ[αι]</i>	
5	[δὲ] <i>τὸν ἐπιδέμομ τρῆς ἐκ [φν]</i>	
	[λέ]ς <i>ἡεκάστες, ἡνποσχομ[έν]</i>	

¹¹ Average height of letters, 0.015 m.

[ος] ἐν τῷι ἱερῷι ὅς ᾗ οἶ[όν]
 [τ' ἔ]ι χσυνδιαθέσειν τὸν ᾗ[γῶ]
 [να] μὲ ὄλεζον ἔ τριάκοντ[α ἔ]
 10 [τε] γεγονότας. τούτος δὲ [τὸ]
 [ς ᾗ]νδρας ὁμόσαι ἐν τῷι ἡ[ιε]
 [ρῶ]ι καθ' ἱερῶν. ἐπιστατῆ[ν .]
 ----- / ----- ' -----

TRANSLATION

----- Herakleian games -----. The Athlothetai shall appoint thirty men for the contest. They shall select from the visitors three from each tribe, who have promised in the sanctuary to help in arranging the contest to the best of their ability, not less than thirty years of age. These men are to take the oath in the sanctuary over victims. A steward -----.

COMMENTARY

Line 1. The letters in the line are badly damaged and hard to decipher. Approximately in the fourth letter space there is a slanting stroke which may be part of a letter, though it is so irregular that it seems to be fortuitous. There is a vertical stroke in the fifth space. If this letter was correctly spaced in its stoichos it can be completed only as a rough breathing, but the other strokes necessary to this letter are not now visible. There seems to be a mark extending from the top of this horizontal stroke toward the right. If this mark is part of the letter it must be assumed that the letter was not accurately placed in its stoichos. Possible restorations would be epsilon and rho, though complete strokes for neither one of these letters are preserved. There is some temptation to restore here a word like [ἐπι]με[λετάς], for some such supplement seems to be needed as the direct object of *τιθέναι* in line 2. The tenth letter space of line 1 has been represented in the text as a vertical stroke, but the cutting on the stone is so deep that no assurance can be given about the letter that should be read here. The letters in the latter part of the line are not strictly stoichedon. However, the letters in the latter half of the line are legible and they show that the inscription is concerned with the festival of the Herakleia at Marathon. This festival was very old. The Marathonians claimed to have been the first to worship Herakles as a god, and Marathon is also connected with the legend of the children of Herakles. The cult there was, with that in Kynosarges, the most important of the cults of Herakles in Attica.¹² Before the Persian wars the festival was probably only of local importance,

¹² Ancient references to the Herakleia at Marathon are collected by S. Solders, *Die ausser-städtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas*, pp. 79-80. See also L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 227, and A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum*, pp. 159 ff.

being celebrated chiefly by the people of the Marathonian Tetrapolis. In 490 B.C., however, when the Athenians marched out from the city to meet the Persians at Marathon, they took up their position in the sanctuary of Herakles and encamped there for some days before the battle.¹³ After their brilliant victory it would be only natural that they should want to do more honor to Herakles, their protector,¹⁴ and that his cult and festivals, especially at Marathon, should assume a much greater importance than before. This supposition is borne out by our inscription, for its letter forms suggest a date in the early fifth century and it contains provisions for the organization of the games on a Pan-Attic scale. The festival thus became Pan-Attic and its games even attained a certain Panhellenic renown and attracted competitors from neighboring states, at least in the generation or two after Marathon, for we learn from Pindar that Epharmostos of Opous, Aristomenes of Aigina, and some relative of Xenophon of Corinth won victories there.¹⁵

Line 2. The first three letters of this line have been lost with the trimming of the stone and subsequent damage. The fourth letter is clearly alpha, and the sixth letter is clearly omicron. In the fifth letter space there is preserved an upright stroke which seems to have a horizontal stroke extending toward the right from its upper extremity. If the letter was intended for pi or epsilon it seems never to have been completed. It could not be finished as rho to give the same shape as the other letters rho in this inscription. In the seventh letter space there is the bottom tip of a stroke which slopes up and slightly to the right. It might be completed as mu or nu, or as alpha, or gamma, or even sigma, though a sigma would seem to lie rather far to the left in its stoichos. There is no trace remaining of the eighth letter. I have no suggestion for the restoration of this word, even on the assumption that the seventh letter may have been iota; but I print here the facts about the strokes as I understand them in the hope that others will have success in finding a restoration.

Line 4. For the verb ἐπιόφασθ[αι] cf. Suidas, *s. v.* ἐπιώψατο.

Line 5. The words τὸν ἐπιδέμου are to be construed as genitive plural, rather than accusative singular. The selection of the thirty men to assist in the conduct of the games was to be carried out by the athlothetai, and they were to choose three from each tribe from the number of the ἐπιδέμοι. It must be assumed that these were people temporarily¹⁶ at Marathon for the sake of the games and the sacred festival, the

¹³ Herodotos, VI, 108 and 116. The sanctuary of Herakles, which lies near Vrana just below the chapel of St. Demetrios, has been identified by Professor Soteriadis: Πρακτικά, 1935, pp. 84 ff., where references will be found to his earlier articles on the subject. Good summaries of his work at Marathon are given by Karo in *Arch. Anz.*, 1934, pp. 146 ff.; 1935, 179 ff.; 1936, 125 ff.

¹⁴ In this connection we may note that Herakles was depicted in the painting of the battle of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile, Pausanias, I, 15, 3.

¹⁵ *Ol.*, IX, 89-90, with scholia; *Pyth.*, VIII, 79; *Ol.*, XIII, 110.

¹⁶ Cf. ἐπι[δ]έμος = peregrinos: *I.G.*, XII, 9, *Addenda*, p. ix, 1274, III; *I.G.*, XII, Supplement (1939), p. 204, lines 25 ff.

Pan-Attic character of which is further attested by the fact that prominent men could be chosen from each of the ten tribes to help in managing the contest. A suggestion that the singular ἐπίδημος should be interpreted as the equivalent of the ἐπιδήμιος ἄρχων should, we believe, be rejected. Cf. *Lexicon Rhetoricum Cantabrigiense*, s.v.

Lines 6-10. Cf. *I.G.*, XII, 5, 647, lines 20-22 (= Dittenberger, *Syll.*³, 958). For the phrase μέ — — γεγονότας in lines 9-10, cf. *I.G.*, I², 10, lines 9-10.

Line 12. For the phrase καθ' ἑρῶν cf. *I.G.*, I², 10, line 17; Thucydides, V, 47, 8; and Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 101. It is uncertain whether ἐπιστατε[ν] is a noun or an infinitive. In either case, however, the sense is the same: provision is being made for the selection of an epistates. On this official, see P. G. Hermann Schween, *Die Epistaten des Agons und der Palaestra in Literatur und Kunst* (Kiel dissertation, 1911), especially pp. 23 ff.

EUGENE VANDERPOOL

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

FIVE DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE NORTH WALL OF THE ACROPOLIS

In 1932, while excavating at the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite on the North Slope of the Acropolis, O. Broneer and A. W. Parsons discovered two inscribed blocks, built into the eastern portion of the Acropolis wall, at a distance of *ca.* 20.00 m. to the west of the so-called Belvedere (see Nos. 2 and 4 in Fig. 1). They very kindly



Fig. 1. Position of Inscriptions in North Wall of Acropolis

turned them over to me for publication, and with the permission of N. Kyparissis, ephor of the Acropolis, I was able to examine the stones and take squeezes of them.

From a point *ca.* 30.00 m. east of the Erechtheion to the Belvedere and beyond on the east side, the north wall had been thoroughly destroyed at several points during antiquity. In two places it is very easily accessible from below. The first is where the wall turns a sharp angle toward the southeast and cuts across the stairway leading to the Mycenaean postern gate. At this point not a single ancient block was left, or found, in situ by the builders of the wall as it now stands; an inscribed archaic stele was found embedded in the lowest courses.¹ The easternmost point also could be

¹ Broneer, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 351, fig. 22, and IV, 1935, p. 149, fig. 37. The stele: *ibid.*, p. 148.

attacked easily by an enemy ascending from the east slope, and here again the reconstruction has been carried out from the very bottom of the wall.² The Chremonides base (see below, No. 3, and Fig. 1), which dates from the early part of the third century B.C., is placed upside down, directly on the rock, and other ancient blocks can be seen everywhere in the lowest courses of the wall between this point and the portion of the east wall adjoining the Belvedere. Although no detailed study of the Acropolis walls has yet been made, it is generally believed that the repair of this eastern portion dates from medieval, or even later, times.³ There seems to be no evidence, however, to support such a view, if we exclude a square tower which has been added to the Belvedere in later times, and some repairs in the wall proper (see below). Ancient blocks are used to such an extent both in the portion of the wall above the Mycenaean stairway and at the Belvedere, as to compare best with the so-called Valerian Wall, which has been assigned to such totally different periods as the times of Valerian, of Justinian, and of Antonio Acciaioli, duke of Athens (1402-1435).⁴ Suspicion about the dating in medieval times might have occurred immediately to anyone who observed the almost exclusive use of ancient material: at the time of construction of the wall this material must have been easily available, and thus the buildings of classical antiquity, although destroyed, were evidently not yet buried in the ground. Guidi's explanation⁵ that the ancient blocks were turned up in the digging of foundation trenches for the wall and a quite hypothetical moat to protect it from without, does not seem convincing, given the enormous variety of blocks which must have come from a great number of buildings. The question seems now to have been settled by the Agora excavations; no detailed account has yet been published, but the wall is dated by the excavators in the last quarter of the third century after Christ, not very much later than Valerian (253-260 A.D.).⁶

Thus, the hypothesis may be ventured that the eastern part of the north wall of the Acropolis was reconstructed in late Roman times. No certainty can be reached

² Kavvadias and Kawerau, *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis* (Athens, 1906), pp. 90-92, pls. A', Γ', Δ'.

³ See Broneer, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 351, and Kavvadias and Kawerau, *loc. cit.* Bibliography in Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (2nd ed., Munich, 1931), pp. 209 ff. A short bibliography on medieval walls in Athens will be found in: Charles Picard, *L'Acropole, L'Enceinte*, etc. (Paris, 1929?), p. 12, note 4; compare especially Kourouniotes-Soteriou, *Εὑρετήριον τῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος* A', 1, A', pp. 27-31.

⁴ I am following a suggestion of A. W. Parsons. For the date of the Valerian Wall see Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 108, 165, 379 with note 2 (bibliography). G. Guidi, "Il muro Valeriano a S. Demetrio Katiphori e la questione del Diogeneion," *Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica d'Atene*, IV-V, 1921-2, pp. 33 ff., discusses more in detail the views of his predecessors. Valerian was first proposed by Stephanos Koumanoudis in his report on the excavations at the Stoa of Attalos in the *Γενικὴ Συνέλευσις . . . τῆς . . . Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρίας* for 1860, p. 13.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 53.

⁶ T. L. Shear, "The Campaign of 1933," *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 332-334.

about this point, however, without a more careful examination of both the Acropolis and the Valerian walls. The ornamental use of disparate ancient material is in any case very similar, as will be seen from the description below, and by comparing Fig. 1 with the few available drawings and photographs of the Valerian Wall.⁷ Long narrow blocks are used in both walls to form string courses at irregular intervals. Furthermore, the construction of the walls is nearly identical: thin layers of mortar were put in the joints, and larger holes were filled out with small stones and bricks mixed with mortar of harder consistency.

The piece of the wall west of the Belvedere which contains the inscriptions, is very carefully built and the ornamental purpose in the arrangement of the ancient blocks is quite apparent. At one point, three large slabs of Pentelic marble were aligned horizontally and two blocks of Hymettian marble interposed at the joints; they bear the inscriptions Nos. 2 and 4 (see Fig. 1), and at least No. 2 was cut down so as to be of equal height with the other blocks. The bases have been set on their short sides, so that the lines of the inscriptions run vertically. The whole arrangement is framed by a lower and an upper string course of long narrow blocks of Pentelic marble, one of which has the inscription No. 1 right side up. The joints are carefully fitted and most of them are well covered with a yellowish-brown clay mortar which, although not very hard, makes it quite impossible to see anything but the faces of the stones (the only exception is No. 3; see below). A similar adornment of the wall occurs on the east side where a number of step blocks, surmounted by orthostates, have been put in line.⁸ In their present position, they bear the letters A, BB, ΓΓ, ΔΔ, [Ε]Ε, at the joints. This shows that, in all probability, the blocks had been re-used in a building of Roman date (note the form of the epsilon); when embedded in the wall, they were left in the same position which they occupied in their second use. The northernmost of these step blocks disappears under the square tower which projects eastward from the Belvedere, thus proving that the tower is a later addition.⁹

Adjoining the stretch of wall with the inscriptions Nos. 1-4, a breach has been filled in later times by a wall built of small stones similar to those employed in the construction of some of the buttresses occurring on the north, east, and south sides. They are unquestionably of medieval date. But east of this breach, a bulging piece of the wall again consists almost entirely of ancient blocks, the great majority of Hymettian marble; only one block, however, to the left of the curve of the wall and in the fourth course from below, has its inscribed face visible (No. 5), although others may

⁷ E. Breton, *Athènes*², 1868, p. 261. Fr. Adler, *Die Stoa des Königs Attalos* (Berlin, 1875), pl. I. G. Guidi, *loc. cit.*, figs. 1-3. T. L. Shear, *loc. cit.*, figs. 16, 17, 20, 21; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 326-327, figs. 9-10.

⁸ See Picard, *op. cit.*, pl. 19. Similar step blocks can be found at several points in the north wall.

⁹ On the east face of this tower, an ancient block at the southeast corner and more than two meters above ground, recognizable by a round and a rectangular cutting at the left, has a Christian cross and some very badly battered strokes of letters now running vertically.

exist. Thus for a stretch of about 30.00 m., the Acropolis wall was at some time entirely reconstructed with the use of ancient material. The portion immediately forming the Belvedere was later masked by a square tower and an adjoining rectangular projection.¹⁰

1. A long block of Pentelic marble.¹¹

Height, 0.245 m.; width, 0.935 m.

Height of letters: 1st line, 0.028 m. (ΟΔΑ, 0.025 m.); 2nd line, all letters 0.025 m.



Fig. 2. Inscribed Part of No. 1

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Πανδιονίς

ἀνέθηκε.

The inscription is not centered on the block, but engraved somewhat to the left. The letters are carefully arranged in stoichedon fashion, undoubtedly with the use of a checker unit (4.4×3.4 cm.); slight irregularities may be due to the difference in the size of the letters in the first and second lines.

Since Πανδιονίς does not occur as a woman's name,¹² we evidently have before us a dedication by the Attic tribe of this name. The sanctuary of Pandion, the eponymous

¹⁰ Judeich, *Topographie*², plan II, is incorrect.

¹¹ The photographs in Figs. 2-6 are taken from squeezes.

¹² It is an adjective in Hesiod, *Opera et Dies*, line 568: Πανδιονίς . . . χελιδών, "the swallow, daughter of Pandion." Compare Sappho, fr. 86 (Diehl²), and *Anth. Palat.*, 9, 57 and 70. Pollux, 2, 115: τὴν τῆς Πανδιονίδος [sc. γλῶσσαν], i. e., Procne's.

hero of Pandionis, is thought to have been on the Acropolis because Pausanias mentions the statue of Pandion there,¹³ and because of convincing restorations of several decrees by the tribe which were to be put up [ἐν ἀκροπόλει] ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Παν[δίωνος], etc.¹⁴ Its exact location is not known, but Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 260 and 284, would like to assign it to the region where the Mycenaean palace stood.¹⁵ Our dedication would certainly seem to come from that sanctuary, and thus it adds further proof of the existence of a shrine of Pandion within the precinct of the Acropolis.¹⁶

As to the nature of the dedication, only speculations are possible. It will be seen from the photograph that probably both the lower and the upper edge of the block are original, because the vertical chisel marks on top and bottom occupy about an equal space, while the centre of the face is finished with a toothed chisel (Fig. 2). Thus the long and narrow dimensions of the face suggest that the block formed part of a monument,¹⁷ or an altar, rather than a statue base. In this case the inscription might have been continued on an adjoining block.

But even with the text as it now stands, it can be stated that no other dedications of the same kind exist; for the formula *nomen tribus ἀνέθηκε* is not found in the tribal dedications listed in the *Corpus*. The great bulk of these are victors' dedications in the lyrical contests connected with the Dionysia ἐν ᾧσται. It is well known that in these as well as in the Thargelia the tribes sponsored the formation of the choruses, and that they, and not the choregoi, were regarded as the official victors. In the

¹³ Pausanias, I, 5, 4, concludes his chapter on the eponymous heroes in the agora with the following sentence: Πανδίωνι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ἀνδρίας ἐστίν, ἐν ἀκροπόλει, θέας ἄξιος.

¹⁴ *I.G.*, II², 1144, lines 8-9; compare also 1148 and 1152. All these inscriptions were actually found on the Acropolis or in the vicinity; *I.G.*, II², 1138, 1140, and 1157, in which the sanctuary only is mentioned, come also from the same region.

¹⁵ E. Pfuhl, in a review of Judeich, *Topographie*, 1st ed. (1905), suggested identifying certain poros stone foundations in the neighborhood of the projected northeast wing of the Propylaea with the Heroön of Pandion; see *K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Anzeigen*, vol. 169, 1907, pp. 463 ff. They are bonded into the Cimonian wall and therefore contemporary with it. His main reasons are the vicinity of the Erechtheion and the similarity of the ground plan to that of the Heroön at Olympia. This suggestion was adopted by Fr. Poulsen, "Recherches sur quelques questions relatives à la topographie de Delphes," *Bulletin de l'Académie R. des Sciences et des Lettres de Danemark* (Copenhagen), 1908, no. 6, p. 375, and has since found its way into several handbooks; compare Ch. Picard, *L'Acropole, le Plateau Supérieur*, p. 16, note 2; *Guides Bleues, Grèce* (Paris, 1935), p. 55. In the most recent discussion, by G. P. Stevens, *The Periclean Entrance Court of the Acropolis of Athens* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 69-70, the location of the Pandionion is still considered an open question. See also Ch. Picard, *Rev. Arch.*, 6^{me} série, XIII, 1939, p. 176. J. E. Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens* (London, 1890), p. 429, conjectures that the Heroön of Pandion was situated close to the sanctuary of Zeus Polias.

¹⁶ A priest of Pandion is honored by the tribe Pandionis in *I.G.*, II², 1140. There is also a dedication by a priest of Pandion in the Elgin collection (*I.G.*, II², 2828, ca. 350 B.C.).

¹⁷ E. g., the pedestal of a tripod composed of several blocks. See E. Reisch, *Griechische Weihgeschenke* (Vienna, 1890), figs. 1-2, p. 68, and the dimensions of blocks which supported tripods given on pp. 75-77.

dedications accompanying the choregic monuments they are honored as much as the individuals whose names occur in the texts.

The choregos who erects the dedication as a part of his official duties resulting from his liturgy¹⁸ may use the expression *ἀνέθηκε*, as in fact more ambitious choregoi did in the fourth century (*ἀνέθηκε νικήσας χορηγῶν*, on the Nicias monument, *I.G.*, II², 3055; compare the Thrasyllus monument, *I.G.*, II², 3056); it could not have been appropriately employed by the tribe, and there seems to be no instance of such a use.

The same is true for the dedications commemorating the torch races at the Promethia, the great Panathenaea and the Hephaisteia; there the gymnasiarch in charge made the dedication.¹⁹

Thus our inscription cannot be classified as an agonistic dedication and the few remaining tribal dedications give no clue to determine its character.²⁰

The date, as suggested by the letter forms, is the very end of the fifth century B.C.

2. Base of Hymettian marble, broken at the right side.

Height, 0.35 m.; length, 0.96 m.

Height of letters: dedication, 0.026 m.; signature, 0.0135 m.

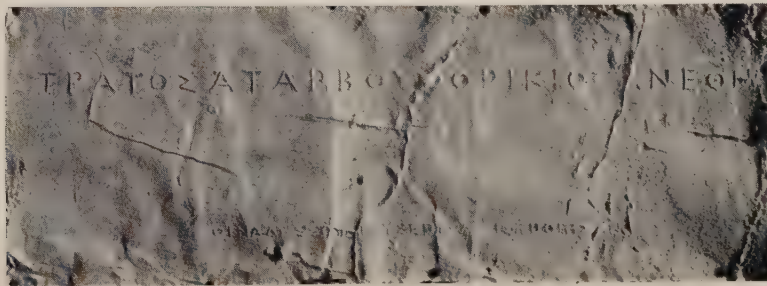


Fig. 3. No. 2

Σ τ ρ á τ ο ς Ἀ τ á ρ β ο υ Θ ο ρ í κ ι ο ς ἀ ν έ θ η [κ ε].

Οἰνάδης Σουνιεύς Ἐπιχάρης ἐποίησαν

¹⁸ In the fifth century, the name of the tribe occupies the first place in the formula: *nomen tribus ἐνίκα*. ὁ δέῖνα ἐχορήγει --- ὁ δέῖνα ἦρχε (*I.G.*, I², 770a, 415/4 B.C.). Compare also *I.G.*, I², 771; *I.G.*, II², 3030 (ca. 400 B.C.); and *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 48, no. 15. In the fourth century, the tribe often takes its place after the choregos; see the numerous examples in *I.G.*, II², 3031 ff. This would seem to indicate even more clearly than the earlier examples that the choregos, not the tribe, erected the dedication. See Reisch, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

¹⁹ *I.G.*, II², 3017-3024.

²⁰ Reference to dedications of an unknown kind is made in several honorary and early ephebic decrees by tribes: the text of these decrees is to be engraved ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνάθημα; see *I.G.*, II², 1155 (339/8 B.C.) and 1156 (334/3 B.C.). In the decree of a deme: *I.G.*, II², 1208. The statue base *I.G.*, II², 2965, inscribed ἡ φυλὴ τῶν ἱππέων and on the back οἱ δημόται, was dedicated by a cavalry

The left edge of the stone is covered with mortar, so that it could not be ascertained whether the block is broken or preserved on that side. I think, however, that the restoration as shown above is correct, for two reasons. First, the block was obviously cut down so as to fit between the Pentelic marble blocks which are approximately of the same height (see Fig. 1); in other words, its length had to correspond roughly to the length of the block which bears the inscription No. 4. Whoever did this would not have bothered to cut the base on two sides. In the second place, it will be observed that the two artists' signatures occupy precisely the space of the letters **ΑΤΑΡΒΟΥΘΟΠΙΚΙΟΞ** of the dedication. If we restore ἀνέθη[κε], not ἀνέθη[κεν], at the right, the number of letters to the right and to the left of the father's name and the demotic is identical, and the artists' signatures are well centered on the face of the block.²¹ I therefore take Stratos to be the whole name of the dedicator.²²

So far as I am aware, none of the persons mentioned in the inscription is known. But the names can easily be paralleled.²³ For the curious fact that one of the artists gives the name of his deme while the other omits it, I have no explanation.

Date: middle of the fourth century B.C.

3. A base of Hymettian marble, upside down, at the bottom of the Acropolis wall, below Nos. 1, 2, and 4 and somewhat to the left. The face and, through a gap in the wall, most of the right side are visible and it could be estimated that the base is approximately square. A narrow fascia, 0.033 m. broad, has been cut back at the top; it runs along the two preserved sides, but is interrupted at the corners. The vertical edges are very slightly drafted.

Height, 0.19 m.; length, 0.475 m.

Height of letters, 0.017 m. (signature, 0.009 m.).

squadron. Compare U. Koehler, *Ath. Mitt.*, V, 1880, p. 319. Finally, the well-known "Herm of Andocides" is to be mentioned in this connection. It stood near the orator's house, but was not a private monument, because it seems to have belonged to the sanctuary of Phorbas. It was erected by the tribe Aigeis, as we learn from Andocides, *On the Mysteries*, 62; according to Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 21, 3, it had an inscription, undoubtedly containing the dedication. A. v. Domaszewski's attempt to connect the herm with the Ἑρμαῖ in the agora and to assume that each of the ten tribes had put up a herm there is essentially based on an arbitrary interpretation of the passage in Andocides; see *Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sitzungsberichte*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1914, no. 10, pp. 9 f.

²¹ This method of obtaining symmetry by counting letters rather than by precise measurements is common in the fourth century, but found later also: E. Loewy, *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer* (Leipzig, 1885), *passim*. A perfect example is a base signed by Bryaxis (*I.G.*, II², 3130, middle of the fourth century) where the space intended for the artist's signature was determined by indenting ten letter-spaces from either edge of the stone; photograph in G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (New Haven, 1930), fig. 724.

²² A Stratos is attested for Attica in the third century B.C.: *P.A.*, 12956. In the second century: *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 120, no. 24, line 30.

²³ Except for the name Oinades which does not appear in Attica; but an Oinades from Tenos is mentioned in *I.G.*, II², 1635, line 23.

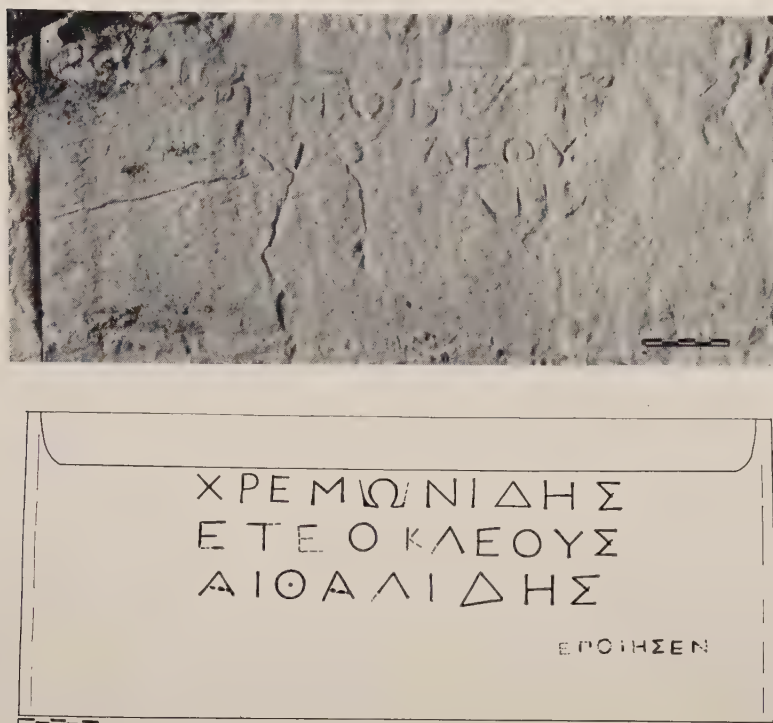


Fig. 4. No. 3, Photograph and Restored Drawing

Χρεμωνίδης

Ἐτεοκλέους

Αἰθαλίδης.

[--- ἐ]πο[ί]ησεν.

The surface of the inscribed face of the stone is very badly weathered and a thin layer has for the most part flaked off; this does not affect the large and well-cut letters of the dedication, but the artist's name has entirely disappeared.

Chremonides, son of Eteokles, from Aithalidai, is the well-known author of the decree *I.G.*, II², 686 + 687 (see *Addenda*) in which the pro-Egyptian war party in Athens, of which he was one of the leaders, proposed an alliance with Sparta against Antigonos Gonatas; after him the ensuing war was named (267-263).²⁴ His family was as active in religious matters as it was in political leadership: we possess a dedica-

²⁴ Athenaeus, VI, 250 f. (Hegesandros). The date of the opening of the war is here given according to W. W. Tarn, *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, pp. 26 ff. and W. S. Ferguson, *A.J.P.*, LV, 1934, pp. 330-331, and p. 320, note 15; compare now also W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), pp. 29-30, 33-34, and 56. W. B. Dinsmoor proposed the only other available date, 270, in *The Archons of Athens* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), p. 81, and again defended it in *The Athenian Archon List* (New York, 1939), pp. 58 ff. This is not the place to enter the controversy.

tion by his father Eteokles which also gives us the grandfather's name, Chremonides,²⁵ another by his sister Pheidistrate,²⁶ priestess of Aglauros, and one by his sister 'Αγ[ώ?],²⁷ who with Pheidistrate made a dedication in honor of their father ἄγων[οθετήσαντα Διονύσῳ]. A choregic dedication by Glaukon, son of Eteokles, and brother of Chremonides, may belong to the year 268/7.²⁸ Although the dating is not beyond doubt, it gives valuable evidence for the sequence of Glaukon's career and his age at the time of the Chremonidean War: when he became ἀγωνοθέτης, he had already held very important offices, for the inscription makes reference to his two terms as general ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν. Two other inscriptions in his honor also antedate the war and are probably both to be connected with the preparatory negotiations.²⁹ This suggests that he was older than Chremonides, of whom we hear for the first time from the above mentioned decree of the year 267.

But more decisive evidence can be found to indicate that Chremonides was a young man when the war started, and that his short career in Athens allows us to assign his dedication to a limited period. From Teles, Περὶ φυγῆς, 23 (Hense²), we learn that both brothers fled to Ptolemy II of Egypt after the defeat of the Athenians in 263 and became his counsellors and advisers (πάρεδροι καὶ σύμβουλοι). Teles, who most probably wrote his treatise—a diatribe delivered before an audience of young boys (μειράκια)—not much later than 240 B.C.,³⁰ puts these events in a very recent time (ἵνα μὴ τὰ παλαιὰ σοι λέγω, ἀλλὰ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς). We do not know the date of Glaukon's death, but Chremonides was still alive ca. 242 B.C., when he appears to have been placed in charge of an Egyptian fleet.³¹ Thus it seems likely that the notice in Diogenes Laertius, VII, 17, that Zenon was ἐρωτικῶς . . . διακείμενος Χρεμωνίδου refers to a period not long before the Chremonidean War; Chremonides' relations to the Stoics would not have been recorded if he had not been well known at the time for other reasons. It does not seem probable that he would have dedicated

²⁵ *I.G.*, II², 3845. The family tree: *P.A.*, 5217, to which add a sister 'Αγ[ώ?], *P.A.*, *Addenda*, 182a; cf. *infra*, note 27. Compare also U. Koehler, *Ath. Mitt.*, X, 1884, pp. 52-53.

²⁶ *I.G.*, II², 3459.

²⁷ *I.G.*, II², 3458. Compare A. Wilhelm, *Beitraege zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (Vienna, 1909), p. 75, no. 62.

²⁸ *I.G.*, II², 3079 = *Syll.*³, 365. See Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 83; *List*, pp. 40 and 42 with note 131; Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xix.

²⁹ Namely, a proxeny decree from Delphi, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, no. 72, compare Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 117, and *List*, p. 110; and another from Orchomenos in Arcadia honoring him as ambassador, *B.C.H.*, XXXVIII, 1914, pp. 451 ff.; Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 79.

³⁰ U. v. Wilamowitz, *Antigonos von Karystos* (Berlin, 1881), pp. 302-304.

³¹ This is probably the meaning of Teles, *loc. cit.* W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* (London, 1911), p. 197 and note 2, suggests that Glaukon may have been one of the other admirals at the time. He must at least have lived a very long time at the Egyptian court, considering that Teles refers to both brothers; a dedicatory inscription from Olympia seems to have been put up in honor of Glaukon by Ptolemy III Euergetes. See *Syll.*³, 462.

a statue during the troubled last years of the war. At that time his age cannot have been more than thirty-five years at the very most.³² A dating close to the years 275-265 B.C. would therefore seem appropriate.

4. Base of Hymettian marble, used upright in a place corresponding to that of No. 2, and of similar dimensions.

Height, 0.365 m.; length, 0.855 m.

Height of letters: 1st line, 0.02 m.; 2nd line, 0.025 m.

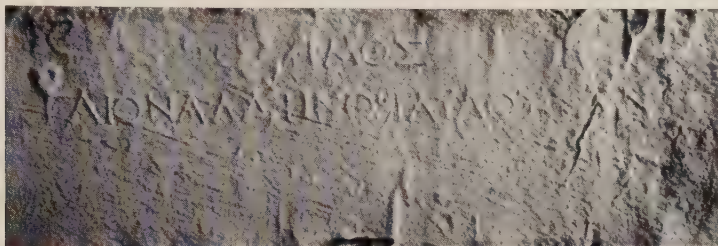


Fig. 5. Inscribed Part of No. 4

‘Ο δῆμος
Γαῖον Ἀλλιηνὸν Αὔλον υἱόν.

The surface of the stone is partly weathered away, but the letters can be read with certainty. They appear to be carefully designed and cut, and their forms indicate an early date in the Roman period. We may therefore identify the father mentioned as that Aulus Allienus whose political and military career fell in the last years of the Roman Republic. For an account of his activities, see Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Allienus.³³ As he was praetor in 49 B.C.,³⁴ the honor given to his son by the Athenians would fall in the last quarter of the first century B.C. or a little later.

5. A long block of Hymettian marble, to the east of the other inscriptions, and at a height of about 2.00 m. above the bottom of the wall, i. e., in the fourth wall course. The face is broken on the right.

Height, 0.175 m.

Preserved length of face, 1.21 m.

Height of letters, 0.028 m.

³² Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

³³ The sepulchral inscription *C.I.L.*, I², 2, no. 1237 = Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Select.*, no. 7850, would also seem to refer to him.

³⁴ Cicero, *ad Att.*, X, 15, 3.

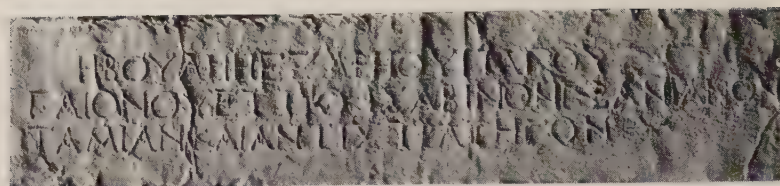


Fig. 6. Inscribed Part of No. 5

Ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρήου πάγου
Γναῖον Οὐέττιον Σαβῖνον Γρανιανὸν
ταμίαν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον.

The inscription, though deeply cut, is not equally well designed. In line two, the stonecutter abbreviated the name Gaius, but immediately afterwards decided, or was told, to write it out in full; this accounts for the disproportionate length of the line. Line 3 is not centered and the letters in general are rather crowded. Again in line 2, the diagonal hasta of the N in OYETTIOII has been omitted.

The quaestor pro praetore,³⁵ C. Vettius Sabinus Granianus, otherwise unknown, is probably a member of the plebeian gens of the Granii adopted by a C. Vettius Sabinus.³⁶

The spelling Ἀρηος for Ἀρειος, Ἀρεος is common only in the first centuries before and after Christ, especially in the Augustan period: Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften* (3rd ed., Berlin, 1900), p. 47, and note 353.

First (or second) century after Christ.

H. R. IMMERWAHR

YALE UNIVERSITY

³⁵ See Th. Mommsen, *Roemisches Staatsrecht* (3rd ed., Leipzig, 1887), pp. 246 and 651.

³⁶ For a Vettius Sabinus, see *Prosop. Imp. Rom.*¹, s.v. Vettius, no. 340. Pausanias, II, 11, 8, mentions one Γρανιανός from Sicyon, an Olympic victor; but the name may be corrupted from Κράναος Σικυνώμιος who is known to have won in the Olympic games in 145 A.D. See Hitzig-Bluemner, *ad loc.*

A BLACK-FIGURED LEKYTHOS AT OBERLIN

Among recent acquisitions of the Oberlin College Art Museum is the very interesting Attic Black-Figured lekythos figured below.¹ Its measurements are as follows: height 20.7 cm., diameter at shoulder 10.5 cm., diameter at base 6.3 cm., greatest diameter 11.7 cm. The handle of the vase has been restored, and, if there was any inscription or signature, it has disappeared with the original handle. Parts of the decorative rose coloring of the hair and garments of the figures have also suffered slightly. The shape and outward characteristics of the vase suggest a date *ca.* 540 B.C. In place of the black band and drip ring of the neck, which appear on earlier lekythoi, there is the red ridge, typical of the period 540-530, and the shoulder has been utilized fully for the scene of Herakles in pursuit of an Amazon.² On the other hand, there are good reasons for not selecting a date later in the decade. The body itself is not broad and still retains the slender features of the preceding period. As a result, the picture on the body has not been reduced in height. Furthermore, although the shoulder has become prominent from the artist's point of view, it has not been flattened out into a nearly horizontal field. The mouth differs from the bulging mouths of earlier vases, but it has not developed into the echinus contours which one expects after 540 B.C.

The problem of attributing an unsigned vase is often speculative at best, and the Oberlin vase does not invite any obvious conclusions about its painter. Quite apart from the two scenes depicted, the style is definitely not that of a master employing all his skill. Rather one is struck by the apparent haste of execution. The elbows and feet of the figures are very carelessly and unnaturally represented with a complete disregard for any suggestion of anatomical accuracy. Most of the incised work also seems to have been added almost grudgingly, and many of the incisions are very rough, although this might as easily be the result of the ravages of time as of the indifference of the artist.

Disregarding for the moment the subjects of the compositions, one cannot fail to notice immediately certain striking similarities to many of the known masters and workshops of the time. Separately, each detail falls short of the work of the master

¹ I am deeply indebted to Prof. H. R. W. Smith, Mr. D. A. Amyx, and Mr. D. von Bothmer whose interest and kindly suggestions have been invaluable. I wish also to express my thanks to Prof. Clarence Ward for permission to publish this vase. The photographs were taken by Mr. A. E. Princehorn of Oberlin.

² This and the following comments are based upon the principles of Miss C. H. E. Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi*, pp. 19 and 33.

which it resembles, but not so much as not to be easily recognized. Very obvious are two features which recall the technique of the Amasis painter and his circle. The gestures in the left of both pictures are typically Amasean, with the long hands expressively extended. Also peculiar to this school of artists was the use of scanty robes

for the figures. For Herakles and his companion on the shoulder of the Oberlin vase, the artist bothers only with the merest suggestion of clothing. This is a general practice in the Heidelberg Group and the work of the Amasis painter, *Elbows Out*, etc. On the other hand, however, the painter of the Oberlin lekythos exhibits none of the Oriental love and care for incised details so typical of the Amasis painter's work.

More striking yet, perhaps, are the parallelisms between the Oberlin vase and the work of the Wraith painter.³ Miss Haspels' description of the latter's figures could well apply to those of our own lekythos. "They glide past like wraiths, boneless, two-dimensional. They resemble *Elbows Out* without elbows."⁴ The law of the broadest aspect is fundamental with our artist except for the two figures at the right in the scene on the body. By leaving the flesh of the female black the technique of the Oberlin vase follows a principle which, save for isolated examples, the Wraith painter was the first to adopt as a common practice.⁵ Further similarities can be noted



Fig. 1. B.-F. Lekythos at Oberlin

in certain anatomical renderings of parts of the body such as the chest, but on the whole the Wraith painter is a little more careful and detailed. The renderings of garment decoration, hair, and fully clad figures are contrasts between the two, which are not likely to have been produced by a single hand. The stance of the Wraith

³ Cf. Haspels, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 f. and plates 9, 3 and 5; 11, 1 and 2.

⁵ For these isolated examples see Haspels, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 19, 21, 27, 31.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

painter's women is so distinctive as to be nearly a signature, which is lacking in the Oberlin vase.

The compositions of our vase also recall certain interesting parallelisms to the styles of other painters. The shoulder scene is similar in style and subject to the work



Fig. 2. Shoulder of Oberlin Lekythos

of the Sandal painter. Compare in particular the fragmentary lekythos, Oxford 1934.353, depicting the Amazonomachy on the body and a woman pursued by satyrs on the shoulder.⁶ The Oberlin vase is also reminiscent of the earlier little-master cup by Phrynos (B. M. B 424).⁷ To be sure, again the details are lacking in the later work,

⁶ See Haspels, *op. cit.*, pp. 19 f.; plates 5, 2, and 6, 2.

⁷ Beazeley, *Attic Black-Figure—A Sketch*, pp. 6 ff.; plate I, 1-2. Also *C.V.A.*, British Museum, III H e, pl. 13, 2.

but it does carry over certain archaic features of its predecessor in the round eye and the Amazon's garment (cf. that of Hephaistos). Another comparison may be made between the rendering of the heads on our vase and that on a lip-cup from Selinus in Palermo which resembles the work of Charitaïos.⁸

For one other stylistic peculiarity of the Oberlin lekythos, which escaped my attention, I am indebted to Mr. Amyx. The vertical line in front of the face of the filleted dignitary in the body composition at first glance appears to be a stray stroke because of the dark drop at its bottom extremity. Mr. Amyx observes, however, that this is a shaftless spearhead, a curious technique of omission not uncommon in the period. Notoriously forgetful of swords and spears is the Swinger.⁹ We find a further omission in the Oberlin vase in the absence of the bowstring on the shoulder, and as a result, one may well conjecture as to whether the clenched hands of several of the other figures may not be gripping imaginary objects.

The curious mixture of styles leaves a vague impression of the artist of our vase. Clearly not one of the known great masters, but close to several, the painter of the Oberlin vase is identified best as a mannerist of the Amasis painter's circle and the Wraith painter's school. His style represents a sort of *koine*, not fine enough, perhaps, to warrant him the impressive title of the Oberlin vase-painter, but important as representing a combination of artistic elements, reduced though they may be in quality.

Of the two scenes on the Oberlin vase, that on the shoulder is the more interesting. The spirited pursuit by Herakles of the Amazon raises several problems connected with the familiar story of the quest for the girdle of Hippolyte. The attitude of Herakles in the picture is apparently that of "your girdle or your life," leading one to assume that the woman is Hippolyte herself. Mr. Dietrich von Bothmer, however, whose acquaintance with Amazons exceeds mine, has pointed out to me that Amazons who use a bow and arrow in general represent the rank and file of the Amazon army. The royalty, he assures me, are usually clad in armor, and therefore this should not be considered the queen. What the artist intended can not be determined. Nevertheless, there is no doubt as to the myth involved, whether the scene be thought of as the chief incident, as the battle that followed the refusal of the girdle, or as simply a suggestion of the whole story. Mr. Bothmer further observes that the Phrygian cap of the Amazon is of particular interest, because on the Oberlin vase we find one of the earliest representations of it.

The flanking figure to the right, which serves to balance the scheme much as the lotus buds, defies any definite identification. Perhaps it would be better to resist the inevitable temptation and simply call the figure an artistic device to complete an heraldic

⁸ Gabrici, "Vasi greci . . . di Palermo e Agrigento," figs. 1 and 10 (*Atti R. Acc. di Palermo*, XV, 1928-29).

⁹ Cf. Albizzati, *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano*, pl. 44, 349.

arrangement. Still it is not unreasonable to suggest that this might be a particular companion of Herakles. His constant comrade during the Labors was Iolaos, but literary references to Iolaos' participation in the exploit against the Amazons are noticeably infrequent. To be sure, he is conceded a prominent place in the assault on Troy during the same trip in a veiled passage of Pindar in which the name Iolaos is used figuratively for that of Herakles as the leader.¹⁰ Closer examination of this and related evidence, however, reveals that Telamon was a far more important figure in both stories. His entrance into Troy ahead of Herakles and his receiving of Hesione are two of the most striking episodes of the Trojan expedition.¹¹ Telamon's achievement against the Amazons is related by a scholion attributed to Hesiod (fr. 278) on the passage of Pindar referred to above:

Τελαμὼν ἀκόρητος αὐτῆς
 ἡμετέροις ἐτάροισι φόως πρῶτιστος ἔθηκε
 κτείνας ἀνδρολέτειραν ἀμώμητον Μελανίππην,
 αὐτοκασιγνήτην χρυσοζώνοιο ἀνάσσης.

It would not be an isolated phenomenon in vase-painting for Telamon to be engaged in the Amazonomachy,¹² although as I have already suggested any attempt to name our figure is extremely hazardous. Therefore, I leave the matter as one entirely of choice, with my own preference being Telamon if identification is required.

The scene on the body of the Oberlin vase is as indefinite as our so-called Telamon. Here again one is tempted to connect the four gentlemen in some way with the myth being enacted on the shoulder. The complete lack of attributes for the figures, however, makes the problem conjectural at best. It is probably safer to assume that here we have a purely *genre* scene. Whether or not the conversation hinges on the action pictured on the shoulder is again simply a matter of choice.

NATHAN DANE II

OBERLIN COLLEGE

¹⁰ *Nem.*, III, 61 ff. ed. Schroeder; 38 ff. ed. Bowra; 36 ff. ed. Farnell.

— — — Λαομέδοντα δ' εὐρυσθενῆς
 Τελαμὼν Ἰόλα παραστάτας ἐὼν ἔπερσεν·
 καί ποτε χαλκότοξον Ἀμαζόνων μετ' ἄλλαν
 ἔπετό οἱ, οὐδέ νῦν ποτε φόβος ἀνδροδάμας
 ἔπαυσεν ἀκμὰν φρενῶν.

Cf. also the scholia on the passage. The use of the word χαλκότοξον as descriptive of the Amazons is interesting in the light of Mr. Bothmer's observations above, but here again there is nothing to indicate that the adjective is not simply descriptive of the Amazon army in general.

¹¹ Apollod., *Bibl.*, II, 135 f.; Hyg., *Fab.*, 89.

¹² Cf. dinos in Louvre, E 875; *C.V.A.*, Louvre 2, text p. 11, plates 18-20.

THE SILLS OF THE GRILLES OF THE PRONAOS AND OPISTHODOMUS OF THE PARTHENON

The writer has already published what he believes to be the essential facts concerning the sills of the grilles in the Pronaos and Opisthodomus of the Parthenon, although at the time he wrote his article no sill, or even fragment of one, was known to exist (Fig. 1).¹ The evidence for the sills was derived from various weather marks, cuttings, and scratches on the stylobate, columns, and antae. The results of that investigation may be summarized as follows:

1. The way the columns were dressed with a fifth-century anathyrosis against which the sills abutted, indicated that the sills were of stone, and, furthermore, that the sills formed part of the original design of the Parthenon.
2. The right section through the sills could be accurately recovered from the traces of contact between the sills and the columns and antae.
3. The sills were wedge-shaped in plan, so that they might be inserted from the rear, after the columns had been set up.
4. The sills supported wooden frames (consisting of jambs and lintels) most of the characteristics of which could be determined with certainty.

In August, 1940, the writer had the good fortune to identify two fairly large-sized fragments of the sills. Both blocks are now lying in the court west of the Parthenon, one at a point about five meters east of the Sanctuary of the Brauronian Artemis, the other at a point about seven meters east of the same Sanctuary. They corroborate the characteristics claimed above for the sills, and, moreover, furnish us with some additional information.

The better preserved fragment is illustrated in Figures 2 and 3. It is the left end of a sill. There is no doubt that the block comes from the Parthenon, for the fragment perfectly fits the traces of the sills on the stylobate, columns, and antae—that is, there is agreement in the width, height, wedge-shape, rabbet for the valves of the grilles, exterior base moulding, and other details of less importance. The block is of the best quality of Pentelic marble, like that of the rest of the Parthenon, and the workmanship is unmistakably of the time of Pericles. Figure 4 is a restoration, in isometric, of the end of the sill. The large sinkage is designed to receive the wooden jamb of the grille. It is to be noted that the weather line on the upper surface of the fragment (cf. Figs.

¹ *Hesperia*, Supplement III, 1940, pp. 69-73.

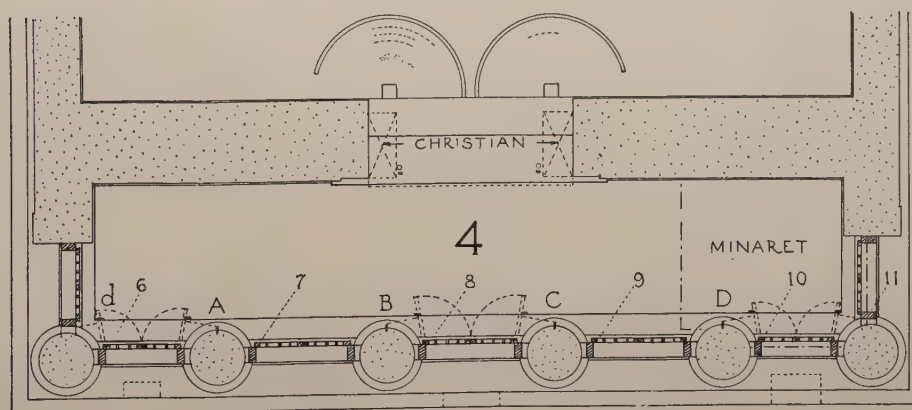
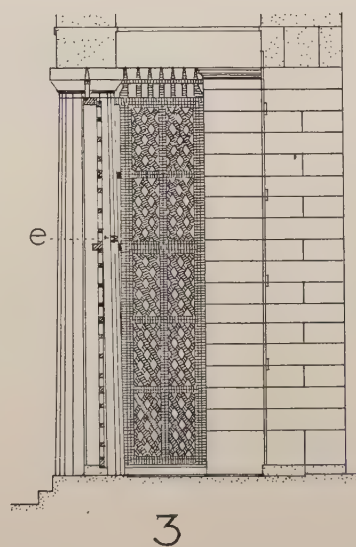
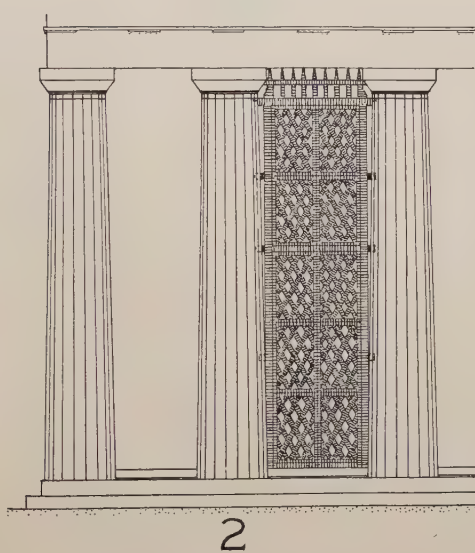
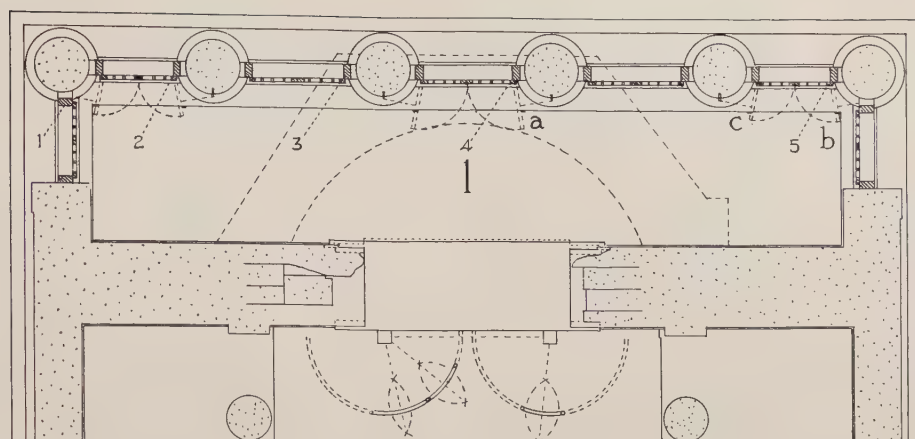


Fig. 1. The Grilles of the Pronaos and Opisthodomus of the Parthenon. Restoration



Fig. 2. Left End of a Sill: Fragment No. 1

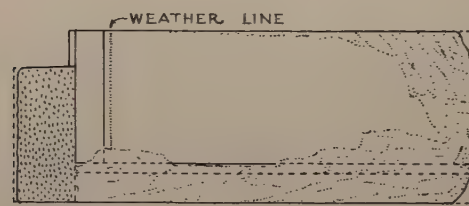
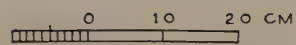
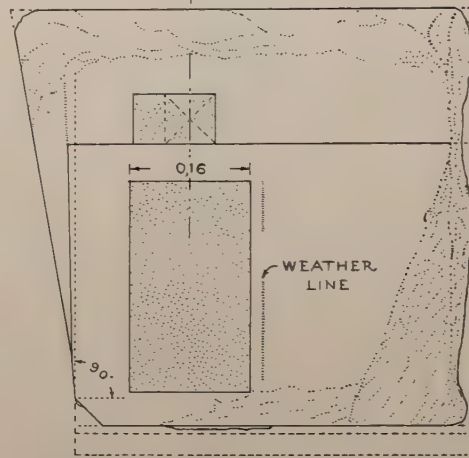
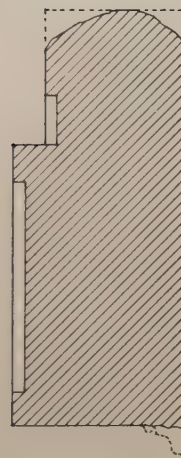


Fig. 3. Fragment No. 1. Plan, Elevation, and Section

3 and 4) indicates that a wooden core was sheathed with some material. A core of cypress covered with either bronze or a precious resisting wood such as ebony does not seem beyond the realm of possibility. As the core was of wood, we must think of the valves of the grilles as also being of wood, not bronze. And, if the valves were of wood, it is more probable that the sheathing of the cores was of the same kind of wood than of bronze. The smaller sinkage in the top of the fragment is for the socket of the pivot of one of the two wooden valves of the grille. It is also possible that one of the fixed grilles (cf. Fig. 1) was held in place by means of this small sinkage.

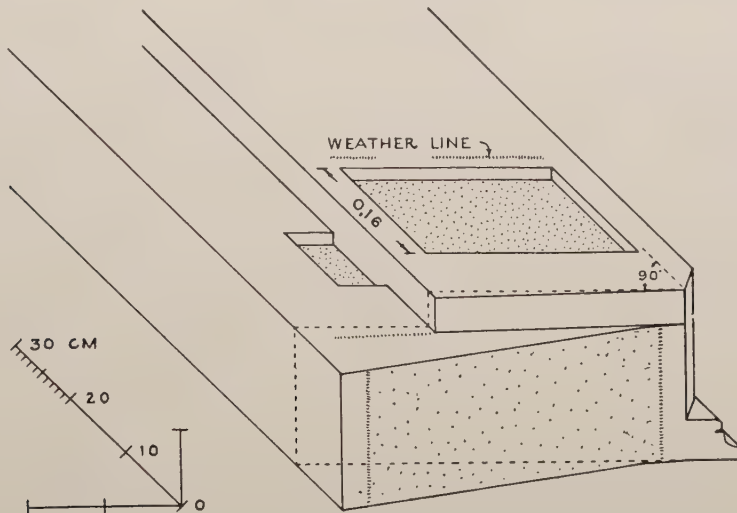


Fig. 4. Fragment No. 1. Isometric

The less well preserved fragment is shown in Fig. 5. Like the first fragment, it comes from the left end of a sill; that is, the two fragments cannot belong to the same sill, as both are left ends. The width of the sinkage for the jamb is 0.035 m. less than that of fragment No. 1: otherwise the two fragments are almost identical.

The general method of contact between sill and column is illustrated in Figs. 6, 7, 8, and 9. The way the columns were cut to receive the sills gives us the evidence that the sills were wedge-shaped—both ends of the sills made angles with the right section through the sill.

The four sills between the antae and the angle columns had only the ends in contact with the columns cut at an angle—that is, these sills were only half as much wedge-shaped as those between the columns.

In the Pronaos the traces of all the vertical mitered surfaces cut in the columns, against which the vertical mitered edge of the sills abutted, are visible today. In the Opisthodomus, on the other hand, the mitered surfaces of the columns were removed

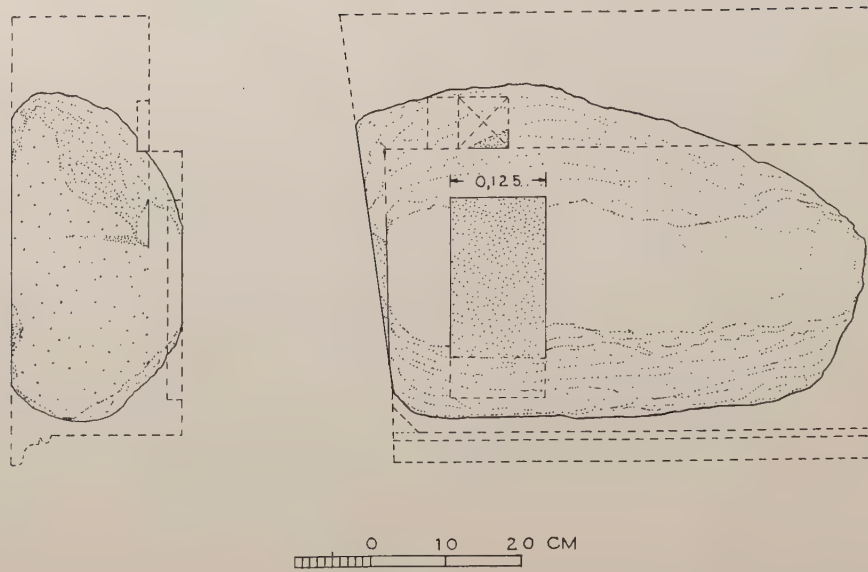


Fig. 5. Left End of a Sill: Fragment No. 2. Plan and End Elevation



Fig. 6. General Dressing of Columns to Receive Sills: West Side of North Angle Column of Pronaos

at a comparatively late date, if one may judge by the poor workmanship displayed in cutting away the miters.² There is abundant evidence that in church times the intercolumniations were filled to a height of 4.25 m. with stone barriers. It seems probable, therefore, that the late cuttings referred to above are Christian.

There is but one exception to the general type of contact between the sills and the columns. The exception occurs in the intercolumniation immediately south of the central intercolumniation of the Pronaos (Figs. 1, 10, and 11). Here there are two pry holes³ and a difference of finish on the stylobate beneath the sill, which show that the sill was composed of two long pieces of approximately equal width (cf. Figs. 11 and 12), and that the east piece was set before the west piece. We may attempt to explain the exceptional sill in the following manner. Let us suppose that all the sills were originally planned to be like the exceptional sill. When Ictinus saw the first sill in its place, he realized that he could get rid of the long visible joint in the top of the sill and at the same time make a stronger sill by changing to a sill of one piece. But why should the sill in the intercolumniation immediately south of the central intercolumniation of the Pronaos be the first sill set? As the temple approached completion, materials of all kinds must have been carried into both the cella and the treasury through the central intercolumniation of the east and west ends of the temple. To facilitate such transport, there was, in all probability, a temporary ramp in the middle of either end of the temple, up which heavy materials, such as the column drums and architrave blocks of the interior, were moved. It is likely that the two sills immediately in front of the two doors of the temple were the last sills set on account of the desirability of keeping the passage ways between the central columns unencumbered until the last moment. We may imagine, then, that the two blocks of the first sill have been prepared in the *ἐργαστήριον* at the east of the Parthenon.⁴ They are brought to the east façade of the temple, worked up the incline, and find their resting place in the handiest intercolumniation, namely, in one of the two intercolumniations next the axis of the temple.

Is it possible to determine the original positions of the two fragments of sills (Figs. 3 and 5)? The following considerations will be of assistance in trying to answer the question:

1. The ends of both fragments—they are left ends of their respective sills—are cut correctly to fit any of the eleven positions indicated in Fig. 1.

² In the northern intercolumniation there is a partial exception—the northern contact follows the rule, but the original miter of the southern contact was reduced to a small miter.

³ Only one of the two pry holes is shown in Fig. 11. The two pry holes are symmetrically placed in the intercolumniation.

⁴ *Hesperia*, Supplement III, fig. 34.

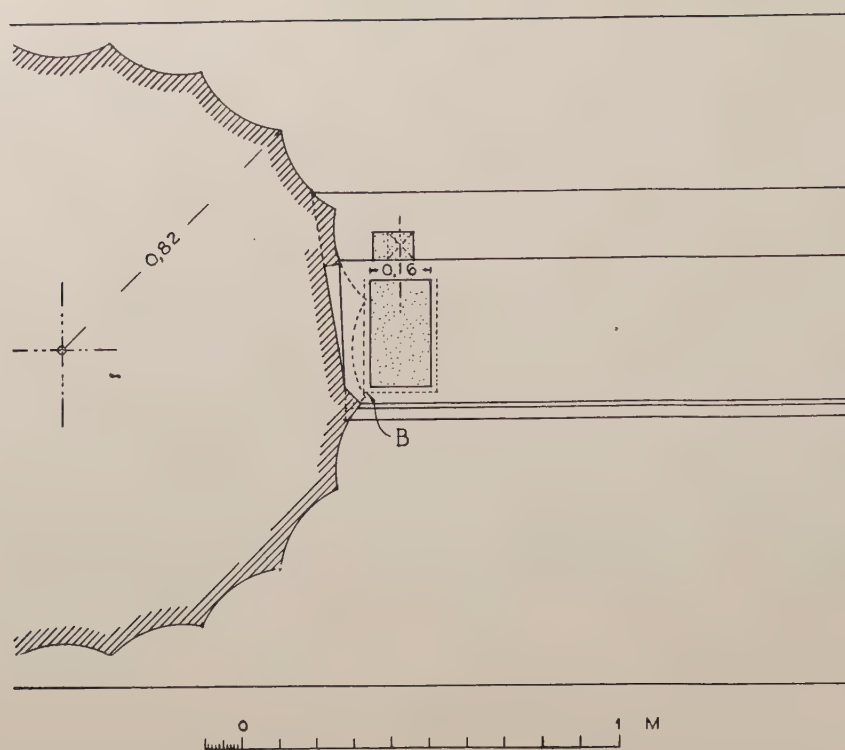


Fig. 7. General Relation Between Sills and Columns of the Pronaos

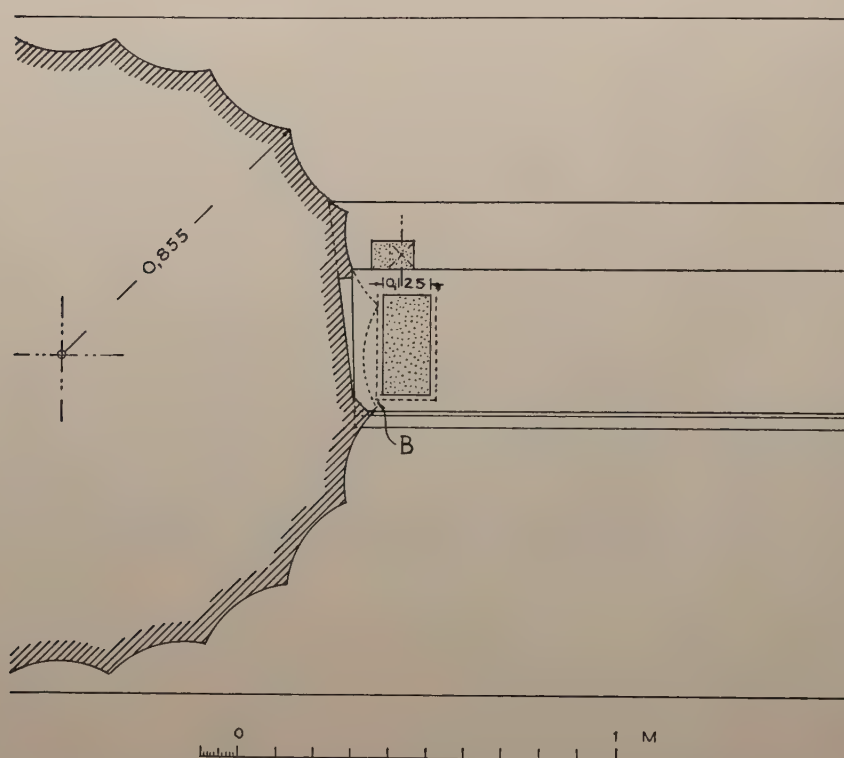


Fig. 8. Relation Between Sills and Columns of the Opisthodomus

2. The widths of the jamb cuttings in the two fragments of the sills are not alike. That of Figure 7 is 0.16 m., while that of Figure 8 is 0.125 m. There is a difference of 0.035 m. between the two measures. It happens that the radius of the columns of the Pronaos is 0.035 m. smaller than the radius of the columns of the Opisthodomus.⁵ If, therefore, the smaller jamb be associated with the column of bigger radius, and the bigger jamb with the column of smaller radius, the free opening between the jambs will be the same in Pronaos and Opisthodomus. Identical jamb openings for the Pronaos and Opisthodomus are confirmed by the following fact. The relation between the pivot cutting and that face of the jamb which is toward the center of the opening was the same at both ends of the temple (cf. Figs. 7 and 8). Thus the valves of the grilles at both ends of the temple had exactly the same width and consequently could have been, and undoubtedly were, identical in design. Fragment No. 1 (Fig. 3), with the wider jamb cutting, can then be assigned to the Pronaos. It may have occupied any one of positions 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 of Figure 1. And fragment No. 2, with its narrower jamb cutting, can be assigned to the Opisthodomus, and may have occupied any one of positions 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 of Figure 1. The evidence does not permit of a more accurate allocation for the two fragments.⁶

In Figures 7 and 8 the sheathing is represented as covering the face and both sides of the jamb. By ruining the sheathing between the jamb and the column, the sheathing could be made to touch a flute of the column, while its front face could be set to the scratch in the flute at B, Figures 7 and 8.⁷ Objection may be raised that expensive sheathing was unnecessary between the jamb and the column as such sheathing would be hidden. This is true at the bottom of the column. But at the neck of the column there was an open space of 0.185 m. (one half of the diminution of the column) between the column and the

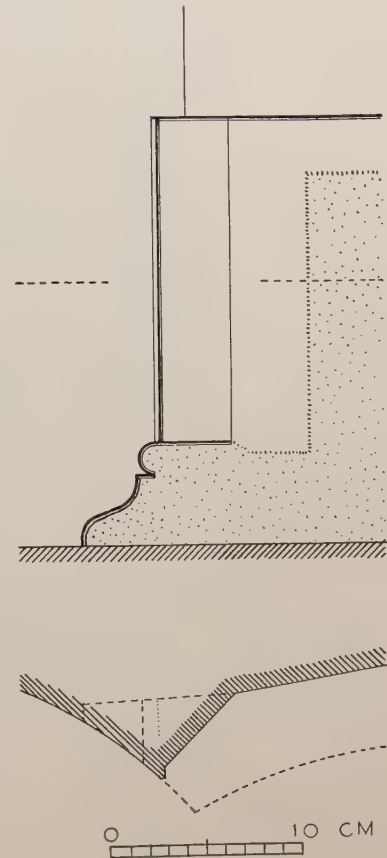


Fig. 9. General Method of Contact Between Silles and Columns. Detail

⁵ *Hesperia*, Supplement III, p. 67.

⁶ Pivot holes are generally square. As the pivot hole in Figure 3 is rectangular, it is just possible that the sill to which the fragment belonged supported a fixed grille. In that case, the fragment can be assigned to only one of two places, namely, 1 and 2 of Figure 1.

⁷ *Hesperia*, Supplement III, p. 71.



Fig. 10. Special Column Dressing to Receive the Sill South of the Central Intercolumniation of the Pronaos

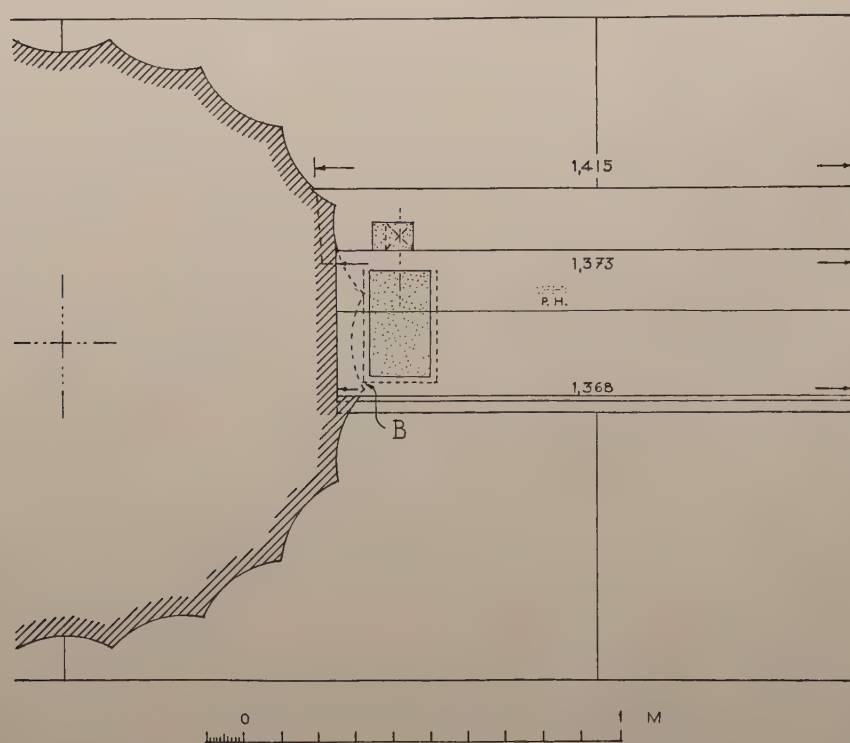


Fig. 11. Relation Between the Column and the Special Sill South of Central Intercolumniation of the Pronaos

jamb, provided the jamb were vertical. Certainly all the stiles (the upright members) of the valves of the grilles were vertical if the valves were to swing properly. A vertical jamb to go with the vertical lines of the valves therefore seems quite in keeping. There is another indication that the jamb was in contact with the column only at the bottom of the column, for the flutes of the column are as carefully cut from top to bottom back of the jamb as they are anywhere else on the column—these flutes were meant to be seen. If the jamb had been in continuous contact with the column from the bottom to the neck, the column would have been dressed to receive the jamb by the removal of the arris behind the jamb, just as was done in the case of the contact between the column and the end of the wooden lintel of the grille.⁸ Thus there can be little doubt that the jamb was vertical.

A glance at Figs. 4, 6, 9, 10, and 12 will give the reader an idea of the forethought and care needed to cut both the sills and the columns, so that the difficult junction between the two would be as nearly perfect as possible. Note that the exterior joints were concealed.⁹ The best stonecutters of today, in spite of their improved tools, cannot do better work.

That there were wooden grilles carried on marble sills in the Pronaos and Opisthodomus of the Parthenon—grilles which entirely filled the intercolumniations—may seem an unusual feature. Yet this was the general practice in Athens in the time of Pericles—the careful observer finds evidence today for precisely similar grilles in the Nike Temple and in the "Theseum."

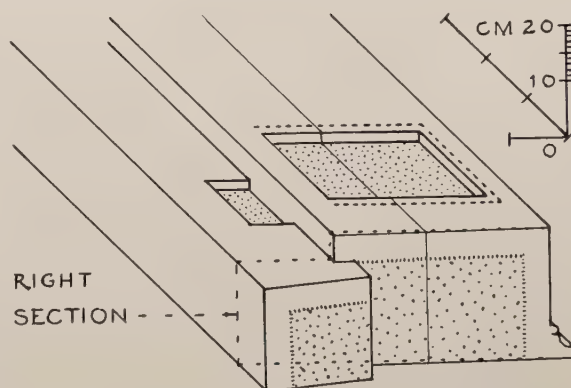


Fig. 12. South End of the Special Sill South of the Central Intercolumniation of the Pronaos.
Restoration in Isometric

APPENDIX

In *Setting of the Periclean Parthenon*, p. 73,¹⁰ the writer advanced the theory, that only the lower compartments of the valves of the doors in the grilles swung inward, and that the upper portions of the grilles had no swinging valves at all. From new data at his disposal he now believes that the upper portion of those grilles also opened (there being, of course, two valves to each opening). The height of the dowels

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁹ Only in the case of the abutment of sill against anta was an exterior joint of contact visible.

¹⁰ *Hesperia*, Supplement III.

at A, B, and C, Fig. I, 4, is given in the same figure at 3, *e*. The position of dowel *e* indicates that the dowel had something to do with the upper portion of the grille rather than with the lower portion of the grille; that is, it probably implies a bumper-fastener for the upper portion of the grille. If this is so, then the upper portion of the grille swung inward. It is not likely that the upper portions of the grilles would be opened except during festivals.

GORHAM P. STEVENS

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

TERRACOTTAS FROM THE NECROPOLIS OF HALAE

(A List of Abbreviations, a Table of Graves, and an Index will be found at the end of the article, pp. 415 ff. The Plates follow p. 421.)

Terracottas excavated from a small, provincial town can never make up for what might have been learned from such a center of the koroplast's art as Tanagra had it not been exploited by tomb robbers before there was any chance of careful archaeological investigation. But the excellent series of terracottas from the Halae necropolis, though including few pieces of exceptional quality, gives a fairly continuous picture of the Boeotian industry from the end of the sixth into the third century B.C.¹ The evidence from Halae, originally brought together in a doctor's dissertation, has been available at Radcliffe College, but it has seemed advisable to recast the material, with a view to bringing it up to date, and to publish it in a briefer and more accessible form.²

The necropolis of Halae fell into two separate and well-defined areas. One lay to the east of the acropolis in the direction of Larymna and presumably, although no actual traces of the road were found, along the highway to that city. The other was situated on the low hills to the north and may have bordered a road leading from the northern gate in the acropolis wall to the quarries which supplied the soft poros for the sarcophagi, buildings, and most of the statuary of the town. There seemed to have been no specific cemetery area for any one period, and, as early and late graves appeared side by side, no date could be inferred from the position of a burial. Most of the early cemetery, however, was located in the fields at some distance from the city, where outcroppings of rock and a strong admixture of a white clay-like substance made the soil poor for agriculture, but excellent for the preservation of terracottas. The later burials lay, for the greater part, in the fields nearer the ancient city in a heavy, corrosive red earth. For this reason the preservation of the individual pieces

¹ For the acropolis of Halae, see *A.J.A.*, XIX, 1915, pp. 418 ff.; *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 381 ff. The terracottas of Halae are mentioned in an article by Paul Girard, *B.C.H.*, III, 1879, pp. 211 ff., where he describes all the terracottas he found in the possession of the peasants. See *Typen*, I, 51, 2k; 57, 5; 59, 6e; 62, 2c; 62, 3C; 63, 1m and 3b; 64, 2; 66, 5 and 6b; 68, 5b and 6; 69, 3; 72, 3c and 6b; 74, 6; 140, 4*; 153, 1b* and 4b*; 165, 6*; 182, 3b and 4d; 183, 5e; 184, 6; 185, 1b and 3b; 192, 4a; 220, 9a* and d*; 227, 4b; 229, 9a*; 242, 2d; 243, 1a and 8b; 245, 3; 247, 3a; 248, 3 and 5d; 249, 5f. II, 32, 9b; 41, 1B; 80, 1; 107, 5*; 119, 5*; 129, 7; 140, 3*; 245, 4c; 258, 2* note; 456, 4, 7A and 8d; 461, 7B. A few of the listings said to be from Halae are not paralleled by the excavation finds; the outstanding absences are marked by asterisks.

² H. Goldman, *The Terracottas from the Necropolis of Halae*, 1916, deposited in the Radcliffe College Library. The revision has been made by Miss Jones. The pottery from the graves is as yet unpublished and Miss Goldman was indebted to Mrs. Leslie Walker Kosmopoulos for the detailed knowledge of the vases incorporated in the original thesis.

and especially of the color of the terracottas, is, on the whole, not good. Some fragments from the white-clay region, with their colors as fresh as if they had been painted today, showed us what we had lost. The heavy, damp quality of the soil and the fact that the finer examples were never baked very hard also account for the scarcity of well-preserved Tanagra figures.

Most of the graves untouched by the peasants lay, in the red-earth region, at a depth usually of about 1.50 to 2.00 meters. Some of the earlier graves, on the other hand, were not more than 0.50 m. below the surface and so were easily found, either through deliberate search with a borer or by accident in the course of ploughing and harrowing the fields.³

In the areas excavated it was found that no attempt had been made to divide the cemetery into individual plots, except in the case of two sets of crowded Hellenistic graves which were surrounded on three sides by high, rather well-built walls; as the majority of these graves were robbed, the date could not be closely defined, but most of the fragments of pottery pointed to the third century before our era or even later.

The graves were aligned east to west, although the orientation was not always very exact and inclined sometimes to the northwest and southeast (Fig. 1). This position was adhered to with great strictness during the entire Hellenic period and was altered only in the case of some Roman and very late Hellenistic burials.

The receptacles showed considerable variety in shape and material.⁴ Monolithic sarcophagi of poros stone were predominant in the sixth and fifth centuries (Fig. 1), and sarcophagi constructed of four separate slabs characteristic of the fourth century; however both forms were in sporadic use at other times. Shallow, earth-cut trenches under heavy cover slabs (Fig. 4) usually held Hellenistic burials. Pithoi (Fig. 1) were common at all times, but of the clay larnax and lead jar there were only single examples. There was one large chamber tomb dated by a coin to the end of the third century when terracottas were no longer used in the necropolis; benches were built along three sides of the tomb and a doorway, closed by a stone, in the fourth. The upper vaulting had been removed, probably in modern times, as a Turkish seal was found among the contents and the whole interior filled with bones—a veri-

³ It is difficult to estimate the amount of damage done by the peasants. That large quantities of antiquities were removed from the place is proved not only by the accounts of the natives, but by the records of museums. Halae is prominent in Winter's *Typen* (see note 1), and one cannot tell how many figurines listed under the more general heading of Locris may have come from our necropolis. Halae was spared the fate of complete ruin by the fortunate circumstance that no modern village stands upon or even very near the ancient site; less than half a dozen dwellings house the families engaged in supplying the needs of the fishermen who put in at the bay. Illicit digging has been discouraged and made less profitable by the increased vigilance of the authorities. Our evidence may be regarded as continuous, though not always full.

⁴ For Rhitsona burial methods, see *B.S.A.*, XIV, 1907-8, pp. 242 ff.; *Sixth and Fifth*, pp. 3 ff.; *Aryballoi*, pp. 5 ff. For Olynthus see *Olynthus*, XI, 1942, pp. 125 ff.



Fig. 1. Monolithic Sarcophagi and Pithos



Fig. 2. Slab Sarcophagus with Rope Cuttings at Corners

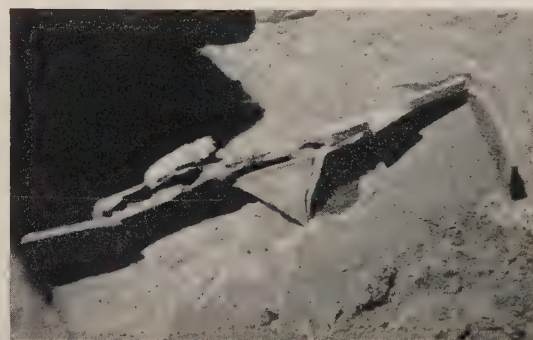


Fig. 3. Tile Grave



Fig. 4. Earth-Cut Grave



Fig. 5. Pithos Broken and Enlarged by Later Slab-Covered Burial

table charnel house. It is not impossible that in late Hellenistic and Roman times some bodies were disposed of without enclosing receptacles of any sort.⁵ Burned burials, exceedingly rare, seem to have been in use only in Hellenistic times and then for infants who were placed in very small pithoi, always in the same grave with an adult. Perhaps we may see in this combination the child and the mother who died in giving it birth. A form of burial belonging to the last years of the Hellenistic or to the Roman period consisted of a simple gable construction of tiles placed over the body, sometimes closed at the ends by shorter tiles (Fig. 3).

The number of cover slabs on the sarcophagi varied from one to three according to the length which, in turn, depended on the position of the body. In the sixth and fifth centuries the head was, as a rule, in the west and the knees were always drawn up in a crouching position; later, the body lay on its back with arms at the sides and the head indifferently west or east. For the heavy cover slabs of the earth-cut graves there was no fixed size or number and frequently blocks from dismembered buildings (cf. Fig. 5) or grave monuments were used. No real evidence, beyond the presence of iron nails, which may well have belonged to some variety of funeral furniture, was found for the existence of wooden coffins; and there were no traces of the shelf cutting usually made in the earth around the upper edge of such graves to prevent the weight of the cover slabs from crushing the wooden receptacle. As the slabs were rarely found to have fallen on the body and funeral furniture, it seems probable that the graves were immediately filled with earth to support the stone covers. Two other circumstances indicated that the earth fill was contemporary with the closing of the grave. One was the fact that many fragments of terracottas, a century or more earlier than the period of burial and too large to have filtered through the cracks in the stones, were found mingled with the fill. The other, that a small pithos burial, requiring the support of surrounding earth, was found directly under the undisturbed cover of a grave. Because of the nature of the fill the evidence of these earth-cut graves must be used with caution and only the objects found at the bottom and directly surrounding the skeleton can be counted as contemporary with the burial. When, however, all the fragments of a broken object stylistically similar to the contents were found in the fill of a grave, as was the case with several terracottas, it is more than probable that it was intentionally broken and thrown in in this condition.⁶

The size of a pithos varied roughly according to the body it was to hold. With the exception of one upright infant burial, the pithoi always lay in horizontal position,

⁵ Since the cemetery had been disturbed by Hellenistic Greeks as well as by modern grave robbers, one can never be certain that the bones found in the soil were not cast out of some receptacle which was then used for a second ancient burial.

⁶ *Myrina*, p. 103, expressly states that terracottas at that site were intentionally broken and the parts thrown both inside and outside the grave. See article "Death and Disposal of the Dead" in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 4, p. 430, on the practice of breaking objects in or over the grave.

the mouth closed by a rough stone, a fragment of pottery, or, as in the case of one late Hellenistic grave, with a round terracotta disk made especially for the purpose.⁷ The upper side was broken away and then replaced when the body and funeral furniture had been put in position. Sometimes the pieces that had been broken out were re-fastened by means of lead clamps, and the pithoi of Hellenistic times, which occasionally reached the formidable dimensions of 2.67×1.50 m., were invariably mended. Pithoi of different periods could be distinguished by their shape and material; the earliest were of very heavy fabric, whereas the later had thinner walls; the former usually had the narrow-mouthed, well-articulated profile of an amphora (Fig. 1), the latter the wide-mouthed, lightly curved outline of a jar (Fig. 6). These modest receptacles contained some of the richest burials, including the only gold jewelry yielded by the necropolis. In general, neither shape, size, material, nor workmanship of the grave seemed to have any relation to the wealth of the person buried in it.

We have no indications that any grave was reused before the end of the third century. But when the religious sentiment which kept the old graves inviolate had lost its force and economy of space and material became a consideration, the same receptacle was used over and over again. Sarcophagi and pithoi were broken open at the bottom and extended in order to hold the skeleton now laid at full length (Fig. 5). Pithoi and earth-cut graves were made to hold as many as five bodies (Fig. 6).

Of the burial ceremonies we catch an occasional glimpse. After the receptacle had been lowered (in the case of a sarcophagus, by means of ropes fitted into special cuttings at the corners, Fig. 2), or the body laid in the prepared trench, the offerings were put in place. At all times vases were predominant inside the graves, but in the fifth and fourth centuries the exterior offerings consisted chiefly of terracottas. Many of the figurines, especially the large masks, were placed with great care against the sides of the sarcophagi.⁸ The only instances of intentional breakage were the terracottas mentioned above as having been found in the fill of earth-cut graves dating from the end of the fourth century. Except for the jug of unglazed clay which was almost invariably found at the head of the interred body, there seems to have been no



Fig. 6. Pithos Used for at Least Four Burials

⁷ See *Eutresis*, p. 95, fig. 121.

⁸ *A.J.A.*, XIX, 1915, p. 429, fig. 5.

accepted arrangement for the objects inside the grave. Sometimes a kylix or kantharos was placed in the hand of the dead, but as often as not the vases and terracottas were either crowded at the foot or distributed over the whole body. Of vine leaves or any other foliage or mass of material on which the dead were bedded, no trace was found. It seems probable that the body, wrapped merely in a cloak or winding-sheet, was laid directly on the floor of the sarcophagus or grave.

Coins appeared, unfortunately, only in later burials—the earliest at the end of the fourth century, the majority in the third—and then frequently in so corroded a condition as to be unidentifiable. They were usually found in the region of the head or in the mouth of the skeleton and may have represented the obol with which the dead paid their passage money to the ferryman, Charon.⁹ But since money was not found in the earlier graves contemporary with the literary references to this custom and since the coin became prevalent only at a time when other funeral furniture degenerated to a poor equipment of plates, unguentaria, and an occasional glass jar, it probably represented a substitute for the more precious and numerous offerings of an earlier date.¹⁰

Bronze objects, which suffered from the dampness of the soil and which are still unmended, appeared chiefly in the late fifth-century and fourth-century graves in the form of some very lovely kylikes and canisters. Small pins and an occasional ring were found in all periods. Silver objects¹¹ were confined to fibulae, earrings, and a single ring, all from the last quarter of the fifth century. The gold objects, which came from a single third-century burial, consisted of earrings in the shape of dogs with a carnelian on top of each head, a small pendant, somewhat mutilated but probably representing Helios, and a wreath of leaves cut out of thin sheet gold (Fig. 7).

The terracotta types from the necropolis were not peculiar to Halae alone; almost all had been found in other sites of Locris, Phocis, and Boeotia, and the repertory differed only in the emphasis on particular subjects.¹² The artistic dependence upon the latter province was pronounced, and, in fact, moulds must have been imported from Boeotia if Halae baked its own figurines. Excavation evidence for manufacture

⁹ Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Charon, vol. 3, p. 2177, gives the literary references to the coin given to Charon. That the placing of coins in the mouth was not reserved for the dead, we learn from Aristophanes, *Birds*, 501 ff.

¹⁰ This is the opinion of E. Rohde, *Psyche*, I, 4th ed., 1907, p. 307, note. "Der Obol mag kleinster, symbolischer Rest der nach ältestem Seelenrecht unverkürzt dem Todten mitzugebenden Gesamthabe desselben sein."

¹¹ *A.J.A.*, XIX, 1915, p. 425.

¹² Types I-a-1 and II-a-1 (pp. 378, 379 and Pls. VI, VII) probably came from outside this region, but the greater part of the collection was undoubtedly of local (but not necessarily Haliote) manufacture. A warning may be appended here that Boeotia was not always abreast of contemporary artistic trends (see pp. 386, 392, 400) and that comparisons with the Halae figurines for chronology should be made with this fact in mind.

at Halae was lacking and no clay analyses were made; but in any case it would be difficult to imagine a koroplastic center which created no types of its own.

No trustworthy differentiation of the clay of the terracottas could be made by observation alone since superficial variation may be due to differences in preparation and firing.¹³ Girard noted two varieties: a dirty gray and a brick-red.¹⁴ To these must be added a light yellow, sometimes coarse, heavy, and of leathery consistency, at other times extremely fine and light. This, when not fired at a high temperature (the fabric of the terracottas was hard only in the fifth and early fourth centuries), may take on a purplish cast when affected by dampness. Both the brick-red clay, as a rule baked harder than the others, and the yellow clay were in use at all times. The dirty gray



Fig. 7. Gold Wreath from Third-Century Burial

was used only for very coarse, late figurines, usually found lying in the soil, and so possibly later than any of the terracottas found in the graves.

The color of the terracottas was poorly preserved, but the following general observations may be made. Before the middle of the fifth century, the color sometimes seems to have been laid directly on the clay, but from that time on a white slip was always used. The color schemes of the late sixth and early fifth century were based on two principles: the use of earth colors, white, red,¹⁵ yellow, and black, either as linear design¹⁶ or in masses;¹⁷ and the use of a pinkish red for all nude parts of male figures with a darker shade, bordering on purple, for the hair.¹⁸ Toward the middle of the fifth century, blue came into use, but, until the Tanagra period, it was always reserved for details of the costume, such as jewelry, ornamental borders, and parts of the polos. The color of the flesh also changed, and while the lighter pink was still retained¹⁹ the dark red, which became the characteristic color for the flesh of men in the

¹³ *British Museum*, p. xxiii. Richter, *The Craft of Athenian Pottery*, pp. 1, 3, 55.

¹⁴ *B.C.H.*, III, 1879, p. 214.

¹⁵ The red of this period is a bright color, sometimes vermillion, sometimes crimson.

¹⁶ Cf. the rattles with black and red petal design, VII-b, p. 382.

¹⁷ Cf. the female masks with white for flesh, red and yellow for chiton and veil, as IV-a-8, p. 384, Pl. XVI.

¹⁸ Cf. the youth, Type III-b-1, p. 389, Pl. XIV.

¹⁹ Cf. some examples of Type III-b-1, p. 389, Pl. XIV.

late fifth and fourth centuries, was introduced.²⁰ Sporadically it was also used for a female figure.²¹ The fourth century was characterized in general by the strong and crude contrast between red and white, either one or other of the colors being used for flesh or garment according to the sex of the figurine. Vermilion, a rare color at this period, was occasionally used for details of women's costumes. The base, as a rule, was red on top and white on the front and side, with two parallel bands of color, either red or black, encircling it. Unfortunately, the Tanagra figurines were so poorly preserved that no traces of color were found on any of the larger figures; but Eros (Type V-h-3, p. 409, Pl. XXIV) showed the abandonment of the crude contrasts of the preceding period for the more delicate combinations of blues and whites which we know to have characterized the Tanagra style.

The necropolis produced neither early hand-made human figures, such as were found in the acropolis, nor those combining the hand-made body with the moulded head (as some of the less primitive "Pappades").²² There were only a few examples of solid figures and these were made thinner and flatter than usual in proportion to their height to avoid cracking when fired.²³ Type II-b-1 (p. 379, Pl. X), standing female figure, is a characteristic example of this style (see also II-a-1, p. 379, Pl. VII, and II-c-20, p. 412, Pl. XIII). The processes of moulding showed, in the course of time, changes aiming at greater lightness in the finished product and the freer circulation of air inside the figure during firing. In general, terracottas of our Group B²⁴ were moulded in three or four parts: head, back, front and occasionally a separate base (particularly frequent for the seated female figure with feet resting on a footstool). The back was never modelled and the edges of the front section fitted over it, the joint strengthened on the inside by an extra layer of clay. The walls of these early terracottas were extremely thick and the base entirely closed at the bottom, or pierced with a very small hole, so that they frequently appeared to be solid. The base was low and occasionally wanting altogether.

In Groups C and D of the fifth century the technical processes first appeared which were in vogue until the second half of the fourth century, the beginning of the fine Tanagra figurines. Some, especially the standing and seated female figures of Grave 16, still had the solid base and back, but newer types (for example, II-c-4, III-b-1, pp. 395, 389, Pls. XI, XIV) were open at the bottom and had square vent holes in the back. The base was invariably moulded with the front and, although higher, it did

²⁰ Cf. the Dionysos masks, Pan, etc., pp. 404 f.

²¹ Cf. Type I-e-1, p. 394, Pl. VI.

²² See *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 423, figs. 72, 73.

²³ One set of archaic standing female terracottas from the acropolis had a tube-like opening running the length of the figure and another had only a thin slit cut into the base with a knife to prevent cracking. *Loc. cit.*, p. 470, nos. 42, 44. Cf. *Olynthus*, VII, p. 6.

²⁴ See below, p. 373, for the groups.

not have quite the size in proportion to the entire figure which it reached at the end of the fifth century. Group E and the early years of F were marked by the use of very large moulds and by the unusual height of the bases. At the same time, the small figures, characteristic of Group F, sometimes had much smaller bases (as II-b-10, p. 401, Pl. X) and the figurines that appear about the middle of the fourth century, forerunners of the Tanagra period, frequently had none at all, or one formed by turning out edges of wet clay at the bottom (Type II-b-12, p. 401).

In Groups G and H the Tanagra technique of separate moulds for different parts of a figurine came into use. None of the Halae figures, however, was of so complicated a design as to require a great number of moulds.²⁵

The use and purpose of the figurines deserve brief comment, although little can be added here to so conjectural a subject. The actual period of use at Halae was limited, for the necropolis terracottas appeared abruptly after the era of the "Papades" (see Group B, p. 375) and disappeared just as suddenly at the ascendancy of the Tanagra style (see Group I, p. 411). The earlier terracottas usually suggested some religious or apotropaic power by their types or attributes; they more obviously fulfilled the primitive desire, arising from fear of the dead, to placate the deceased by supplying his wants in a life-like and enduring form and by offerings to the proper divinities.²⁶ With the later figurines, almost completely secular in appearance, if not wholly so in intent, the purpose of the grave furniture became less self-explanatory; ultimately, a coin and a few plates and unguentaria sufficed for funeral gifts. The change took place in the early fourth century and expressed itself in a difference in style as well as in subject matter. Probably understanding of the religious idea which had established the custom of terracotta offerings was all but lost, just as the rituals of modern ceremonies and holidays are often meaningless to the participants, and the sepulchral associations alone remained to prompt the donations.

The Halae graves have been assembled, according to the style of their contents, into nine chronological groups, A to I. A tenth unclassified category includes disturbed or partially despoiled graves and such as did not yield sufficient evidence for dating. The internal evidence, as a rule, serves only to establish the relative chronology; absolute dates are usually determined from parallels at other sites. The resulting chronological framework is elastic and its dates are those which seem closest at present. A limited discussion of the pottery—our chief criterion for dating—is given for each group,²⁷ followed by descriptions and discussions of the terracotta types.

²⁵ *British Museum*, p. xxiii.

²⁶ The genre style is absent at Halae until the fourth century and there are none of the delightful archaic genre figurines associated with Boeotia. Cf. G. H. Chase, "Eight Terracottas in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," *Festschrift für James Loeb*, Munich, 1930, p. 51.

²⁷ See notes 2 and 41.

Examples of terracottas found loose in the soil or unstratified are not given unless unusually well preserved or unique. Nondescript fragments, often too small for identification, have been omitted. If more than one example of a type occurs in a grave, the quantity is indicated in the descriptive catalogue in parentheses after the grave number. When a type is found only between two graves, it is so listed but always in the group of the later grave. Disturbed graves are marked by an asterisk and their evidence is used cautiously.

Unless otherwise indicated, the position of figurines is frontal and the seated female figure has her feet on a stool and hands on her knees. Preservation is not mentioned if at least one example of a type is complete or has only small lacunae, or if the best-preserved example is illustrated and clearly indicates the missing parts. Heights are complete unless exception is noted. Color, when preserved, is summarized for each type rather than detailed for each object. All illustrated pieces have references to plates and figures.

For the scheme of the descriptive catalogue, see the Index under "Terracotta Types." The seven major classifications are indicated by Roman numerals and the subdivisions, listed in the order of their chronological appearance, are labelled with lower case letters. A description of each type, entered numerically beneath its proper subdivision, is given in the earliest group in which that type appears. When a type reappears in a later group, its description is referred to. This scheme offers brief and convenient labels for the various types and meets the exigencies of limited space.

In citing comparative material, preference is given to objects from excavations rather than from collections, unless the latter are particularly well preserved or illustrated. Such references are not exhaustive and, for the sake of brevity, attention is usually drawn to illustrations alone with the assumption that the interested reader will follow up the pertinent text.

GROUP A

The earliest group of graves contains no terracottas,²⁸ but its pottery establishes the quarter century of *ca.* 550-525 as a *terminus post quem* for the subsequent groups which do include them. Characteristic of Group A are (Pl. II, top and center): vases with geometric type of decoration, but in later technique and with later elements of

²⁸ The geometric type of animals and the "Pappades" of Rhitsona are rare at Halae and the Boeotian kylikes, classes I and II, do not occur at all. Perhaps the manufacturing center did not export to the town. For the Rhitsona repertory of early terracottas, see *Aryballoi*, pp. 53 ff. Halae examples, except for a few animals, came from the acropolis: *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 422, nos. 1-2; p. 466, nos. 18-19; p. 476, no. 68.

ornament;²⁹ Late Corinthian;³⁰ black-figured kylikes.³¹ At Rhitsona, Graves 49-51 (Ure's Group A), dated shortly after 550 B.C.,³² contain almost all of the types illustrated here.

GROUP B (525-480 B.C.)

The first group to include terracottas, Group B, can be dated with greater assurance than any of the later ones. Present in all the graves of this group are black-figured vases, decorated either in pure black silhouette with incision or in careless black with white detail. The use of accessory red and purple, characteristic of Group A, has disappeared. The shape of the kylix has changed from the high-footed form with slightly offset lip to the one with shallower bowl, lower foot, and more continuous curve, used by the early red-figured painters.³³ The lekythos shapes (Pl. II, bottom—except for left-hand example—and Pl. III, center) have their counterparts in Rhitsona Boeotian-kylix Group B graves³⁴ and are clearly later than those of Rhitsona Group

²⁹ *B.S.A.*, XIV, 1907-1908, p. 267, fig. 13; *Sixth and Fifth*, p. 26, Group III C.

³⁰ *Aryballoi*, pp. 35-36 on flat-bottomed aryballoi (cf. no. 50.253), pp. 22 and 44 for round-bottomed aryballoi (Ure's Group c). *Sixth and Fifth*, pp. 23 ff. for small skyphoi. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 320, 321, and 331 for the aryballoi, p. 310 for the skyphos with offset rim, of which ours seems to be a later example, and p. 334 for the small skyphoi. (The latter form the only class in Halae Group A which survives into later groups.) *Aryballoi*, p. 23 for comments on Payne's chronology.

³¹ Ure, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1915, pp. 117 ff., Types B and C; the latter type runs into Rhitsona Group B.

³² For the catalogue of the graves, cf. *B.S.A.*, XIV, 1907-1908, pp. 250 ff. For their chronology, *ibid.*, pp. 305 ff.

³³ Ure, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1915, pp. 124 ff., Type E, found in Rhitsona Group B (Rhitsona Group B begins ca. 530); compare especially fig. 19 on p. 126 with the kylix in the center of our Pl. III, top. The Type C kylix continues into both Rhitsona and Halae Groups B—cf. *ibid.*, p. 120 and our Pl. III, top, and note 31.

³⁴ *B.S.A.*, XIV, 1907-1908, pl. XI; *Sixth and Fifth*, pls. XIV ff.; *J.H.S.*, XXIX, 1909, pls. XXIII-XXIV; see *Sixth*, pp. 39 and 42 ff., lekythoi of Classes D ff. which come from Rhitsona Group B graves.

For some Rhodian grave groups of this period containing lekythoi similar in shape to those illustrated from Halae, see *Clara Rhodos*, IV, figs. 122, 177, 234, 256, 287, 323, 429. Also, *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, pp. 161-162, figs. 672-674. In several of these instances Group B terracotta types accompany the lekythoi.

Closest to the lekythos in the background of our Pl. III, center (the earliest of the Halae Group B lekythoi illustrated), is Miss Haspels' *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi*, pl. 15, 4 and p. 47 by the Acheloös Painter, early in the period of the Leagros Group. The latest of the figured lekythoi is second from the left on our Pl. II, bottom, and is to be dated around 490 B.C.—compare Haspels' pls. 31, 4, and 33, 1 by the Marathon and Sappho Painters respectively. The palmette lekythos to the right of Pl. II, bottom, belongs ca. 480—cf. Haspels' pls. 41-42 by the Haimon and Theseus Painters and the Pholos Group; pls. 53-54 by the Beldam Painter are too late.

A.³⁵ The lekythoi of Grave 15 (Pl. III, top) are a type found in the Soros at Marathon,³⁶ and the profiles of the skyphoi of Pl. III, top and bottom, are paralleled both in Rhitsona Grave 26 of Group B and in the Soros.³⁷ The deep-bodied kantharos with small strap handles in Grave 15 harks back to Group A, though it has points in common with Rhitsona Group B.³⁸ The high-stemmed example, on the other hand, looks forward to later developments.³⁹ The olpe of Pl. III, center, has late sixth-century counterparts.⁴⁰ There are in Halae Group B none of the Corinthian aryballoi which linger into Rhitsona B, probably because Halae lay outside the direct trade route with Corinth which supplied them. The little skyphoi do continue, but they are worthless for dating. According to the pottery, the range of Group B is from about 525 to 480 B.C.⁴¹

Of Group B graves containing terracottas, twelve are undisturbed.⁴² Three others, robbed in modern times or disturbed in antiquity, have contents so consistent with those of the undisturbed graves that they have been placed with them.⁴³ The graves form a homogeneous whole and do not fall into earlier and later subdivisions, although the small shepherd, Type V-a-1, p. 381, Pl. XXI, seems among the more advanced terracottas of the group and may indicate that Grave 195 is slightly later than the rest.

The form of the seated female figure, whose protracted and monotonous career is terminated by the secularized Tanagra figures, is already well established in Group B.⁴⁴ Since it was apparently religious conservatism which restricted the development of the type, these figures undoubtedly represent goddesses, priestesses, or the heroized dead; some of them wear the polos, but none has identifying attributes.⁴⁵ The hieratic

³⁵ Compare with *Sixth and Fifth*, pl. XIII, from Graves 49-51 and 110. Similar lekythoi appear in Rhodian graves with other vases associated with Rhitsona Group A—cf. *Clara Rhodos*, IV, figs. 48, 56, 61.

³⁶ *C.V.A.*, Athens, fasc. 1, III H h, pl. 10, 3. Cf. *Sixth and Fifth*, p. 54, Class 02, and *Clara Rhodos*, IV, figs. 101, 159, 370.

The same decorative pattern occurs on Ure's Type C kylikes; Ure, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1915, p. 120, figs. 10 and 11; see note 33. *Clara Rhodos*, III, fig. 233; IV, figs. 45, 234; VIII, figs. 81, 83, 123.

³⁷ *Black Glaze*, pl. IX, 26.198. *C.V.A.*, Athens, fasc. 1, III H h, pl. 13, 3.

³⁸ *Sixth*, pl. XI, 133.27, 121.23, 80.108; *Black Glaze*, pl. II, 31.253, 31.243.

³⁹ *Black Glaze*, p. 36 and pl. IX, 76.8; *Sixth and Fifth*, p. 36, Class A.

⁴⁰ *Clara Rhodos*, III, fig. 233, is a close parallel both in shape and in accessory decoration. See also *loc. cit.*, IV, figs. 213, 319, 429; also, figs. 234, 256, 287, and 323 which occur with lekythoi similar in shape to those of our Group B.

⁴¹ A detailed discussion of the vase chronology as a whole has been undertaken by Mrs. Kosmopoulos and must, of course, await her publication. Here Ure's chronology rather than Miss Haspels' somewhat later dating of Rhitsona Group B is followed. See Haspels, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-110, and Ure's reply in a review of her book in *J.H.S.*, LVII, 1937, pp. 263 ff.

⁴² 17, 25, 108, 113, 120, 195, 198, 199, 203, 207, 208, 269a.

⁴³ 123, 128, 270.

⁴⁴ The best of the archaic series comes from the acropolis: *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 468, fig. 160, 2.

⁴⁵ For the types of figures which wear polos, as many of the female figurines do, cf. V. Müller, *Der Polos*, Berlin, 1915, pp. 56 ff.; according to pp. 81-82 we may eliminate the possibility of purely

position imposed from the beginning is maintained throughout the series and only slight changes in features and clothing indicate the progress of time. The types of the seated figure found in Group B rarely occur outside this group, though some examples survive in later context (as in 'Αρχ. Δελτ., III, 1917, p. 217, fig. 155, 6) or turn up in the earth outside later graves; this segregation is particularly helpful in dating such compact, block-like figures which depended more on perishable paint than modelling for stylistic details. Where discernible, veils and Ionic chitons are the costumes worn, arranged in conventionalized, slightly indicated folds. The stephane is the more frequent headdress.

All but one of the standing female figures in Group B represent a woman in frontal position on a low plinth, holding a bird, flower or other object (not clearly represented) to her breast with one hand while the other hangs at the side or holds the drapery. The exception is Type II-b-1 on p. 379, Pl. X, the earliest figure in motion found at Halae. The pose is the familiar one of archaic Greek art, but where the sculptured figure often extends the attribute, the terracotta one, because of technical limitations, hugs it to her breast. Again, the identity of the figures is uncertain. There is a suggested thread of divinity running through the pre-Tanagraic series of standing female figures and, largely through the attributes which the seated figures lack, a fairly credible case might be made for Aphrodite. Her associations with life, death, and the lower world would make her images suitable grave offerings.⁴⁶ The terracotta apples, doves, pigs, and tortoises, although probably symbolic in themselves, can be related to her. The polos which these figurines often wear would be appropriate for an oriental deity such as Aphrodite was in origin.

The standing figures are as hieratic in Group B as the seated ones, although later examples make a successful break with tradition in the direction of greater freedom and variety. The first types are as much a part of archaic repertory as the seated figures and their occurrence is almost as sharply confined to Group B graves. Stylistically they all belong before the severe red-figured style and most are in the spirit of the early red-figured vase painters who were still under Ionic influence.

The problem of identity comes up again with the female masks which, as their find spots at various sites indicate, were used for both funerary and non-funerary purposes. In the early examples, attributes are usually not given and identification depends upon the contexts in which the masks were found. Those from the acropolis of Halae came from a sanctuary of Athena; a set of unpublished masks similar to Type IV-a-5 on p. 380 were found at the shrine of Hera at Delos, each inscribed with

genre representations (compare 'Αρχ. Δελτ., III, 1917, p. 214). See Müller's pp. 78 and 79 on terracottas. *Jahrbuch*, XXVIII, 1913, pp. 321, 334-335, figs. 4 and 10; Rodenwaldt regards the poloi in these Thespian grave reliefs as local features.

⁴⁶ See Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, II, Chapters XXI and XXII on Aphrodite and especially pp. 649 ff.

a dedication to the goddess; a mask recalling the later Type IV-a-20 on p. 404 was found among offerings to Aphrodite in Arcadia.⁴⁷ The early masks, which apparently could be used for whatever goddess desired, included, at most, the head and but part of the breast. It was evidently the desire to indicate the deity more specifically that led, in the late fifth century, to the extension of the mask to include the arms which held the pertinent attributes. Thus, some of the later masks from the Halae necropolis held fruits (Type IV-a-17 on p. 397, Pl. XVIII) or possibly eggs (Type IV-a-18 on p. 397, Pl. XVI) and probably represent Demeter or were dedicated to her.

From the artistic point of view, the early masks are perhaps the finest of the archaic terracotta types and, because of their size, are moulded more in the spirit of sculpture. Some of the Group B examples recall the Acropolis maidens of the late sixth and early fifth century. Early masks indicate details plastically, where the later ones rely on paint, and the outline either follows closely the contour of head and shoulders or has straight sides and rounded top. All have archaic faces with high-set ears, high cheek bones, and almond-shaped or protruding eyes; all wear veils and stephanai, and the majority have earrings and carefully waved hair. The stylistic unity of the Group B masks is consistent with the fact that their appearance is limited to B graves or to unclassified graves which may be contemporary.

Figures of youths are not common until later times; III-a-1 (p. 380) belongs to this group and III-f-1 (p. 412), though from an unclassified grave, is contemporary in style; both are the only examples of their particular types. The little shepherd and the siren (p. 381), likewise clearly archaic, are also the only ones from the necropolis. Animals appear throughout the series, but they are most numerous in Group B. Birds and pigs, as comparison with other sites show, are especially popular in late archaic times. All the rattles and, with one exception, all the fruits are associated with Group B or with unclassified graves. These, too, are common funeral furniture of the period. The rattles may be toys, but because they were found in both adults' and childrens' graves at Halae and Rhitsona, they probably have an apotropaic or magical purpose.

I. SEATED FEMALE FIGURE

a. WITH POLOS.

1. Height, 0.142 m. (illustrated), 0.139 m. Graves 120 (two); 195. (Pl. VI.)

In armless chair with high ornamental back; chiton, high polos, veil, shoes; hair falling in four strands over breasts. White with following details in red: back and front of chair, feet, necklace, earrings, dotted cross ornament at

elbow in front, thin band on chiton above feet, two thin parallel bands half-way between knees and feet.

The earliest of the seated types and one of the few figurines which may have come from outside the region of Locris and Boeotia. Cf. *British Museum*, B170-175, from Rhodes, which are called chthonic goddesses. The high, cylindrical headdress is particularly popular in Rhodian terracottas.

⁴⁷ *Eφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1903, pp. 169-172, fig. 5, no. 6; excavations at Mt. Kotilos near Bassae.

b. WITH VEIL.

1. Height, 0.079 m. Graves 113; 269*.

Slight surface modelling; no plastic indication of headdress, eyes or costume, but probably wearing veil.

Cf. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 473, fig. 171.

c. WITH STEPHANE AND VEIL.

1. Height, 0.142 m. Grave 128*. (Pl. VI.)

High-backed, armless chair; moderately high stephane, veil, close-fitting chiton. Front of stephane, back and front of chair, broad band at neck of chiton, red.

2. Height, 0.131 m. Grave 198.

Armless chair, no indication of back; veil to knees, tight chiton; hair in roll over forehead; low stephane; hands and arms not indicated. In general, like I-b-1.

3. Height, 0.111 m. and 0.119 m. Graves 207; 208. Head and shoulders, possibly of same type, from Grave 269*. (Pl. VI.)

Armless, low-backed chair; veil falling over low stephane to feet in two points; modelling more detailed than in most figures of this type. Red chiton.

Danish National Museum, no. 159. *Lindos*, I, pl. 100, no. 2191-2.

4. Height, 0.115 m. Missing; back, part of front, left upper arm, lower left side. Grave 128*.

Veil falling to knees, plastically indicated; stephane small, curved. Following red details on white: lips, thin band at base of stephane, necklace, shoes, three dots down front of chiton, back of chair.

5. Height, 0.129 m. Graves 128*, 269*; outside Grave 121; between Graves 136 and 137. Head from Grave 269* which may belong to this type. (Pl. VI.)

High stephane, simple veil falling to feet, chiton without folds; back of chair not indicated. Chiton red.

Clara Rhodos, VIII, fig. 182 on p. 191 (see also fig. 179) similar. *Danish National Museum*, no. 180.

6. Height, 0.074 m. Graves 128*, 203 (two), 269*. Outside Grave 53.

Stephane very low; slight plastic indication of hands. Chiton, outline of chair, red.

d. HYDROPHOROS.

1. Height, 0.105 m., 0.103 m. Grave 203 (three). (Pl. XV.)

Low armchair, back not indicated; high headdress as on I-a-1 surmounted by hydria; almost no surface modelling. Band of red down front of chiton.

II. STANDING FEMALE FIGURE**a. WITH POLOS.**

1. Height, 0.23 m., 0.29 m. Grave 203 (four). Fragments from Graves 71, 208; outside Graves 51 (two), 53, 88*. Fragments possibly of this type from Grave 221* (two); outside Graves 88*, 110*. (Pl. VII.)

Feet close together; left arm hanging at side, right hand holding uncertain object to breast; chiton with kolpos; himation falling in broad folds from shoulders; polos of medium height; hair long. Surface treatment very flat. White; red lips, drapery; series of red dots forming necklace, polos red or decorated with red band; eyes outlined in black; black (?) on hair.

See *Clara Rhodos*, VIII, fig. 154, p. 166, for slightly earlier version.

b. WITH STEPHANE AND VEIL.

1. Height, 0.134 m. Grave 108 (two). (Pl. X.)

Facing front, both feet turned to left and knees bent as if in rapid motion; Ionic chiton tight-fitting except for folds held in left hand over left leg and loose end below right elbow; right hand holds uncertain object below right breast; veil falls back of head from beneath rather high stephane; hair parted and waved. Traces of white; red on object in hand.

See *Typen*, I, p. 57, 5, from Halae; p. 57, 4, is a variant from Corinth. The combination of a figure holding an offering or attribute and hastening away is difficult to explain. If it represents the departed making her way to Hades and the shores of the Acheron, it is, apparently, unique among terracottas. It must always be remembered, however, that such variants may be inspired by the whim or ex-

peridental phantasy of the koroplast without foundation either in religion or mythology.

2. Height, 0.138 m. Grave 128*. (Pl. X.)

Left leg slightly advanced; bird held to breast with right hand; veil falling to shoulders over stephane; hair parted in middle, two strands falling over breast; chiton thin and clinging, cut round at neck; himation to feet. White; necklace, neckline of chiton, right sleeve, and bird, red.

3. Height, 0.159 m. Grave 208 (two). (Pl. X.)

Left foot slightly advanced; low stephane, veil; folds of himation visible beside right knee and in left hand; right hand holds bird to breast; sleeve of chiton indicated below right elbow; hem of chiton low. Stephane, lips, outline of chiton at neck, all of himation, red; flesh white.

4. Height, 0.167 m. Feet and base missing. Grave 195.

Left leg slightly advanced; tight-fitting chiton; himation falling diagonally from left shoulder and passing below right breast; left arm by side, hand grasping end of drapery; right hand holds flower (?) to right breast; hair brought back in tight roll from forehead; high stephane, veil falling to shoulders. Traces of white slip.

c. MISCELLANEOUS (see comment on II-c-15, p. 408, from outside grave 128).

1. Height, with piece of base missing, 0.166 m. Grave 269* (two) and between Graves 269* and 270*.

Left foot advanced; left hand at side grasps corner of garment; right holds uncertain object to breast; veil, tight-fitting chiton, himation falling in diagonal folds from right shoulder and below left breast. White; red on top of veil and back of head.

III. YOUTHS (see also III-b-8, p. 403; III-c-1, p. 389; III-f-1, p. 412)

a. WITH CLOAK.

1. Height, 0.106 m. Outside Grave 269a.

Long-haired youth in attitude of typical kouros; left foot slightly advanced; front of figure nude; chlamys hanging from shoulders over back; arms hanging at side, right hand

holding flat object, possibly bowl; left hand grasping corner of drapery. Flesh pink; eye white.

IV. MASKS

a. FEMALE.

1. Height, 0.084 m. Upper part preserved to bridge of nose, veil on right to level of chin. Grave 270*.

Offset stephane, ridge at base; hair parted and waved; head sunk on breast.

2. Height, 0.08 m. Grave 25 (three); 272*. (Pl. III, bottom.)

Low stephane; hair in single row of rippling waves; neck of chiton rounded and set off by groove; ears large, small round earrings; eyes almond-shaped plastic blobs; archaic smile; breasts not indicated; bottom of mask rounded. White.

Aryballoi, p. 70, 46. 159; cf. *J.H.S.*, XXIX, 1909, p. 327 and fig. 12. *Clara Rhodos*, IV, fig. 141. Butler, *Sardis*, I, fig. 124. *Danish National Museum*, no. 162.

3. Height, 0.10 m. Graves 195, 208. Part of mask which may belong to this type from between Graves 136 and 137; traces of white slip; pink on earring.

Low, sharply offset round stephane; hair parted in middle and worn in large knobs on either side of forehead; round earrings; edge of veil and of chiton plastically indicated; breasts indicated; surface modelling very slight.

4. Height, 0.125 m. Grave 120. Portion of this type or of IV-a-5 from Grave 271. (Pl. XVI.)

Mass of hair falling at either side of face from low round, offset stephane; hair arranged on either side of center part in three spiral curls, braided knobs over ears; face carefully modelled; eyes and eyebrows plastically indicated; eyes protruding; nose large; round earrings; breasts not indicated; mask rounded at bottom.

5. Height, with lower edge missing, 0.08 m. Grave 272* and between Graves 136 and 137. Portion of this type or of IV-a-4 from Grave 271.

Same type as IV-a-4 (so placed here, though from unclassified graves), but modelling less

distinct, face rounded, cheek bones less high. Traces of red on lips.

For example from acropolis, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 462, no. 2. *Aryballoi*, p. 70: 15. 1 (pl. XVIII): 26. 241 (*B.S.A.*, XIV, 1907-1908, pl. XII, g); 80. 271; 131. 16. *Clara Rhodos*, IV, fig. 323.

6. Height, 0.098 m. No complete example. Graves 108, 269* (seven), 272; between Graves 136 and 137. Fragment of this type (?) from Grave 269*. Piece of same type, but with differently shaped earring from Grave 269a. (Pl. XVI, much restored.)

Veil plastically set off from neck; edge of chiton on breast marked by double fold; stephane, worn over veil, set forward at slight angle; round earring; hair parted, worn in scallops over forehead and wound in knobs of crinkled strands at side of head. Red on lips and earrings.

Cf. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 464, no. 4.

7. Height, 0.128 m. Grave 203 (two).

Veil over low, upright stephane, falls in straight line over shoulders; eyes protruding; round earring; hair not modelled; breasts not indicated.

Cf. *Aryballoi*, pl. XVIII, 18. 265, and p. 70.

V. MISCELLANEOUS FIGURES

a. SHEPHERD.

1. Height, 0.117 m. Grave 195. (Pl. XXI.)

Small bearded figure; left leg slightly advanced; pilos, scant knee-length cloak held together at throat with right hand; hair scarcely indicated, may be long; ram (?) apparently held by forepaw in left arm. Completely covered with red.

One is reminded of the charming bronze folk types of Arcadia. See Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, pl. XXIX, b. Not usual way of holding animal: *Typen*, I, p. 99, 4; p. 180; *British Museum*, A 146, pl. II. See Frazer's *Pausanias*, V, pp. 87 ff.

b. SIREN.

1. Height, 0.085 m. Many fragments; face mutilated. Grave 198.

Body in profile, head full-face; feet stumpy; wings tightly folded; neck set off plastically

from body; stephane; veil falling at side of neck. Back and wings white; base of neck and belly red; two red stripes on tail.

For example from acropolis, see *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 475, fig. 186, 1. *Typen*, p. 227, 4 b, from Halae. *Clara Rhodos*, IV, fig. 320; also, not so close, III, fig. 117.

VI. ANIMALS

a. BIRDS.

1. Height of example without legs and part of lower body, 0.128 m.; length, 0.157 m. Graves 264*, 269a.

Large rooster; modelling fair but summary; angle of tail and carriage of head suggest walking. White; yellow tail feathers; broad red band on either side of body between tail and wattles, under beak and neck.

2. Height, 0.059 m. Length, 0.078 m. Graves 108 and 195.

Bird, geometrized; neck long and upright; legs short; wings spread; no indication of details.

Height, without head, 0.036 m.; length, 0.046 m. Above Grave 269a.

Same, but proportion of wings to body smaller and wings not set quite so much at right angles to body. Traces of thin white.

3. (a) 0.061 m. high and 0.105 m. long; (b) 0.049 m. high and 0.085 m. long. Graves 17, 74, 79, 128*; outside Grave 262 (two) (Pl. III, center).

Dove; supported by two short legs and belly; wings tightly folded to oval-shaped body; tail indicated by slight downward angle; head small; beak pointed and slightly curved; no surface modelling. White; red feet, beak, tail fan; traces of red bands across back.

Common type of archaic dove, cf. *Aryballoi*, p. 71 and pl. XVII, 18. 260; *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 162, dated in the last part of the sixth century; *Clara Rhodos*, III, fig. 117; IV, figs. 89, 110, 159, 204, 319, 370; VIII, fig. 154. *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 35, nos. 346-8.

4. (a) Height, 0.058 m. (b) Height, 0.072 m.; length, 0.099 m. Graves 48, 157, 207; outside Grave 244; between Graves 136 and 137.

Bird with folded wings, very short legs.

short, pointed beak, erect head, broad ridge down middle of back, and slightly spreading tail fan. White; red beak, eyes, stripe at base of tail and across middle of body.

b. QUADRUPEDS.

1. Height, 0.053 m. Length, 0.07 m. Grave 208.

Goat; geometric style, pinched head. Ears and nose red.

2. Height, 0.069 m. Length, 0.098 m. Grave 208.

Horse, geometric style; tail at right angles to body. Rider with pointed features and high cap sitting on neck of horse; legs bent at knees and drawn up. Body of horse and cap of rider white; rest of rider red, legs painted onto horse; reins, bit of mane and line of base of tail red.

Aryballoi, p. XVII, 112.77 and *Clara Rhodos*, IV, fig. 329, fairly similar.

3. Examples incomplete. Grave 269a (two).

Recumbent lion, head turned full-face, resting on paws; fine, realistic work. Mane and whole of back red.

4. Height, 0.065 m.-0.068 m. Length, 0.101 m.-0.104 m. Grave 108 (four).

Pig; razor-back; protruding ears; pointed snout. White.

Common and wide-spread type. *Clara Rhodos*, IV, figs. 108, 110, 319; *Aryballoi*, pl. XVII, 36.21; *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 162, nos. 283-4, fig. 676, from late sixth-century tomb; *Arch. Anz.*, XVII, 1912, p. 354, fig. 41 from Olbia; *Eutresis*, p. 247, fig. 307, 4.

Height, 0.037 m.-0.057 m. Length, 0.073 m.-0.096 m. Graves 189, 196; outside Grave 269a.

Same type, but snout blunter and more upturned.

Olynthus, IV, pl. 35, no. 351.

5. Height, 0.052 m. Length, 0.086 m. Grave 195.

Pig; legs very short in proportion to length of body; snout curved downward.

VII. INANIMATE OBJECTS

a. FRUIT.

1. Height varies from 0.047 m. to 0.068 m. Graves 113, 271*, 274*, 268*; between

Graves 272* and 274* (three), between 136 and 137.

Apples. One has traces of white slip, two of grayish, one of grayish white; one with red and grayish color.

Aryballoi, pl. XVII, 18.264 (*B.S.A.*, XIV, 1907-1908, p. 295). *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 34, nos. 343-344.

2. Graves 17, 128* (two), 269*, 271* (two). (Pl. III, center, pile of fragments.)

Fruit of uncertain type. One piece from Grave 271* may be pomegranate.

Clara Rhodos, IV, fig. 110; *Sixth and Fifth*, p. 90, from Grave 112.

b. RATTLES.

1. Height, 0.125 m., 0.135 m. Graves 120, 128* (four), 198, 270*, 274* (two); between Graves 269* and 272*, 272* and 274* (four).

Pear-shaped, long handle pierced at top for string. One contains small pebble or bead. Alternating red and black petals radiating from bottom, on white ground.

B.S.A., XIV, 1907-1908, pl. XII c and p. 280, from Rhitsona, Grave 31; *Aryballoi*, p. 72, from graves 15 and 133. *Clara Rhodos*, IV, figs. 137 and 290. *Arch. Anz.*, XVII, 1912, p. 354, fig. 41, grave from Olbia. For earlier examples than Halae, see Harrison, *Themis*, pp. 77 ff., fig. 10; Skias, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1898, pp. 111 f., Eleusis graves.

2. Height, 0.07 m. Graves 123*, 198. Possible example from Grave 128*.

Egg-shaped, handleless. Probably wooden handle attached. Alternating black and red petals at either end on white ground.

Arch. Anz., XVII, 1912, p. 354, fig. 41, from Olbia.

3. Height of example in many fragments, 0.0625 m. Grave 17; 128* (two). (Pl. III, center, large fragment.)

Two shallow hemispheres joined together; groove at join. One white; two white and red.

4. Preserved height, 0.078 m. Grave 128*.

Uncertain type. Broken at original joint of stem and body.

c. STOOL.

1. Height, 0.025 m. Outside Grave 269a.

Low, four-legged stool with top woven in strands, crossing diagonally. White; red diago-

nal crosshatching on seat; legs end in red knobs on top.

Clara Rhodos, IV, fig. 85. See Riezler, *Weissgrundige attische Lekythen*, pl. 25 and text; Riezler believes the stool shown on the lekythos to be a simple grave gift.

GROUP C (480-450 B.C.)

Only six graves belong to this group and, consequently, but few terracottas.⁴⁸ The almost complete absence of Attic red-figured ware at Halae, as at many other non-Attic sites, makes it difficult to establish an accurate chronology from ceramic evidence.⁴⁹ The careless black-figured lekythoi, so common in Group B, have entirely disappeared.⁵⁰ The flat, black-figured kylix with small upright rim, decorated with poorly executed palmettes or ivy-leaf design and, occasionally, with the figure of a satyr in the central medallion, becomes one of the most characteristic shapes.⁵¹ The skyphos is common both in the rather heavy, deep-bowled type with convex outline⁵² and the squat type with up-curving handles. The development of the skyphos is toward greater lightness in shape and material; the handles grow larger and stand out at right angles to the body and the lower wall of the first type becomes concave. Only the heavier, early forms are present in Group C and antedate the types found in the Polyandron of Thespieae (424 B.C.). There is one example of stamped ware which becomes increasingly popular after the middle of the century.⁵³ Considering the vase types and the compactness of the group, the range of Group C appears to be *ca.* 480-450 B.C.

Most of the Group C terracottas are female masks. At this period the straight-

⁴⁸ Undisturbed: 14 (Pl. V, *top*), 97, 189. Disturbed: 10. The contents of 223 and 224 were scattered between the two graves.

⁴⁹ For the few pieces of Attic red-figure from the acropolis see *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 456 and p. 483. Cf. *Black Glaze*, pp. 37-38.

⁵⁰ This agrees with Rhitsona—see *Sixth and Fifth*, p. 39. The figured style in Attica died out with the Beldam Painter, Haspels, *op. cit.*, p. 190, a bit later. White ground lekythoi do continue. The shape of the example on the left of Pl. II, bottom, is comparable to *ibid.*, pls. 50, 53, 54 by the Beldam Painter, the second quarter of the fifth century.

⁵¹ *Black Glaze*, p. 24, notes that pl. XI, 57. 4, which is stylistically later than the Halae kylix, is similar to the type found in the Polyandron at Thespieae (424 B.C.). See *Sixth and Fifth*, pls. XXIV and XXV for other examples belonging in the second half of the fifth century. *Black Glaze*, pl. X, 52. 14 and 16 (first half of the fifth century) are closer to the Halae kylix in the sturdier, less elaborate handle, though the palmette pattern is much more carelessly executed.

⁵² Compare the skyphoi of Pl. V, *top*, with *Black Glaze*, pl. X, 52. 5 and 6 from Rhitsona Grave 52 (first half of the fifth century).

⁵³ Talcott, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 481. *Black Glaze*, pp. 33 ff.

sided form of Group B is gone and an outline with sloping sides takes its place. The masks are often longer and include the breasts; the faces, longer and narrower, lose the bright, archaic look and the features take on the heavy, rather sombre expression of the transitional period. The surfaces are treated in broad, simple masses in keeping with contemporary artistic tendencies. The one example of the standing female figure comes from outside its grave and possibly does not belong with this group; others of the type occur later. A pig completes the limited repertory.

II. STANDING FEMALE FIGURE

a. WITH POLOS.

2. Height, 0.337 m. Grave 115*, 231*; outside Grave 11, 51 (two), 87 (two), 97, 129*, 236*; above Grave 231* (five). Parts probably from same type, from Grave 9*, 231*, 268*; outside Grave 87 (four), 53*; above Grave 104*. One from outside Grave 53 may belong to this or to II-a-3 in Group D. (Pl. VII.)

Weight on left leg, right advanced; both arms hanging at side, right hand grasping end of peplos; peplos with overfold falling to waist; neck long; hair drawn back from forehead in loose strands and surmounted by high polos. Traces of white slip. Band of red about middle and top of base. (Example from Grave 104* has red overfold with broad light blue border.)

See *Aryballoi*, p. xx, 138. 8, and p. 73 (440-430 B.C.); similar example from Polyandron of Thespieae; *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 19, no. 158 with stephane; *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, III, 1917, p. 213, nos. 13-14 (cf. also nos. 9-12) from Grave 5 (see *infra*, note 66, p. 391) with the more elaborate headdress of Halae Groups E and F. *Danish National Museum*, no. 286, with more elaborate headdress, and no. 336; *Der strenge Stil*, p. 72 and figs. 46, 47; *Typen*, I, p. 65, 1. The one example in Group C comes from outside its grave and, as the style is that of later types, it may not belong here.

IV. MASKS

a. FEMALE.

8. Height of example on Pl. XVI, 0.14 m. Grave 14 (three), 16, 97 (two); outside Grave 10*. Two uncertain examples from Graves 272* and 274*. (Pl. V, top center, Pl. XVI.)

Veil, over low round stephane, falls on either side of head; hair parted and arranged in three parallel waves; face long and oval; eyes almond-shaped and protruding; mouth heavy and drooping; breasts slightly indicated. White; lips red; chiton yellow, usually decorated with three vertical red stripes; black, red, or pink bands along edges of veil.

Typen, I, p. 243, 8b, from Halae.

9. Height, 0.198 m. Outside Grave 10*; between Graves 223* and 224*. (Pl. XVI.)

Veil over low, round stephane; hair puffed out and arranged in radiating strands; eyes almond-shaped and protruding; lips heavy; breasts slightly indicated. Traces of white.

10. Height, 0.072 m., 0.085 m. Graves 14, 272* (Pls. V, top left, and XVI.)

Low, upright stephane under veil; hair parted and waved; features small and modelling insignificant. White; lips, band on stephane and inner edge of veil red; eyes outlined in black; necklace of at least two pink strands.

Cf. *Danish National Museum*, no. 120, somewhat earlier in style, and no. 160.

11. Height, 0.15 m. Grave 14. (Pl. V, top right.)

Stephane low and sharply offset; eyes slightly protruding; nose delicate; chin resting on breast; veil falling over shoulder; breasts indicated. White; red on stephane and veil; chiton red; horizontal red band at lower edge.

VI. ANIMALS

b. QUADRUPEDS.

4. See Group B.

GROUP D (450-420 B.C.)

Group D extends from *ca.* 450 to *ca.* 420 and its end is determined more by the innovations of Group E than by the internal evidence of D itself. It shows only a slight stylistic development beyond C and is not marked by such sharp changes of terracotta and vase forms as occurred between B and C.⁵⁴ The skyphoi approach the forms found in the Polyandron of Thespieae. The foot of the high-stemmed kantharos becomes higher and decoration of vines and laurel leaves is added to the rim in red and white paint.⁵⁵ Footless kantharoi are characteristic of both Groups C and D.⁵⁶ Stamped ware occurs frequently in this group and is carefully decorated with ovolo pattern, palmettes and rosettes. The sketchy black-figured kylikes continue and white ground lekythoi with vegetable ornament, which were made throughout Groups B and C, still appear, but with stiff and stylized decoration. The unglazed jug, most common form of grave equipment, begins to have a sharper shoulder line and more tapering body; in Groups B and C the profile remained almost spherical. The small, squat lekythos, plentiful in Group E, appears once.

Though they have not shifted position since their floruit in Group B, the seated female figures show some stylistic change, slight because so often barely indicated and therefore better expressed in the standing figures. There is no overlapping of the seated types of Groups B and D. This sharp division from the earlier group is almost as true of the standing female (see comment on II-a-2, p. 384) in which the advance in style, emphasized by the interval of Group C, is very pronounced. The old frontal pose is kept in the standing terracottas, but the archaic one-hand-to-the-breast attitude is disappearing. The height of the base increases. The principle of shifted weight is coming into use, though the tendency is still to advance a straight leg, and is given in the same hesitant manner as in the Olympia sculptures. The costume of both seated and standing figures is often the sleeveless Doric peplos which, in the closed form, has fewer folds and lends itself particularly well to a simpler, broader treatment of the drapery. But the sleeved Ionic dress of Group B is not yet outmoded. The severe, oval face resembles that of the Group C type of mask. The large headdress of Group E is forecast by II-A-4 on p. 388. Poulsen's first and second types of the severe style

⁵⁴ Undisturbed: 11, 16 (Pl. IV; *A.J.A.*, XIX, 1915, p. 427), 55, 71, 74, 157, 188, 193, 196, 200, 210. Disturbed: 273. Grave 16, judging by its terracottas, is probably the earliest of the group; 55, 74, 157, and 193 are to be placed toward the end of the group; the terracottas of 55, 157, and 193 show a reaction to the severity of Group C and much of Group D; the lateness of Grave 74 is attested by a small, squat lekythos of the type commonly found in Group E.

⁵⁵ Compare the kantharoi of Grave 16 on Pl. IV with *Sixth and Fifth*, pl. X, 123, 2 and 7 (p. 81 notes that Rhitsona Grave 123 and the Thespian Polyandron have similar contents); Class B which came in fashion about 440, *ibid.*, p. 36.

⁵⁶ *Sixth and Fifth*, pl. X, 139. 36; compare with earlier example in *Black Glaze*, pl. VIII, 18. 235; cf. *ibid.*, p. 12. See *Sixth and Fifth*, p. 36, on Class B kantharoi which are similar in profile.

are equivalent to the standing figures of Group D, though the second also overlaps our Group E; he points out that the Boeotian terracottas at this time are derived from the Attic and are several years later than their prototypes.⁵⁷ Simultaneous with this borrowed style is an independent local development which produces such types as II-a-6 (p. 388, Pl. XI)⁵⁸ and which flourishes in later groups.

The uncertainty in identifying these figures still persists; some have no attributes whatever, others have accessories which cannot be specifically assigned. II-a-6, for example, has a peculiar type of polos, suggestive of Egyptian headdresses, which is occasionally seen on Boeotian terracottas and may have some local cult significance.

The first examples of the youth with cock, so popular in the Boeotian repertory, belong here.⁵⁹ The form is established from the beginning; the stance is the same (with one exception where the weight is on both feet), all have the cloak over the shoulders and arms, and all have long hair. As the drapery is often too blurred to show the change in treatment, the headdress offers the one conspicuous variation. In this group there is a braid knotted over the forehead or a polos; later there is an elaborate and large coiffure which is the counterpart of the headdresses on contemporary standing females. There is some perceptible change in the modelling, for the early examples show a greater firmness, articulation, and clarity of detail; the clavicle and breast muscles, the folds of drapery and the facial features are more carefully indicated; the face is a longer oval than in later figures. The cock may be the fighting bird of the young athlete or the offering to an underworld deity. The elaborate headdresses, the long hair of the fourth century examples at a time when Apollo and Eros rather than athletes wore long hair, the general conventionality and unity of the figures, and their similarity to subjects on grave stelai suggest that these terracottas represent the heroized dead.

The fleshy youth seated on the ground is not prominent in the Halae collection, though this and similar types occur at many sites. There is little to commend it, for it has neither technical nor aesthetic merit. Again, the religious rather than genre interpretation seems appropriate. In Cyprus he is called a "Temple Boy"; in Egypt the seated position is used for scribes with bald or shaven heads and incorporated in late representations of Harpocrates.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ *Der strenge Stil*, pp. 71-72. The Halae evidence bears out his chronology. Throughout his text on Boeotia, Poulsen cites examples from Halae which he saw in the Thebes museum. These are correlated here in the descriptive catalogues wherever possible.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁵⁹ *Typen*, I, pp. 182-184 gives the general type; almost all the examples come from Boeotia. The subject was popular in the Kabeirion, cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, XV, 1890, p. 360. *Der strenge Stil*, pp. 77-79.

⁶⁰ Käthe Bosse, *Die menschliche Figur in der Rundplastik der ägyptischen Spätzeit*, pl. II, nos. 33, 39, of the 25th and 26th dynasties: for earlier examples, see p. 23. The close-cropped heads of Type III-c-1 and numerous counterparts are unusual for Greek art (particularly for such obviously youthful figures) and strengthen the Egyptian connection. For Harpocrates, cf. Kaufmann, *Graeco-ägyptische Koroplastik*, pl. 19. See comments on III-c-1, p. 389.

Group D is the last important period for the female protome. Although many examples are continuations of the Group C style, there are also new types which now extend below the breasts in order to include the arms, and to place the attributes of Demeter or an associated underworld goddess in the hands. The limitations of the mask require an archaic posture, but the inclusion of the upper body adds the treatment of drapery to the criteria which indicate a later period. The dress is a peplos with short overfold; the position of the arms gives the sleeve-holes a kimona-like appearance as in some of the seated figures (cf. I-a-4 on p. 394, Pl. VI). The larger scale of these masks anticipates the fondness of Group E for big terracottas. Coiffures become larger and more elaborate. The head is slightly turned or inclined and the silhouette is made less rigid; by these variations life is infused into the mask without sacrificing the dignity which characterizes the earlier examples.

Silenus, Pan (?), and Hermes Kriophoros (?) are the earliest identifiable full-length divine figures in the repertory. The Silenus types appear among the finds of numerous excavations, modelled with equal superficiality, and the Hermes occurs frequently in Boeotian collections.⁶¹ Some animals of Group B type linger on and to these Group D adds a tortoise, usually common in archaic graves, and a horse.

I. SEATED FEMALE FIGURES

a. WITH POLOS.

2. Height of figure, preserved to below knees, 0.097 m. Grave 71 and outside Grave 177.

Hands in lap; hair parted in middle and surmounted by high polos; veil to shoulders (?); chair back with ornamental ends. Traces of white.

3. Height, 0.12 m. Left side missing from below elbow. Grave 237.

Armless chair, back not indicated; hands on lap; peplos with overfold, polos, and possibly falling veil; hair parted in rolled bands. Lips, hair, stephane, two thin horizontal bands on end of peplos, feet, sides of chair red; chiton below knees yellow.

Height, 0.125 m. Grave 157.

Same, but chair more distinctly indicated. Back and front of chair, veil, feet red; chiton below knees yellow.

b. WITH VEIL.

2. Height, 0.135 m. and 0.158 m. Graves 16 (three), 173. (Pl. IV, top left, third from right.)

Hair parted; veil to back of shoulders; peplos with overfold.

Cf. *Aryballoi*, pl. XX, 108.7 (dated 440-430).

c. STEPHANE AND VEIL.

7. Heights vary from 0.085 m. to 0.101 m. Graves 16, 74 (two), 157 (three), 200, 249*; outside Graves 51 and 262. (Pl. IV, bottom left.)

Armless chair; veil to knees; stephane, close-fitting chiton; hair parted in middle. White; chiton, stephane, lips red; hair, veil yellow; pink undergarment.

8. Height, 0.093 m. Outside Graves 55, 60 (two).

Back of armless chair reaching shoulders; high stephane, veil falling over shoulders, close-fitting chiton; hair in plain roll over forehead. Traces of yellow on figure and chair.

II. STANDING FEMALE FIGURE

a. WITH POLOS.

1. See Group B.
2. See Group C.

⁶¹ The type is perhaps that of the statue of Onatas which Pausanias (V, 27, 8) saw at Olympia. See Frazer's *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, V, p. 89.

3. Height, 0.357 m. Grave 236*; outside Graves 51, 53, 55 (two); between Graves 54 and 55. A head, possibly from this type, preserving traces of white slip, from outside Grave 51. Example outside Grave 53 may belong to II-A-2 or 3.

Variation of Type II-a-2. Double fold at neck of peplos; ridge at base of polos; right leg slightly less advanced and turned outward; base with socle. Band of red around top and on ridge of polos; traces of white on face and body.

4. Height, 0.30 m. Best preserved example lacks all of right side below shoulder and all but small piece of base. Grave 273; outside Grave 79.

Type and position correspond to II-a-2, but more elaborate headdress of three horizontal tiers over forehead with vertical braid in middle and two large braided knobs over ears. Traces of white, red on hair.

5. Height, 0.104 m. Grave 157 (two); outside Grave 158.

Right leg advanced; left arm falling at side, hand holding corner of veil; right hand brought up to breast; chiton and overfold, polos, veil. White; horizontal red band at edge of overfold and on chiton across knees; yellow band at lower edge of chiton.

6. Height, 0.278 m. Grave 74. (Pl. XI.)

Left leg advanced; arms hanging at sides; hair falling over shoulders; headdress shaped like polos in front but rising high in the rear in three points; veil falling over shoulders; peplos with long overfold, apparently type with open side. Top of base red.

Typen, I, p. 62, 4; *Musée de Madrid*, pl. VIII, 2; *Sammlung Loeb*, pl. 21; *Arch. Anz.*, IV, 1889, p. 158; all are parallels. For the headdress alone, cf. *Aryballoi*, pl. XIX, 136.1 and pl. XX, 138.9, pp. 73 and 74; *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, 1917, p. 236, fig. 170.4, from a grave at Thebes dated late fifth century; *Arch. Anz.*, XVII, 1902, p. 112; *Der strenge Stil*, p. 74, fig. 48; *Figurines du Louvre*, pl. 17, no. 5, from Tanagra, is the same but with the hand to the breast (as *Typen*, I, p. 62, 3C, from Halae); *Danish National Museum*, nos. 278 and 281; V. Müller, *Der Polos*, p. 41, no. 51.

7. Height of example from below breast to top of head, 0.103 m. No example preserved below waist. Graves 90, 129*; outside Graves 11, 51, 87, 129*, 260*.

Same as somewhat more complete Type II-a-10 in Group E, but curve of breast more pronounced and polos open at top. Traces of white.

8. Height of example preserved down to slightly below left knee, 0.137 m. Outside Grave 55, 104*, 231*.

As II-a-7, but polos has ridge at base. Traces of white.

9. No complete example. Outside Grave 51 (two), 55, 60; between Graves 54 and 55. Possible example of this type from outside Grave 82*.

Same as later type II-a-15, on p. 395, but smaller and inferior. Hair parted in middle, waved; neck long; right leg advanced.

b. WITH STEPHANE AND VEIL.

5. Head, 0.03 m. high. Grave 16 (two), 269*.

Left foot advanced; object (not indicated) held to right breast; left hand holds end of drapery; hair in plain band over forehead, surmounted by low stephane; peplos with overfold falls in large symmetrical folds.

Stylistically related to figures from the Polyandrion of Thespieae.

6. Height from head to above feet, 0.126 m. Graves 193, 200, 260*; between Graves 269* and 270*. One, possibly of this type, from outside Grave 87.

Small figure, left foot slightly advanced; low stephane; hair parted in middle; drapery seems to be peplos open at the side with diagonal folds indicated below right elbow; left arm holds corner of drapery, right arm (disproportionately short) held to breast. Modelling slight. Traces of white slip; red flesh; red lips, sleeve, band on stephane.

Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 471, fig. 166. *Der strenge Stil*, p. 71, notes the type at Halae.

c. MISCELLANEOUS.

2. Height, 0.146 m. Grave 193, outside Grave 110*.

Left foot advanced; left hand falling at side and grasping corner of garment; right holding uncertain object to breast; wears simple peplos with overfold. Pink flesh and red feet.

3. Heights, 0.133 m. and 0.153 m. (illustrated).
Grave 196 (two). (Pl. XXIV.)

Right leg advanced; himation covers left arm and passes from left shoulder under right arm in heavy, diagonal fold, leaving right breast and shoulder bare (chiton probably indicated in paint); left hand supports drapery from underneath. In earlier types, a series of fine diagonal folds rather than one heavy one. Drapery white; flesh, hair, band on top of base, red; base yellow.

III. YOUTHS

b. WITH COCK.

1. Height of illustrated example, 0.275 m.
Grave 9*, 196, 217* (four). (Pl. XIV.)

Weight on right leg; cock in crook of left arm; right arm hanging at side, grasping end of cloak which covers back and falls in folds over both shoulders; hair over ears to nape of neck, two strands tied in knot over forehead. Flesh red or reddish pink over white slip; purplish-black hair; white cloak; touch of blue on shoulder of cloak (pin?).

Typen, I, p. 182, 3b, from Halae; 182, 1 and 4 similar. Similar to type which occurs at Thespiae, see *Black Glaze*, p. 27, note 1. *Danish National Museum*, no. 291. *Der strenge Stil*, p. 77, fig. 49 and p. 78. For the possible Boeotian character of the headdress, cf. Klöter, *Myron im Licht neuerer Forschungen* (dissertation, Giessen, 1933), pp. 14-15, which summarizes the previous discussion by Furtwängler (*Meisterwerke*, pp. 679 ff.), Amelung (*Jahrbuch*, XLI, 1926, pp. 257 ff.), and others.

2. Height, 0.203 m. Grave 153; outside Grave 51, 55; between Graves 53 and 55.

Pose of III-b-1; no indications of details in modelling; headdress uncertain, but apparently surmounted by polos, unusual on a male figure of this type. Traces of yellow on polos and of red over white on body.

Furtwängler, *Collection Sabouroff*, pls. 31 and 32, reliefs from Boeotia, show the heroized dead wearing kalathoi or poloi.

c. SEATED.

1. Height, 0.074 m. Graves 16, 55, 74. An uncertain example from Grave 128*. (Pl. XV.)

Nude youth seated on ground with left leg drawn up; lower right arm resting on knee; left hand on ground. Poor work, little indication of details. Two preserve pink flesh; one pink in front, white in back.

As an example from Grave 128 is uncertain and as the grave has been robbed, the type has been placed here rather than in Group B.

Typen, II, p. 268, nos. 3 and 9. *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 36, nos. 283, 285; a variation in IV, pl. 42, no. 284. Variation with right hand between legs common; cf., for example, *Danish National Museum*, no. 309; *Clara Rhodos*, IV, figs. 162, 370. The "Temple Boy" is especially common in Cyprus; see J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*, New York, 1914, pp. 186-188. See *supra*, note 60.

IV. MASKS

a. FEMALE.

8. See Group C.

12. Height, 0.15 m. Grave 16 (two). (Pl. IV, center).

Variation of IV-a-8, on p. 384; stephane more sharply set off; hair in small and rather regular ripples; mouth less drooping; cheeks less heavy; tapering chin; eyes less bulging and not almond-shaped. White; touches of red and yellow on veil and chiton; pink band on stephane.

13. Height, 0.124 m.-0.14 m. Graves 188, 193 (three), 200 (three), 210, 272*. (Pl. XVI.)

Veil falling over shoulders from low stephane; hair parted and worn full; eyes almond-shaped, large and protruding; mouth heavy but not drooping. White flesh on most examples; reddish pink on one mask with white veil and chiton.

14. Height, 0.113 m. Grave 272*, 273*. Possible fragment from outside Grave 87. (Pl. XVI.)

Veil falling over shoulders from beneath low, upright stephane; hair parted and waved;

breasts indicated; face expressionless. Flesh white; hair, stephane pink; red band at bottom; traces of red on hair.

15. Height, 0.133 m. Grave 55 (six). Grave 274*.

Offset stephane above veil, ridge at base; hair parted in full wavy masses; through defect of mould, nose aquiline; eyes not indicated; arms and breasts modelled; objects held to breast uncertain. One example white with red lips. Another example has white hair, red flesh, yellow veil edged with red; band of red radiating obliquely towards outer edge, at bottom of veil; upper part of stephane red, lower white.

16. Height, 0.355 m. Graves 116*; outside Grave 55, 124*, 231* (two). Parts probably of same type from outside Graves 87 and 104*; Grave 272*. See IV-a-17, p. 397, for possible fragments of this type. (Pl. XVII.)

V-necked peplos with overfold and clearly indicated sleeve-holes; small crescent diadem in hair; veil forming background of mask, rising up behind head and falling behind arms; globular earrings; headdress elaborate arrangement of horizontal wavy tiers in front and strands drawn up over them at sides; flame-like knot of hair on top of head; arms; hands apparently holding objects, not plastically indicated but probably painted, to breasts. Hair red; stephane red and yellow.

A.J.A., XIX, 1915, p. 429, fig. 5. *Typen*, I, 247, 3a, from Halae. *Danish National Museum*, no. 283. *Musée de Madrid*, pl. XIX, 21.

No example complete. One in, and one outside Grave 79.

Slight variation with more of peplos given below overfold, veil not convex and shown in two folds at either side. Veil, horizontal band at edge of apoxygma, red; peplos below apoxygma yellow; necklace blue and red; earring blue.

b. DIONYSOS.

Possible fragment outside Grave 11.

V. MISCELLANEOUS FIGURES

a. SHEPHERD (Hermes Kriophoros?).

2. Height, 0.038 m. Outside Grave 11.

Fragment of youth wearing chlamys and petasos and holding ram in crook of left arm. Traces of red on lips. Identification very doubtful.

Type of *Clara Rhodos*, IV, fig. 163; *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 32, no. 337; *Danish National Museum*, no. 289; *Arch. Anz.*, X, 1895, p. 221, no. 6 (= *Typen*, I, p. 179, 5). See *supra*, note 61.

c. SILENUS.

1. Height, 0.07 m. Grave 157. (Pl. XX.)

Small, squat, bald-headed figure with beard, drooping mustache and hoofed legs; reclining sideways on rock, leaning on left elbow; right leg drawn up and right hand resting on knee. Red all over.

2. Height, 0.089 m. Grave 157. (Pl. XX.)

Squatting, bearded, bald-headed figure; hoofed legs (?); playing double flute. Base round. Traces of red over figure.

Clara Rhodos, III, fig. 223. *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 202, no. 649, pl. XXIII, 5. *Typen*, I, p. 216, 6 (most of examples cited from Boeotia; one from Kabeirion—subject common there according to *Ath. Mitt.*, XV, 1890, p. 359). *Danish National Museum*, no. 313.

3. Height, 0.08 m. Graves 11, 200. (Pl. XX.)

Squatting ithyphallic figure, hands resting on knees; almost no surface modelling; probably bearded. Traces of pink over whole figure.

Typen, I, p. 216, 1 (one of examples cited from Kabeirion). *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 38, nos. 309-312; also cf. IV, p. 84, note 47 on no. 399. *Clara Rhodos*, IV, figs. 137, 145, 204, 370 (the latter closest to the Halae type). *Lindos*, II, pl. 109, no. 2327.

d. PAN.

1. Height, 0.08 m. Grave 196.

All but head of figure which may be Pan. Base and legs red.

VI. ANIMALS

a. BIRDS.

- 3, 4—See Group B.

b. QUADRUPEDS.

4. See Group B.

6. Height, 0.053 m. Head and hindquarters missing. Grave 16. (Pl. IV, bottom right).

Body of horse; breast-bone exaggerated; stump legs. White with yellow back; longitudinal black stripes on belly.

7. Height, 0.03 m. Length, 0.058 m. Grave 193.

Tortoise; fairly realistic, especially shell of back; head (missing) slightly protruding.

For the common type, particularly in the archaic period, cf. *Clara Rhodos*, III, fig. 117, 233; IV, figs. 137, 159, 221, 223, 319. *Aryballois*, pl. XVII, 130. 122 (Rhitsona Group B). *B.S.A.*, XIV, 1907-1908, p. 295, 18. 261 (Group B). *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 162, no. 285 and 286 (fig. 677), from late sixth-century tomb. *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 41, nos. 246-248; IV, pl. 35, no. 345.

GROUP E (420-390 B.C.)

Group E⁶² is distinguished from Group D by the introduction of new vase types characteristic of the late fifth and early fourth century. Grave 79 (Pl. V, bottom) is the earliest of the group and a comparison of the vases found in it with those of the Polyandron of Thespieae show that, although they have much in common, those of Grave 79 are on the whole slightly later. The Polyandron contained three red-figured vases—a large bell krater and two lekythoi—of the style preceding that of Meidias, and therefore compatible with the known date of the Polyandron. Grave 79 contained a red-figured hydria of the Meidias school which, although the composition is less elaborate and the lines of the drapery less crowded and exquisitely fine, is closer to the work of the master than many of the more florid imitations. In the same grave were two stamped black-glaze amphoriskoi which still belong to the fifth century,⁶³ and several small, squat, red-figured lekythoi with polychrome decoration. Grave 87 contained similar lekythoi and later vase types which may be dated *ca.* 400 B.C.; it also offered the first example of the lekythos covered with black-and-white net pattern.⁶⁴ Such a lekythos was also found in Grave 27 (Pl. V, center), as late as if not later than 87, with a degenerate red-figured hydria,⁶⁵ glazed pyxis, and plain jug.

Few terracottas were found inside the graves, but those outside agree with them stylistically; the figurines placed in the grave trench and directly against the outer walls of the sarcophagi may be safely considered as contemporary with the burial. The terracottas are larger and more elaborate than before, the bases higher; the treatment is broad and simple. The types differ from those found in the Thespian Polyandron and show that we have reached the end of the fifth century.⁶⁶

⁶² Undisturbed: 27 (Pl. V, center), 79 (Pl. V, bottom; *A.J.A.*, XIX, 1915, p. 428), 87. Disturbed: 135, 194, 268.

⁶³ Cf. *Clara Rhodos*, IV, fig. 166, which has a somewhat earlier profile, and 223. *Ibid.*, III, fig. 243.

⁶⁴ These lekythoi appear for a period of about thirty years at Halae. Their popularity before the middle of the fourth century is shown by pls. 146, 147 of *Olynthus*, V.

⁶⁵ An almost identical combination of lekythos and hydria occurs in a Rhodian grave, *Clara Rhodos*, III, fig. 154. The subjects decorating the degenerate red-figure vases of this group are characteristic and popular motives at the turn of the century—large heads, griffins, Amazons, etc.

⁶⁶ Terracottas from three Theban graves occur in combinations similar to those at Halae and

Although the two new types of seated female figure still sit in the rigid frontal position, they are modelled with sufficient detail to show that, could they rise from their chairs, they would be precisely like their standing contemporaries. The Ionic chiton has gone out of fashion and is no longer worn by either seated or standing figures; almost all the garments have the Doric overfold. The weight leg and free leg are pronounced in the standing figures, the former accented by the vertical drapery folds; there is, however, no corresponding shift in shoulder level and the overfold and the kolpos curve symmetrically over the abdomen. Stylistically, the terracottas hark back to the middle of the century rather than keeping abreast of the advance in sculpture; by this time, sculptured drapery is more complex, the overfold falls in a parabolic curve, and the chiastic position of the body is well defined. The stocky proportions and large head continue in both male and female figures and are exaggerated by the heavy headdresses. But it was noted in Group D that the female figures are about a generation behind their Attic counterparts and so it is the same lag which persists in Group E.⁶⁷ Admittedly provincial, the Boeotian koroplasts were nevertheless devising their own types and creating figurines which bear a distinctive Boeotian stamp. In technique, style, repertory, and fashion this particular period of development is almost as quickly recognizable as the more famous Tanagra group.

The costumes and objects worn by some of the standing figures, but lacking on the seated terracottas, are of interest. The large, ungainly headdresses, which seem to grow with the contemporary love of size, must have some significance, though their interpretation remains uncertain. The period of use is relatively short for, while they first appear in D, they are characteristic of Groups E and F. The germ of the development is perhaps in figures like II-a-2 on p. 384, Pl. VII; the end was quite clearly effected by the advent of the Tanagra style. The details of the coiffure are better shown on plates 22-24 of *Sammlung Loeb* than on our own examples; there appears to be a series of horizontal wreaths or braids beneath the polos and smaller, vertical loops over the ears. These may be related to the rope crowns worn by Babylonian women in the sanctuary of Aphrodite (Herodotus, I, 199).⁶⁸ The figures wearing

offer welcome confirmation of the finds from Halae Groups E and F; comparisons are given in the catalogue: for types from Thebes Grave 4, see II-a-15, p. 395, II-a-18, p. 401, III-b-8, p. 403; from Thebes Grave 5, see II-a-2, p. 384, II-a-13, p. 395, II-a-15, p. 395, II-a-18, p. 401, III-b-10, p. 403; from Thebes Grave 6, see III-b-9 and 10, p. 403. The graves at Thebes are dated in the first half of the fourth century B.C. on the basis of comparison with objects from the Polyandrion at Thespieae and from Rhitsona. See *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, III, 1917, pp. 211 ff.

⁶⁷ Poulsen's second type runs into our Group E (see p. 386). See *Der strenge Stil*, p. 75; fig. 47 is almost identical with our II-c-4 on p. 395, Pl. XI. See Pfuhl, *Jahrbuch*, XLIII, 1928, pp. 7-8, on the continuation of the severe peplos style in the fourth century in the Tiryns terracottas.

⁶⁸ Burr, *Terra-cottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, pl. I, 2, clearly has a separate headdress, similar to the Boeotian ones, with an Isis symbol in the center (the Isis symbol is not inconsistent with associating the headdress with Aphrodite, for at the time the Boston terracotta was made, the Egyptian goddess was often identified with the Greek). The Boeotian examples

these top-heavy, obviously artificial arrangements usually hold a fan, fillet, or some other object. The bands held by II-a-15 and 18 (pp. 395, 401; Pl. IX) suggest the *κεστός* of Aphrodite.⁶⁹ Often there is a veil falling from the polos or rising slightly above it without visible means of support (as in some of the large masks). The garments of II-a-13 and 14 (p. 395, Pl. VIII) with long overfold seem to be Boeotian in style and it is difficult to say whether they have any particular connotation. (Other representations show quite clearly that the diagonal hem is caused by pulling the back of the long overfold over the head to form a veil.⁷⁰ But the examples from Halae give the appearance of having a separate veil, for the overfold hangs straight and its folds do not curve over the hip as they would if the hem were slanted by the pull of the material. This may be due to thoughtless retouching of figures cast in a worn and indistinct mould.) The exact character of these figures remains as indefinable as in the earlier groups. Suggestions of Aphrodite persist, but the fact that the youths in this period also have large headdresses implies an interpretation equally applicable to males and females. The most satisfactory explanation, which has already been suggested for the youths, seems to be that the figurines represent the heroized dead, the *κρείττονες*, and that all the boxes, fillets, and birds are the offerings associated with the dead, not the identifying marks of specific deities.

The quantity and diversity of terracotta youths increases in Group E. The standing figures, mostly variations on the same theme and stylistically similar, follow the trend in size; the modelling is broader and softer, giving a coarser effect than the earlier types. The large, wig-like headdress is looped with fillets or surmounted by a wreath. These youths are as typically Boeotian as any figures in the series and for

are suggestive also of the later Egyptian "Totenbraut" headdresses, but the connection is elusive (for example, Kaufmann, *Graeco-ägyptische Koroplastik*, pl. 52). For other suggestions of Egyptian connections, cf. p. 386 and note 60. V. Müller, *Der Polos*, p. 85, concludes from his investigations that the polos was not a customary part of the bridal costume; for the reference to a reply by von Salis, "Die Bräutkrone," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, LXXIII, 1920, pp. 199 ff. (see especially p. 214), we wish to thank Dr. Müller. Jacobsthal, *Ath. Mitt.*, LVII, 1932, pp. 67 ff., feels that the headdresses are for cult purposes. Gotsmich, *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1940, p. 478, suggests a more magical and apotropaic intention.

⁶⁹ *Antiquarium*, pls. XXIX-XXX are certainly Aphrodite and both hold bands and boxes. Pottier, *Diphilos et les modeleurs de terres cuites grecques*, p. 59, interprets a terracotta similar to the Halae ones as Aphrodite. See *Typen*, I, pp. 67-68, for the subject. The *κεστός* of the Homeric Aphrodite (*Iliad*, XIV, 214) had magical powers associated with the goddess, though its identification is conjectural. Representations of Aphrodite binding herself, *Typen*, II, p. 215, 7 and 8, and Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire*, H, p. 345, are later than our terracottas. Both the fillets and boxes are, of course, commonly associated with funeral scenes. See for example, Fairbanks, *Athenian White Lekythoi*, II, pls. XXII, 2, and XXXIII, 2, which show both together; *Jahrbuch*, XLII, 1927, p. 73, fig. 12, a grave stele. Following these analogies, the figures need have no connection with Aphrodite.

⁷⁰ *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, III, 1917, p. 217, fig. 155, 2; *Typen*, I, p. 68, 3-7; Blümel, *Katalog der griechischen Skulpturen*, III, pl. 36, the stele of Polyxena in Berlin.

them, as well as for contemporary female figures, this is the last flowering and expression of the "old school" of Boeotian koroplastic art.

The vogue for the female mask is already past, somewhat in advance of the floruit of the female figures and youths. The masks are few in number and, as no new varieties are introduced, they are continuations of types which began in Group D. The Dionysos mask appears for the first time (a doubtful example in Group D has been noted above, p. 390). The latter has the same general form as the contemporary female mask and includes the arms and attributes to identify the deity. The ivy crown, the kantharos, the egg, and the fact that Dionysos appears in early vase painting in the form of a mask suggest that god. (These attributes may indicate the heroized dead, as on the early Spartan "ancestor reliefs," although both male and female masks seem to designate deities more specifically than the series of male and female figures.) The form of the bearded type of mask was fixed by the end of the sixth century, but among Boeotian terracottas early representations are rare. Although neighboring Boeotia was the home and center of Dionysiac worship, this is not one of the popular types at Halae.

The identification of certain miscellaneous terracottas in Group E as specific deities is more probable than certain, but they have a statuesque style which would be appropriate for the major divinities which they seem to represent. The appearance of the partially draped Aphrodite is the first suggestion of the fourth century's interest in the nude female figure.

There are two new animals, a dog and a variant of the pigeon types.

I. SEATED FEMALE

a. WITH POLOS.

4. Height, 0.143 m. Outside Graves 87, 110*.
Two heads which may come from same type from outside Graves 104*, 110*. (Pl. VI.)

High-backed chair with ornamental ends; polos, peplos with overfold; hands in lap; hair worn in tight roll over forehead. Red lips, hair and polos; trace of red horizontal band at edge of overfold; yellow chair back.

Olynthus, VII, pl. 26, nos. 211, 212, 214, may be similar, though it is difficult to tell from the photographs; although dated in the sixth century, they seem to form a homogeneous group with the masks from the same Grave 47 as 211 and 212 and probably belong to the fifth century.

e. WITH SAKKOS.

1. Height, 0.155 m. Grave 151; outside Grave 79. (Pl. VI.)

Back of armless chair reaching to shoulders; hands in lap; peplos with overfold and kolpos; pointed cap on back of head; hair parted in simple smooth bands. Hair, edge of cap, flesh, back and front of chair, stripe down front of peplos between knees and broad horizontal band at edge of apodygma red; necklace and band above red stripe of apodygma blue; rest of peplos, below knees, and lining of sleeves yellow.

Olynthus, VII, pl. 27, nos. 216, 217 which are dated earlier. *Typen*, I, p. 72, 9; p. 73, 1. *Aryballoi*, pl. XX, 108. 7 (dated 440-430). *Der strenge Stil*, p. 76, middle of page, notes Halae example.

II. STANDING FEMALE FIGURE

a. WITH POLOS.

2. See Group C.
4. See Group D.
7. See Group D.

10. Height, from breast down, 0.097 m. Grave 9*; outside Grave 51, 87. Parts probably of same type from Grave 133*, outside Graves 51, 123*.

Left leg slightly advanced; polos, veil falling over shoulders, peplos with overfold; hands at side seem to hold end of veil; modelling not detailed. Red veil; traces of white.

One fragment, possibly of this type, comes from outside a Group B grave, but the type has been listed with its later context. See II-a-7, 8, on p. 388.

11. Height of head averages 0.03 m. to 0.04 m. Chiefly heads and neck preserved. Outside Grave 52, 54* (four), 87 and 244; between graves 54* and 55. One possibly of this type from outside Grave 53.

As Type II-a-10, but right leg advanced and veil not clearly indicated.

12. Height, 0.311 m. Outside Grave 87. (Pl. VIII.)

Weight on right foot; hair framing face in tiers of curls; clinging peplos, forming V at neck, with small kolpos; veil, falling from high polos, held out from body by right hand; left arm holds fan at level of shoulder; right arm bare; left sleeve-hole to elbow. Very slight traces of white slip.

Cf. *Typen*, I, p. 68, 1.

13. Height, 0.335 m. Outside Grave 87. (Pl. VIII.)

Weight on left foot; high polos, veil; peplos with heavy overfold falling diagonally below waist; right arm, bare, hangs at side and holds large knotted fillet; left arm, sleeve-hole to elbow, is bent and holds out veil. Lips, knotted fillet, feet, band around top of vase red; veil yellow.

Ibid., I, p. 68, 4; 'Αρχ. Δελτ., III, 1917, p. 219, fig. 157, 1 (Grave 5; see note 66, p. 391). Garment more like *Typen*, p. 68, 5 (from Halae) and 'Αρχ. Δελτ., III, 1917, p. 217, fig. 155, 2 (Grave 5; see *supra*, note 66, p. 391).

14. Height, 0.337 m. Outside Grave 87. (Pl. VIII.)

Identical with above, but holds basket with round handle in right hand.

15. Height, 0.357 m., 0.332 m. (illustrated). Grave 133*, 182*; outside Grave 53, 87. (Pl. IX.)

Weight on right leg; polos, peplos with small kolpos; hair arranged in tiers of curls; fillet held diagonally across body. Base white with red band around top.

Typen, I, p. 67, 1. Cf. *Black Glaze*, pl. XI, 57. 11, pp. 26 and 43; *Aryballoi*, p. 73, grave 57, 11-16. *Der strenge Stil*, p. 80, notes Halae example. *Danish National Museum*, no. 287, and *Sammlung Loeb*, pl. 22. 'Αρχ. Δελτ., III, 1917, p. 215, fig. 154, 2, and p. 218, nos. 7-8 (Graves 4 and 5; see *supra*, note 66). See *supra*, note 69. See II-a-9 on p. 388.

16. Height, 0.401 m. Outside Grave 87. (Pl. IX.)

In rapid motion to left; both legs bent at knee, left one seen in profile; veil held out at level of head by left and at side by right hand; sleeveless, low-necked peplos with small overfold clings to body so closely that legs appear almost nude. Polos, veil, and top of base red.

The pose is used by Leda or Nemesis—cf. *Typen*, I, p. 69, 7; *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 40; *Sammlung Loeb*, pl. 34; *Danish National Museum*, no. 300; *Antiquarium*, pl. XXXI. A slight variation occurs commonly in various media: a "copybook figure": Hahland, *Vasen um Meidias*, pl. 10b; Waldhauer, *Die antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage*, III, pl. XXXIII; *Danish National Museum*, no. 271 (listed in *Typen*, I, p. 148, 5 as a dancer); H. S. Jones, *Catalogue of the Sculptures in the Museo Capitolino*, pl. 45; *Olynthus*, VII, no. 183, etc.

c. MISCELLANEOUS.

4. Height, 0.335 m. Outside Grave 87. (Pl. XI.)

As II-a-2 on p. 384 with wreath (?) instead of polos. Flesh, horizontal band around top of base, and peplos red.

See comments on II-a-2, p. 384.

5. Height, 0.06 m. Outside Grave 87.

Head of woman with hands clasped over it in mourning attitude. Traces of white slip.

For the subject, cf. *Typen*, I, p. 60, mostly from Tanagra. *Der strenge Stil*, p. 80. *Danish National Museum*, no. 340.

III. YOUTH

a. WITH CLOAK.

2. Height, 0.103 m. Grave 230*, above Grave 27.

Weight on left foot; cloak falling behind figure; both arms at sides; very poor, unattractive work. Front pink, back white, base yellow.

b. WITH COCK.

3. Height, 0.075 m. Head and neck only. Outside Grave 79.

Hair radiating from forehead in high headdress with fillet loosely looped through it. Less exaggerated version of Type III-b-9 on p. 403.

4. Height of example without head, 0.268 m. Grave 129*; outside Grave 27; between Graves 131 and 133*. Doubtful examples from Grave 9*, 261* (two) and outside Grave 87. (Pl. XIV.)

Pose of III-b-1 (p. 389). Hair radiating from forehead in high headdress with plain fillet looped through it. Red body; cloak probably white, edged with blue.

Typen, I, p. 183, 4.

5. Height, 0.355 m. Outside Grave 48. Example from outside Grave 111 may be this type.

Pose of III-b-1 (p. 389), with cock in slightly more upright position; headdress very ornate, hair worn high and surmounted by wreath. Wreath blue, head of cock red.

Height of preserved head and neck, 0.07 m. Grave 131 (two) and outside Grave 87.

Same, with variations in details of headdress. Outside Grave 51 (two).

Another variation. Hair arranged in fine curls and surmounted by flat wreath. Red over white slip, well preserved in face.

6. Fragmentary. Grave 63.

Elaborate headdress; hair arranged in three rows of curls surmounted by fillet and wreath with ornament in center; fillet forms two high loops at either side of head; cloak modelled separately, standing off from body. Fine work. Flesh and hair red; cloak blue; headdress white.

Height of head, 0.075 m. to 0.085 m. Outside Graves 87, 174, 180, 231*.

Variation of less fine workmanship; general arrangement of headdress similar; hair curled and surmounted by wreath. Face red, wreath blue.

7. Height, 0.189 m. Grave 190* (two), 222*; outside Graves 174 (three), 52, 108, 197 (three), 53, 87, 177 (three); doubtful example from outside Grave 177. (Pl. XIV.)

Weight on right leg; cock in left arm; right hand holds out end of cloak which falls behind and over left arm to feet; hair drawn back in radiating strands and surmounted by pointed stephane; base with socle. Where color preserved, flesh, hair, cloak, cock, red; stephane blue.

The fact that a fragment was found outside Group B Grave 108 has been ignored in classifying the type; a doubtful piece of III-b-8 and two unidentified fragments were also found outside this grave and are probably not to be associated with the burial.

c. SEATED.

1. See Group D.

2. Height, 0.191 m. Outside Grave 87 (two). A doubtful example from outside Grave 129*. (Pl. XV.)

Fat, nude youth sitting on ground; both legs partially drawn up, hands resting on knees; hair falling over shoulders, fillet on head; indication of folds of drapery to right. Red.

Typen, II, p. 268, 1.

3. Height, 0.085 m. Grave 194*.

Small figure, entirely wrapped in cloak, squatting on low stool; hands, hidden under cloak, on knees which are drawn up; pointed cap.

Cf. *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 33, nos. 261, 262; *Clara Rhodos*, IV, figs. 221-222; *Typen*, I, p. 187, 7; II, p. 267, nos. 2-4; *Eutresis*, p. 249, fig. 309, 6; *Danish National Museum*, nos. 310-311; *Ath. Mitt.*, XV, 1890, p. 363, from Kabeirion.

4. No complete example. Outside Grave 110*. Two doubtful examples from Grave 162 and outside Grave 87 (height of head and cap of one, 0.073 m.).

Youth in position of III-c-2, wearing high pilos with narrow brim; hair falling in tresses on shoulders. Traces of blue on cap.

d. WITH ARYBALLOS.

1. Height 0.202 m. to 0.23 m. Grave 162; outside Grave 110* (two); between Graves 131 and 133* (two). (Pl. XV.)

Weight on left foot; hair long and drawn back in loose mass from forehead; small crescent-shaped stephane; himation over left shoulder, under right arm-pit, and over left

forearm; right arm at side, left holding small aryballos by string. Where color preserved flesh and diadem red; himation white (?), base white with red band on top and two horizontal stripes on sides, upper black, lower red; aryballos yellow.

Found in Kabeirion: *Ath. Mitt.*, XV, 1890, p. 361. See *Arch. Anz.*, XIX, 1904, p. 62, no. 14 (in mid-fifth century style analogous to that of our earliest youth with cock, III-b-1, on p. 389), showing same arrangement of himation.

IV. MASKS

a. FEMALE.

14, 16. See Group D.

17. Small lacunae in left breast and left side of veil. Outside grave 87 (Pl. XVIII). Some of the fragments assigned to IV-a-16 may have come from this type.

Fragments of IV-a-16 or 17 from Grave 135*, 236*; outside Grave 49, 79, 129*, 180.

Differs from IV-a-16 in following details: more of peplos shown below overfold; veil more elaborately arranged over head in scallops, falling in folds on shoulders and behind arms; no knot of hair above stephane; fruit (pomegranate or fig?) in right hand. Hair yellow, veil white.

18. Height, 0.228 m. Outside Graves 87 and 100*. (Pl. XVI.)

Similar to Dionysos masks of IV-b. High, offset stephane, ridge at base; hair parted in plain masses and falling over shoulders in wig-like arrangement of horizontal bands; both arms bent and held to breasts; right hand holds an egg (?); peplos indistinctly modelled, but edge of sleeve-hole shows below elbows; mask cut off below arms. Red stripe at lower edge of peplos and red lips.

Cf. *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 10, no. 38. *Danish National Museum*, no. 333.

b. DIONYSOS.

1. Only lower part preserved; height, 0.246 m. Outside Grave 87.

Left hand holding egg to breast; jug held horizontally in right hand; chiton falls in oblique folds over left shoulder and arm, leaving right breast bare.

Above Grave 27.

Fragment similar to above, but with different arrangement of drapery.

V. MISCELLANEOUS FIGURES

e. APHRODITE (?).

1. Height, 0.283 m. Outside Grave 87. (Pl. XXII.)

Weight on left leg; right leg bent and swung slightly outward; himation passes over head and falls to feet; right arm holds out drapery at waist level; left arm, wrapped in folds of himation, rests on hip and holds drapery across lower body; breast and right arm bare. The similarity of pose and drapery to that of Aphrodite Pandemos (V-e-2, p. 405, Pl. XXI) make identification probable. Patches of white slip; hair and mouth, horizontal stripe around top of base, necklace with pendant (?) red.

Typen, I, p. 82, 3. *Danish National Museum*, no. 295, from a very similar mould.

f. APOLLO (?).

1. Heights, 0.102 m. (illustrated) and 0.15 m. Outside Graves 54*, 87, 110*. (Pl. XXI.)

Weight on left leg, leaning on trunk of tree with right arm; head turned slightly to right; hair long and falling in curls on shoulders; upper body nude; himation covering lower limbs and drawn over left shoulder; possibly drapery falling over tree trunk; left arm, wrapped in himation, resting on hip. Traces of white slip.

One of the few figures which show a relation to sculpture.

No attribute; type would do for Asclepius or Dionysos. See Reinach, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 31-35, 104.

VI. ANIMALS

a. BIRDS.

3. See Group B.

5. Length of head and part of neck of one. 0.065 m. Graves 135* (two), 268*, outside Graves 51, 87, 111.

Pigeon resting on two very short legs and belly; head erect; deep ridge down back; feathers indicated by herring-bone arrangement of grooves; small fan tail. Body white; eyes, beak and stripe along back, red.

b. QUADRUPEDS.

8. Height, 0.065 m. Almost all of right side missing. Grave 135*.

Small dog on haunches, looking up; hind legs not indicated; front legs short stumps; ears

large and drooping; very flat modelling. Traces of white on body.

VII. INANIMATE OBJECTS

a. FRUIT.

1. See Group B.

GROUP F (390-350 B.C.)

The difficulty in dealing with the fourth century, in spite of the number of graves, is the poverty of equipment and the absence of masses of vases and terracottas in or about a single burial.⁷¹ The presence and absence of any one type of terracotta or vase is therefore largely chance and not of particular significance. Figure decoration in red-figure ware occurs on only two pieces. The lekythos, which tends to become smaller and squatter, is ornamented with a single careless red palmette; evidence from other sites shows this degenerate form to be fourth century.⁷² The lekythos covered with net pattern first appeared in Group E and continues here in greater numbers. The black-figured palmette kylikes continue.⁷³ Stamped ware becomes inferior in quality and rouletted circles customarily encompass the palmette or rosette decoration.⁷⁴ The skyphos by this time has the very pinched base.⁷⁵ The profile of the one-handled bowl is increasingly angular. A new shape which appears about the middle of the century is a low cup with vertical handles, often plain, sometimes ribbed.⁷⁶ The unglazed jug which accompanied most burials now has a sharper shoulder and more tapering body.⁷⁷ The dates of Group F cannot be closely determined but have been placed at *ca.* 390-350 B.C.

Shortly after the turn of the century, the seated female figure disappears; there are a few early types, turned up in later context, and the newcomer, I-e-2, which is a

⁷¹ Undisturbed: 48, 49, 51-53, 60, 63, 90, 111, 121, 151, 153, 162-163, 174, 177, 180, 237. Disturbed: 54, 69, 84, 104, 110, 115-6, 124, 133, 182, 186, 190, 213, 219, 221-222, 231, 236, 260-261, 264. Grave 51 is the oldest of the group, the skyphos type found in it belonging to the early fourth century, and 48, 52, 60, 115, and 153 belong to the early part of the group; 53, 84, 121, 163 probably belong with them. 110, 111, and 63 form a nucleus about the middle of the century.

⁷² *Black Glaze*, pl. XV, 34, 1; *Olynthus*, V, pls. 141-144, indicates that the type was common before 348.

⁷³ *Black Glaze*, pl. XI, 57, 4.

⁷⁴ *Olynthus*, V, pls. 152 ff.

⁷⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, pl. 185 for the forms of skyphos common in the first half of the fourth century.

⁷⁶ *Black Glaze*, pl. XVII, 30.21 and 24. These are not found in Thespieae nor in any of the Halae graves placed in the fifth century, but do occur in the Polyandria of the Macedonians at Chaeronea (338 B.C.)—cf. *ibid.*, pp. 28-29. See *Ath. Mitt.*, XIII, 1888, p. 428 for examples from the Kabeirion in Thebes.

⁷⁷ Disturbed Grave 116 and the unclassified Grave 249 offer the only two examples of the lagynos; if the vase belongs to the original burial of 116, it is unusually early. See Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 450-1.

twin to II-c-8 of Group F. The standing female, however, breaks away from its former frontality and develops greater freedom and movement; figures such as Types II-c-10 are immediate predecessors of the Tanagra style.⁷⁸ The older types linger, but the quickened interest in new forms initiates a variety of figures. A change of costume goes hand in hand with the change of posture. As the Doric peplos with its severe vertical folds emphasized the static, upright position of the early statuettes, the himation, twisted about the figure, now follows the motion of the body and brings out its plastic roundness. Later the drapery treatment produces complicated lights and shadows and creates a pattern practically independent of the lines of the body. The gain in variety of pose is accompanied by a loss expressed in the degeneration of the facial type and the blurring of the features. The top-heavy headdresses are gone, even on some of the older types, and the head is small in proportion to the body; the bases are lower and more varied in form. Where before there was strong probability that some of the figures were, if not divine, at least heroic, their type now becomes clearly genre. Whether the conscious purpose of the figurines changed at the same time, it is impossible to say.

The youth with cock has a short, but vigorous life, and appears for almost the last time in Group F. The body has become soft and inarticulated and the rather feminine head suggests that the same mould may have been used to produce heads for both sexes. The other types of youths, never very popular, are almost as restricted in time. The bases become lower; the headdresses are smaller, usually surmounted by a stephane. The modelling is summary and the finish, either because worn moulds were used or for lack of retouching, is very poor.

The female masks are smaller and less elaborate, often almost grotesque in their proportions. Their hey-day is over and as they disappear the Dionysos masks flourish. Following the trend of the period, the latter are not large in size, though they may include the body as far as the waist. Types IV-b-4, 5, and 6 apparently do not go back to so early or universal a prototype as IV-b-2.

Deities are more numerous and varied than before, though not common; their increase comes at a time when the male and female figures lose their religious suggestions. Eros, who becomes so popular at Tanagra and at Myrina, now appears. The current interest in the childish form is also indicated by the representation of children, and the juvenile character, lacking in earlier youthful types, is now more developed although not fully expressed. The group of small actors belongs here and is unique in the series. The treatment is summary and exceedingly sparing of detail, but lively nevertheless. They are not the boisterous and indecent characters of Old Comedy, but are representative of Middle Comedy looking forward to New.⁷⁹ Besides Silenus, they represent the nurse, the traveller and the old man, stock characters of the drama.

⁷⁸ *Black Glaze*, p. 27, on Rhitsona Grave 56 which is contemporary with Halae Group F.

⁷⁹ Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre*, pp. 65 ff. for Old Comedy, pp. 85 ff.

The collection of animals is somewhat larger than has been usual since Group B and adds a marmot (?) and ram to the variety of types. Bells and parts of two jointed dolls are new; the former, like the rattles, may have had some magic function, though their appearance in children's graves at Halae suggests the simpler interpretation of toys.

The group as a whole feels the infusion of a new life and character; previously, the terracottas lagged in style; in Group F they do more than catch up, they look ahead to later developments. Because of this, the late fifth century style is absent and there is little in the terracottas that recalls the mannerisms of the Nike Parapet and the Meidias vases. The standing female figure is the only class of terracotta that successfully survives the change and in so doing it undergoes a transformation. The seated female figures, the youths with cocks, the female masks and even the Dionysos masks which succeed them belong to the older and more austere tradition which gradually dies out in the early fourth century. A more worldly and less serious mood prevails in the new types.

I. SEATED FEMALE FIGURE

a. WITH POLOS.

2, 3. See Group D.

4. See Group E.

5. Height, 0.119 m. Preserved from slightly above knees. Grave 236*.

Same type as I-a-1, but face longer and polos higher; hair loosely drawn back from forehead.

Cf. *Clara Rhodos*, IV, figs. 323, 328 for fairly similar type in earlier (and more suitable) context.

c. WITH STEPHANE AND VEIL.

5, 6. See Group B.

7, 8. See Group D.

9. Height, 0.088 m. Outside Grave 60.

High stephane, veil, falling in broad mass to shoulders, close-fitting, foldless chiton; hair in plain roll over forehead. Base and front of chiton red; veil yellow (?).

e. WITH SAKKOS.

1. See Group E.

2. Height, 0.182 m. Grave 274*. (Pl. VII.) Ten examples of heads, necks and, in some instances, upper bodies which seem to belong to this type from Grave 221* (nine) and outside Grave 221*.

Back of armless chair reaches to shoulders; hands in lap; pointed cap on back of head, peplos with overfold; folds of garment indicated by grooves.

Der strenge Stil, p. 76, bottom of page, notes Halae examples. Cf. *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 27, no. 218.

II. STANDING FEMALE FIGURE

a. WITH POLOS.

1. See Group B.

2. See Group C.

3, 7, 8, 9. See Group D.

10, 11, 15. See Group E.

for Middle Comedy, and pp. 163 ff. for New Comedy. The Halae figures seem stylistically in advance of the Metropolitan Museum group discussed on pp. 85 ff. which still show the phallos and the bawdy character of Old Comedy. Since the completion of the final manuscript of this article, Miss Bieber has narrowed the date of the New York figures from 380-330 to 380-350 B.C. (*Classical Weekly*, Nov. 17, 1941, p. 64); the change, based on evidence from Olynthus, is in closer agreement with the Halae chronology.

17. Height of head and neck averages 0.06 m.
No complete example. Graves 129*, 180
(five); outside Grave 180, 53, 174, 182*,
129* (two); between Graves 54* and 55.

Both arms hanging at sides; polos, peplos
with overfold; hair puffed out over forehead;
neck unusually long. Red lips.

18. Height, 0.345 m. Grave 231*. (Pl. IX.)

Similar to II-a-15 on p. 395. Polos higher,
headdress simpler, fillet drawn from box held
in left hand; socle on base. What appears to be
a cloak over left arm and held by right hand
may have been, in the mould, the lower part of
a veil (cf. II-a-12, 13, 14 on p. 395 and Pl. VIII)
which has been cut away around the head and
shoulders. Polos, edge of overfold and neck-
lace blue; traces of red on garment.

Danish National Museum, nos. 341-2, may
be from the same mould. *Tyden*, I, p. 67, 7,
similar except for headdress; has same stepped
base; p. 68, 5 (*Ath. Mitt.*, LVII, 1932, Beilage
XII), from Halae, somewhat similar; see
Sammlung Loeb, pl. 23, and *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, III,
1917, p. 215, fig. 154, 3, and p. 218, nos. 7-8
(Graves 4 and 5; see *supra*, note 66). Another
slight variation is *ibid.*, p. 219, fig. 157, 3
(Grave 5, see *supra*, note 66). It is not clear
whether the Halae type has the very long over-
fold of the Theban versions or not.

b. WITH STEPHANE AND VEIL.

6. See Group D.

7. Height, 0.095 m. Missing below knees.
Grave 133*.

Right hand hanging at side, left holding
end of drapery; peplos with small apotygmata.

8. Height, 0.201 m. Outside Grave 110*.
(Pl. X.)

Weight on left leg; gazes at ground; hair
parted in middle; himation drawn over arms
and across body, leaving right shoulder and left
breast bare; right hand extended, supporting
drapery from underneath; left hand, wrapped
in folds of himation, rests on hip; base has
socle and moulding at top.

9. Height, from just below knees, 0.122 m.
Outside Grave 110* (two). (Pl. X.)

Costume and pose as for II-b-8 with head

turned more to right and arms held lower; en-
tire breast and right arm bare. Higher stephane.
Veil falling over shoulders. Red veil and traces
of white slip.

10. Height, 0.192 m. Outside Grave 180. Two
fragments which may belong to this type
or II-b-11 from outside Grave 53. (Pls.
X and XV.)

Head turned slightly to right, weight on
left foot; hair piled high on top of head; small
crescent diadem; chiton falls to feet in fine
folds; himation falls almost to feet and passes
over left arm and under right; right hand holds
out an end of drapery; left, wrapped in hima-
tion, held back of body.

Sometimes represented with swan on one
hip; interpreted as Leda or Nemesis. *Arch.
Anz.*, XVII, 1902, p. 113, fig. 7, and *ibid.*, VI,
1891, p. 25, fig. 11. Cf. *ibid.*, XXXVII, 1922,
p. 213. All have headdresses like II-c-11 on
p. 402, Pl. XII.

11. No complete specimen. Grave 53 (two).
Two fragments which may belong to this
type or to Type II-b-10 from outside
Grave 53.

Position as above but hair not gathered in
point above diadem; face poorly modelled.
Stephane and himation blue; lips red, flesh
white.

12. Height, 0.163 m. Grave 121, 190*, 219*
(two); outside Graves 53, 110* (two);
between Graves 131 and 133* (four).
One probably of this type from outside
Grave 110* and from Grave 133*.

Position and costume as for Type II-c-6
with minor variations. Himation not drawn up
over head; hair drawn back from forehead in
simple strands and surmounted by small cres-
cent diadem. Clay turned out at bottom to form
base. Vermilion base.

13. Height, 0.17 m. Grave 133* (two). (Pl.
XII.)

Chiton falling to feet in fine folds, hima-
tion going under right arm and passing over left
shoulder in broad fold; left hand on hip, arm
wound in himation; right arm at side, hand
holding uncertain object against thigh. Propor-
tions very slender.

c. MISCELLANEOUS.

2. See Group D.

6. Heights vary from 0.159 m. to 0.162 m. Grave 217*; outside Grave 110* (two), 121 (three), between Graves 131 and 133* (three). (Pl. XII.)

Head turned slightly to right and looking down; right leg bent; chiton; himation drawn over head and covering chin, comes to point on top of head as if supported from inside; beneath himation, left arm falling at side and hand holding folds of drapery together, right arm held to breast. Traces of white slip; red on base.

For variations, cf. *Typen*, II, p. 41, IB, from Halae, and *Sammlung Loeb*, pl. 56. The Group D example is from a disturbed grave and as the style approaches the Tanagra, the type probably belongs later.

7. Height, 0.12 m. Missing: everything above right hand. Grave 84*.

Differs slightly from II-c-6; taken from larger mould; base higher; small head of same type found with it may be part of same figure, but more probably belonging to small version

8. Outside Grave 53. (Pl. XI.)

As II-a-2 on p. 384 and II-c-4 on p. 395, but face less full and hair waved close to head.

Similar to seated figure I-e-2, p. 400, and likewise one of the more conservative of the group.

British Museum, pl. VII, 4, B 121, more severe; *Typen*, I, p. 63, 1; 64, 6. *Der strenge Stil*, fig. 45. *Danish National Museum*, no. 262-3.

9. Height, 0.1215 m., and 0.129 m. Grave 213* and outside Grave 187*. Piece which may belong to this type from Grave 133*.

Young girl, weight on left foot; himation passing under right arm and over left, crossing front of body in broad diagonal fold; left hand supports himation from underneath and right slightly from above.

10. Height, 0.192 m. Outside Grave 110*. (Pl. XII.)

Leg bent as if walking; head slightly lowered and turned to left; chiton; himation (covering both arms, falling to foot on right side, and blowing out behind left leg slightly)

drawn over head and supported by stephane; hair in flame-like arrangement in front; right arm holds himation just below waistline.

For superficial resemblance, cf. *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 163, no. 296 (pl. XXII, 1) from a tomb dated late fifth century. The date is probably somewhat later than given; cf., for example, Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 473, note 1. For the hair arrangement, cf. mask IV-a-16, p. 390. A restrained suggestion of the dancing figures of *Typen*, II, pp. 145 f.

11. Height, 0.28 m. Grave 69*. (Pl. XII.)

Weight on left leg; sleeveless, V-necked peplos with kolpos; holding end of garment with right hand and open box with left; hair arranged above head in vertical flame-like mass, the so-called lampadion style. White slip.

The freer posture contrasts with the similar II-a-18 which is in the older tradition. For the headdress, see comments on II-b-10, p. 401 (Leda or Nemesis); *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, p. 164, no. 299, pl. XXII, 8, from the same tomb mentioned just above; *Typen*, II, p. 93, 7; p. 94, 1-2 (Aphrodite?); *Sammlung Loeb*, pl. 34 (Nemesis or Leda); *Danish National Museum*, nos. 296 and 300 (the latter Nemesis or Leda); *British Museum*, C 28 on p. 189, Leda or Nemesis, seems to have the same headdress. Cf. Dr. Müller's interpretation of the coiffure of a bronze head from the Athenian Agora: Shear, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 522-525; Thompson, *Harvard Studies*, Suppl. I, p. 183; and see Schefold, *Kertscher Vasen*, pls. 13, 17, 18a. On the analogy of the vase paintings, the figure may be simply a woman decking herself. Also, compare *Danish National Museum*, nos. 451-5, probably from Sicily.

12. Height of head and neck, 0.035 m. Grave 54*. (Pl. XII.)

Leaning right elbow on tree-trunk (?), left leg advanced; wearing peaked Phrygian cap and short garment girt around loins. Too fragmentary for full reconstruction. Amazon?

13. Height, 0.145 m. Preserved from slightly above right knee. Grave 231*.

Fragment of large figure, possibly in pose of sculptural type of Polyhymnia; left leg crossed in front of right; leaning on pillar; drapery falling in very fine folds to feet. Foot pink.

See Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire*, I, p. 166, 3, for statue in Louvre.

14. Height of head and right arm, 0.075 m.
No complete example. Grave 115* (three) and 162.

Hydrophoros, standing; right arm holds vessel of uncertain shape on cushion on head.

See *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 469, fig. 164 for variation from acropolis; cf. Charbonneaux, *Les terres cuites grecques*, pl. 33, no. 36, from Locris, in Berlin.

III. YOUTHS

a. WITH CLOAK.

3. Height, 0.171 m. and 0.181 m. Graves 163 and 230* (two).

As Type III-d-1 with following variations: himation returns over left shoulder and not over lower arm; left hand raises drapery slightly from underneath; no aryballos. Flesh red or red over white; hair and stephane red; garment white.

b. WITH COCKS.

2. See Group D.

- 4, 5, 6, 7. See Group E.

8. Height, 0.191 m. Graves 100*, 186*; outside Grave 53 (two). Doubtful examples from Graves 221*, 260* (three); outside Graves 49, 51 (two), 60, 79, 87 (three), 94, 108. (Pl. XIV.)

Pose of III-b-1 (p. 389); hair worn simply and close to head; modelling so slight, difficult to determine details, but apparently wreath on hair. Flesh red; cloak either white or blue (?); base white with two parallel red bands at top; hair yellow.

Typhen, I, p. 183, 5; example cited from Halae. *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, III, 1917, p. 215, fig. 154, 4 (Grave 4); see *supra*, note 66. That one doubtful piece was found outside Group B Grave 108, has been purposely ignored in grouping the type; see comment on III-b-7, p. 396.

9. Height, 0.285 m. Graves 115* (four), 162.
Possible examples from Graves 9*, 271*.
(Pl. XIV.)

Pose of Type III-b-1 (p. 389); hair ra-

diating from forehead in high headdress with fillet loosely looped through it. Red flesh and hair; white cloak and eyes; fillet, neck and tail feathers of cock yellow; base white with red band around top and middle.

Ἀρχ. Δελτ., III, 1917, p. 221, fig. 158, 2 and 3, fig. 159, with more elaborate headdress; from Grave 6 (see *supra*, note 66).

10. Outside Graves 60, 107; possible example from Grave 9*. (Pl. XV.)

Pose of III-b-1 (p. 389); cloak as for III-b-7 (p. 396); hair radiating from forehead; small, pointed stephane; dog seated by right leg looking up at master.

Black Glaze, pl. XV, 34.39, without dog (second half of fourth century). *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, III, 1917, p. 217, fig. 155, 3, and p. 222, no. 7, also without dog (Graves 5 and 6; see *supra*, note 66). The subject is used on grave stelai—Conze, *Attische Grabreliefs*, pls. CLXXXV, CLXXXVIII-CXCIV; *Jahrbuch*, XXVIII, 1913, pl. 25, and the well-known, earlier Alxenor stele in the National Museum of Athens, which are both from Boeotia. Harrison and Verall, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 591.

11. Height, 0.25 m. Outside Graves 49 and 83.

Usual position; long cloak falls from back of shoulders to ground; hair in loose mass of strands radiating from forehead; small, round stephane. Cloak white, flesh red, tail of cock yellow.

c. SEATED.

4. See Group E.

d. WITH ARYBALLOS.

1. See Group E.

2. Height, 0.198 m. Grave 190*.

Variation of III-d-1; drapery around waist thicker and clumsier; curls of hair marked by pitting; aryballos on slightly longer string.

IV. MASKS

a. FEMALE.

16. See Group D.

17. See Group E.

19. Preserved height, 0.19 m. No complete example. Outside Grave 60 (two) and 110*. (Pl. XIX.)

Round stephane, hair rolled over forehead and falling to shoulder; arms, disproportionately short, brought up to breast; neck long, modelling soft; mask cut off below elbows. Blue stephane with red rosettes, yellow band around base.

Preserved height, 0.20 m. Outside Grave 60.

Same with variations. Cone-shaped beads of necklace plastically indicated; slight indication of wavy masses of hair. Flesh and stephane white; hair and lips red.

20. Height, 0.161 m. Outside Grave 60 (three). (Pl. XIX.)

Modelling very flat; hair, eyes and nose not plastically indicated; veil falling from beneath high stephane which has slight ridge at base; drapery drawn in folds beneath breasts; arms short and very thin; left hand held to shoulder, right to breast. Lips, stephane, veil, and lower edge of mask red; eyes outlined in black, pupil black.

b. DIONYSOS.

2. Height, 0.169 m. Outside Grave 60 (two). (Pl. XX.)

Bearded; long hair falling over shoulders; stephane ornamented with ivy; mask cut off around outline of beard. Traces of red on face and beard.

Mould worn, but finest of Halae group. See Pottier, *Gaz. des Beaux Arts*, 1909, 1, p. 21. *Danish National Museum*, no. 308, *Arch. Anz.*, LIII, 1938, p. 436, fig. 20, in Munich. *Musée de Madrid*, pl. XVI, 14; XXII, 11.

Height, 0.137 m. Grave 190* (three). (Pl. XX.)

Same, with possible addition of veil at sides of head; strands of beard more plastically indicated; stephane high; treatment somewhat freer. Beard, hair, and flesh red; stephane blue.

3. Height, 0.24 m. Outside Grave 60. (Pl. XIX.)

Short, round beard and drooping mustache; unadorned stephane; veil or long hair falling to shoulders; arms bent and hands held to breast; mask cut off below elbows. Face red; veil white.

4. Height, 0.157 m. Outside Grave 60. (Pl. XIX.)

Ivy wreath, stephane, and veil falling to shoulders; himation drawn in diagonal folds over left arm and breast, leaving right breast bare; mask cut off below elbow; suspension hole on top of head. Flesh, beard, and hair red; chiton red except for broad white stripe where garment meets flesh; veil and wreath probably white.

5. No complete example. Outside Grave 51 (two) and 180.

Egg in right hand; kantharos in left; right breast bare, drapery drawn obliquely over left shoulder.

Typen, I, p. 248, 5 (example from Halae).

V. MISCELLANEOUS FIGURES

d. PAN.

2. Height, 0.09 m. Length, 0.137 m. Outside Graves 53, 60; between Graves 131 and 133* (two). (Pl. XX.)

Reclining on ground, left elbow resting on elevation, probably rock; right hand on knee, left in front of body; covered with red.

3. Height, 0.183 m. Grave 129*; outside Graves 60 and 110*; between Graves 131 and 133* (three). (Pl. XXI.)

Standing against tree trunk, holding pedom to left shoulder and syrinx in right hand; short cloak over left shoulder; bearded. Flesh, ears red; legs and base probably yellow.

British Museum, p. 215, C 282 from Tanagra—illustrated in Hutton, *Greek Terracotta Statuettes*, pl. 6. *Danish National Museum*, no. 316, a variation. Cf. Charbonneaux, *Les terres cuites grecques*, pl. 33, no. 35, from Anthedon, in Berlin. *Typen*, I, p. 221, 1.

4. Height, 0.132 m. Outside Grave 60. (Pl. XXI.)

Standing; right arm hanging at side; left supporting wine sack on left shoulder; short cloak hanging from left shoulder; background not clearly defined, but suggests tree trunk; bearded. Horns and wine-sack blue; chlamys yellow; flesh, hair, and beard red.

5. Height, 0.08 m. Preserved above shoulders. Outside Grave 177.

Bearded; folded cloak over left shoulder. Careful work. Flesh and hair red; cloak blue.

e. APHRODITE.

2. Height, 0.161 m. Outside Grave 49. (Pl. XXI.)

Seated sidewise on goat in rigid pose, upper body nude and lower wrapped in folds of himation; right hand holds out drapery which floats behind head, forming background of relief; left hand about neck of goat. Flesh white, cloak blue, goat yellow.

Cf. *Sammlung Loeb*, pl. 25, for same type of over-head drapery. Hahland, *Vasen um Meidias*, pl. 18, an early example in painting which is the easiest medium for this *tour de force*; Selene on horse. For Selene again, Pfuhl, *Mal. u. Zeich.*, fig. 597, Kertch vase showing birth of Athena. See Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, second ed., p. 272, for Roman coin of Elis which may reflect an Aphrodite Pandemos by Scopas Priene, p. 352, fig. 418. *Figurines du Louvre*, pl. 18, 3, from Corinth; fifth-century type with considerable veil. *Myrina*, pl. VI, 2. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, II, pp. 684 ff.

3. Height, 0.161 m. Outside Grave 110*. (Pl. XXI.)

Standing, weight on left leg, on circular base with socle; himation draped about lower limbs and drawn up behind head where it is held by right hand; left hand holds drapery bunched at hip; upper body nude; hair falling in curls to shoulders.

Danish National Museum, nos. 297-8, very similar and superior examples, though not much more attractive, which clearly indicate fruits in the garment folds supported by the left hand. *Typen*, I, p. 85, 5. Cf. the Leda and the swan in *Black Glaze*, pl. XVII, from Rhitsona Grave 30 (second half of fourth century).

f. APOLLO.

1. See Group E.

g. CYBELE.

1. Outside Grave 231*. (Pl. XXII.)

Seated; peplos with overfold; tympanum in right hand. Right arm and tympanum moulded separately; hand mutilated.

h. EROS.

1. Height, 0.063 m. Grave 111.

Small, seated; large wings extending backward from shoulders; legs close together; right hand at breast and left resting on chair; glance down and to left. Modelling neither careful nor detailed.

Myrina, p. 151, suggests these Erotes represent the soul of the departed. Rare at Halae, so probably no religious significance is to be attached to them.

i. ACTORS.

1. Height, 0.112 m. Outside Grave 111. (Pl. XXIII.)

Silenus, weight on left foot; knee-length garment tightly girt around body and drawn over left shoulder; breast and right arm bare; left arm holds infant Dionysos wrapped in cloth to waist; mask not clearly indicated. Traces of red on hair and face of infant.

For general style, cf. *Pergamon*, I, 2, pp. 259-260, nos. 15-16. *British Museum*, C 74, pl. XXXIV. Also cf. *Sammlung Loeb*, pl. 80.

2. Height, 0.109 m. Grave 111. (Pl. XXIII.)

Bald old man with beard and padded stomach; cloak drawn tightly over chest, wrapped about left arm; left hand at hip; right arm slightly extended; pointed shoes.

3. Height, 0.103 m. Outside Grave 110*. (Pl. XXIII.)

Bearded old man, gazing at ground; round-shouldered; knees slightly bent, hands behind back, chin resting on chest; low pilos, knee-length chlamys. Traces of red all over surface.

4. Height, preserved to waist, 0.067 m. Grave 111; outside Grave 110*.

Old man wearing chlamys and flat cap; leaning forward and blowing double flute which he holds in both hands; cheeks puffed out.

5. Height, 0.086 m. Outside Grave 110*. (Pl. XXIII.)

Woman looking down at infant which sucks at left breast while held in arms; both breasts bare; indication of drapery about lower body; child dressed in pointed cap and swaddling clothes. Red on face of infant.

For more elaborate examples from Boeotia,

cf. Sieveking, *Sammlung Loeb: Bronzen, Terrakotten, Vasen*, pl. 13; *Arch. Anz.*, VII, 1892, p. 116, no. 123; *Figurines du Louvre*, pl. 39, 3; *Typen*, I, p. 153, 3; II, p. 461, 7.

6. Outside Grave 110*. (Pl. XXIII.)

Woman holding infant, dressed in pointed cap and swaddling clothes, upright against left shoulder; right arm bent and held in front of body; wearing garment which passes over right shoulder and falls to feet; little surface modelling.

j. CHILDREN.

1. Incomplete. Graves 231* and 247.

Boy seated on bench with legs crossed.

2. Head, upper body, and hand holding garment preserved; other fragments. Outside Grave 111.

Young girl closely wrapped in himation which she holds out with right hand; position like that of Type II-b-9, p. 401, Pl. X.

3. Height, 0.041 m. Head, neck, and left shoulder preserved. Grave 63.

Young girl, standing. No headdress.

Very similar to *Black Glaze*, pl. XIV, 56. 6, dated late in the first half of the fourth century.

VI. ANIMALS

a. BIRDS.

1, 4. See Group B.

5. See Group E.

6. Height, 0.043 m. Head and neck preserved. Grave 63.

Rooster with very flat back, suggestive of relief; details of eye and beak carefully modelled. Comb red.

b. QUADRUPEDS.

9. Height, 0.053 m. Grave 231*. (Pl. XXIV.)

Dog running full speed with legs stretched and tongue hanging out; head surmounted by a kind of mane indicated by radiating incision; modelling lively but careless. Traces of white on body; mouth and tongue red.

10. Height, 0.053 m. Length, 0.09 m. Grave 90.

Animal of marmot type (?). Very short, stumpy legs; ears lying flat against head; curved nose touches ground. Patches of white.

11. Height, 0.032 m. Length, 0.029 m. Grave 84*.

Ram. Head only; modelling like VI-b-10.

VII. INANIMATE OBJECTS

d. BELLS.

1. Height, 0.062 m. Graves 8 and 111. (Fig. 8.)

Bell of ordinary shape with loop for suspension; bean-shaped clapper originally attached to clay ring on interior by string or bronze wire.

Myrina, p. 245. *Eutresis*, p. 263, fig. 320, 2.

e. JOINTED DOLLS.

1. Grave 116*; outside Grave 111.

One leg, hand, and arm broken off below shoulder.

K. McK. Elderkin, *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, pp. 455 ff. Kastriotes, *Εφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1909, pp. 121 ff. on grave stelai depicting dolls. *Clara Rhodos*, IV, figs. 223, 229. *Ath. Mitt.*, XV, 1890, p. 364 from Kabeirion.

GROUP G (350-335 B.C.)

A small number of graves which must be dated around the time of the Polyandria of Chaeronea bridge the period between 350 and 335. Graves 1, 146, 241, 242, and possibly 83, judging from vase types, belong here; all are undisturbed. The jugs, bowls, and skyphoi of these graves are like those from the Macedonian Polyandria of Chaeronea. At this time there was a change in terracotta styles, unaccompanied by pronounced ceramic developments, in anticipation of the flowering of the Tanagra period.

The character of the small collection of terracottas is transitional: the small girls are much like their slightly later counterparts in Group H; the youths are associated with earlier types in Groups D, E, and F. The masks are the remnants of earlier types incorporating the slender proportions and the melon coiffure of the period; they revive the tendency of Group B to follow the natural outline of the head and shoulders, but, unlike the earlier group, they include the upper arm.



Fig. 8. Bell. VII-d-1. Group F.
See p. 406

III. YOUTH

b. WITH COCK.

11. See Group F.

d. WITH ARYBALLOS.

3. Height, 0.144 m. Graves 1, 242; doubtful example from Grave 241.

General pose as III-d-1 (p. 396), but proportions less good; headdress high; modelling very poor, indicating almost no details of hair, face, or dress. Traces of red and white.

Black Glaze, pl. XV, 34. 39, dated second half of fourth century by Ure, stylistically similar.

IV. MASKS

a. FEMALE.

21. Height, 0.113 m. Grave 146. (Pl. XVI.)

Hair drawn back from forehead in melon style and encircled by wreath; neck very long; breasts and upper arms indicated; mask cut off just above elbows. White; traces of pink in cheek.

22. Height, 0.123 m. Grave 242. (Pl. XVI.)

As above but somewhat larger; modelling very summary; eyes and mouth probably painted on. White.

Cf. *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 31, nos. 331-332, for general type.

V. MISCELLANEOUS FIGURES

j. CHILDREN.

4. Height, 0.066 m. Preserved from slightly below shoulder to below hands. Outside Grave 241.

Young girl, standing, hands clasped in front. White slip.

5. Height, 0.15 m. Outside Grave 241.

Fragment of young girl, standing, wrapped in himation which she holds together from underneath at throat; hair drawn back from forehead.

6. Height, 0.104 m. Grave 241.

Young girl looking down towards left and advancing left foot as if walking; chiton; himation covering both arms, supported from underneath by left hand; right brought up to breast; hair parted and surmounted by wreath.

GROUP H (335-280 B.C.)⁸⁰

Unguentaria and plates are the chief vase forms of this group, and they appear here for the first time. The former are of the plump, early profile which begins at the

⁸⁰ Undisturbed: 6, 29, 126, 244, 246, 247, 251.

end of the fourth century.⁸¹ The latter are the so-called fish plates which were being made even before the destruction of Olynthus.⁸² Grave 6 had, in addition to the plates and unguentaria, a small hydria, paralleled by one found at Priene in the sanctuary of Demeter, all the finds of which are said to belong in the fourth century.⁸³ Grave 247 contained a coin dated by Head, 315-288 B.C.⁸⁴ Stamped ware of inferior quality continues from the earlier groups.

By the time of Group H, the transformation of the standing female figure is complete. The stationary and timeless quality of the early examples, to which the vigor and élan of the running figures, II-a-16 and II-b-1 (pp. 395, 379, Pls. IX, X) offered a strong contrast, is gone. No longer rooted to the ground, the figure is caught in the midst of moving and turning and holding her cloak about her. Her hair is drawn back in a knot, emphasizing the smallness of the head which is often surmounted by a fillet or wreath. Her proportions are slender, the torso long. The last of the Halae series has brought us into the Tanagra period.

The youths with cloaks are no longer conventionalized beings, but genre figures in the style of the period. The examples of this group come from the same child's grave as two small girls, an Eros, animals, and a small comic mask; the latter, as a grotesque, may have been apotropaic, but the other objects are probably playthings. The children, modelled with delicacy and charm, still retain a certain dignity, all that remains of their character of miniature adults. The two-figure groups are the only ones found at Halae. The master and slave must be characters of some New Comedy piece and make an interesting stylistic and chronological comparison with the Middle Comedy figures of Group F. They confirm independently and quite closely the dates of these two phases of comedy.⁸⁵ The Eros and Psyche are an appropriate end to the Halae series, for they embody the style, the genre character, and the narrative quality which mark the Tanagra period.

II. STANDING FEMALE FIGURE

a. WITH POLOS.

11. See Group E.

c. MISCELLANEOUS.

15. Height, 0.149 m. In region of Grave 128. (Pl. XIII.)

Girl walking with right foot advanced; head turned to left, looking down; himation

falling to ground, but leaving left breast and shoulder bare; no base; Tanagra type.

As a Tanagra figure coming from outside a disturbed Group B grave, the example has been placed here.

16. Height, 0.20 m. Grave 6. (Pl. XIII.)

Girl, right leg bent and left advanced, walking; head turned slightly to right, glancing downward; thick fillet or wreath confining hair which is gathered in knot behind; long chiton;

⁸¹ Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 472-474.

⁸² *Olynthus*, V, pl. 190-191.

⁸³ *Priene*, p. 428, fig. 546.

⁸⁴ Head, *Hist. Num.*, 2nd ed., p. 352. Only the reverse—a trident—was legible. The small obol corresponded precisely to the measurements given by Head. As the coin was found at the bottom of the grave, near the head, it is reasonable to associate it with the burial, not with the earth fill.

⁸⁵ Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theatre*, pp. 86, 163.

himation through which pendant right hand grasps basket of apples and left hand gathers garment into diagonal folds just above waist.

17. Height, 0.189 m. Grave 6. (Pl. XIII.)

Variation of above; eyes not cast down; basket held in left hand, right hand drawn back; himation shorter and clings more closely to body.

18. Outside Grave 126.

Part of female figure carrying large vase in hand; hair parted in loose wavy masses and surmounted by wreath. Faint traces of white.

19. Preserved height, 0.195 m. Head, neck, upper left arm missing. In nine pieces. Grave 251.

Weight on left leg; chiton falling to feet in folds; himation wrapped about arms and torso; right hand on hip beneath himation; left hand holding drapery.

Cf. for the body, *Danish National Museum*, no. 274; *Sammlung Loeb*, pls. 44 and 56.

III. YOUTHS

a. WITH CLOAK.⁸⁶

4. Height, 0.135 m. Outside Grave 244 (three).

Weight on left foot; cloak closed at right shoulder and falling in folds on that side; shield on back, suspended from neck by cord held at throat with left hand; right hand hanging at side; wreath on hair. Pink flesh; black band above, pink band about middle of base.

5. Outside Grave 244. Height, 0.123 m.

Same position, but no shield; cloak shorter and less voluminous. Flesh red, upper half of base black. Another from same grave with slight variation in drapery.

6. Height, 0.059 m. Outside Grave 244. (Pl. XV.) Preserved in front and left side to a little below elbow; right side broken away below neck.

Chest and front of body nude; cloak over left arm below shoulder; short curly hair and fillet. Lips red.

IV. MASKS

c. COMIC.

1. Height, 0.078 m. Outside Grave 244. (Pl. XX.)

Usual bald-headed New Comedy slave with thick ivy wreath on head. Flesh red.

V. MISCELLANEOUS FIGURES

h. EROS.

2. Height, 0.139 m. Grave 246. (Pl. XXII.)

Left wing and flame of torch missing.

Flying; knees slightly bent; right arm bent and holding torch upright in hand; no indication of left arm; small chlamys fastened on right shoulder and covering upper body diagonally to left hip; hair falls in curls to nape of neck, with two strands tied in bow knot on top of head; wreath encircling forehead and hair; head turned to left. Small protuberance in back, pierced, probably for suspension of figure to give effect of flying.

Myrina, p. 131, on suspension holes.

3. Height, 0.078 m. Outside Grave 244. (Pl. XXIV.)

Small, winged, walking with left leg advanced; head turned slightly to right and glancing down; left arm bent, supporting shield or small plate on open palm; right arm held behind back; wings extended. Hair in curls reaching to shoulder; forehead bound with broad fillet. Knee-length himation passes from right shoulder to left armpit in diagonal fold; twisted about left arm. White except for broad black stripe at bottom of himation; red shield; black inner wing feathers; blue outer feathers.

4. Height, 0.123 m. Grave 6. (Pl. XXIV.)

Eros and Psyche embracing. Psyche wears long, thin chiton which leaves left breast bare; drapery wound around left arm and held behind Eros by right arm which crosses his shoulders; wreath in left hand; hair parted and drawn back into knot. Eros holds end of drapery with right hand and looks toward Psyche; nude;

⁸⁶ Most of these were not photographed owing to the fact that the lightly baked clay had rotted in the damp earth almost to the point of disintegration. This was true of many of the Tanagra types.

long hair, confined by wreath. Lips carmine; body of Eros and chiton of Psyche dark red.

A second group, too incomplete for certain restoration, seems to be of this type; also from Grave 6.

Wiegand, in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Ramsay*, pp. 405 ff.; pp. 409 ff. give the development of the Eros and Psyche group. Cf. H. S. Jones, *Catalogue of the Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, p. 185, pl. 45. Burr, *Terracottas from Myrina*, pp. 36-37, no. 15. *Typen*, II, pp. 228 f. The Halae group is one of the earliest of the childish versions.

i. ACTORS.

7. Height, 0.125 m. Grave 29. (Pl. XXIII.)

Master and slave. Drunken youth leaning heavily with left arm on small slave-girl (?) who supports him with difficulty; right arm raised above his head; wearing short, sleeveless chiton to knees; long hair surmounted by flat cap or wreath. Mouths of both figures red.

The figurine is not carried out in detail—the head of the servant, for example, is no more than a clay pellet, but in its humble way it has the vigor and coarse humor of a Tenier group.

For a variation of the scene, cf. Bieber, *op. cit.*, p. 168, fig. 225. As in this Naples relief, we undoubtedly have here the dissolute son of New Comedy. Cf. *Typen*, II, p. 434, 4 for drunken group. For drunken Dionysos supported by a silen, cf. Picard, *La sculpture antique*, II, p. 227; *Jahrbuch*, XLII, 1927, p. 192, fig. 25.

j. CHILDREN.

1. See Group F.

7. Height of head, right arm and left shoulder, 0.039 m. No complete example. Outside Grave 244 (two).

Very small figure holding cloak together from underneath at throat.

8. Height of head and upper body, 0.055 m. None preserve lower half of body. Outside Grave 247 (three).

Small boy seated on ground wearing hair in long curls surmounted by wreath; cloak fastened with pin on right shoulder, leaving arm

bare. Delicate Tanagra style work. Treatment of childish figure post-Praxitelean.

9. Height, 0.122 m. Outside Grave 244. (Pl. XXIV.)

Small girl with head turned toward right, glancing down; left hand holding together from inside, below chin, folds of heavy cloak; open at right side; right arm bare and hanging at side; hair short; base round. Cloak and upper right arm show traces of pink. Use of fore-shortening unique at Halae for modelling in the round.

10. Height, 0.045 m. Grave 6.

Head of young girl. Position frontal, unlike majority of terracottas from the same grave; unusually dignified and finely executed. Wreath of separately worked leaves; fillet of single ribbon binding brow and falling to shoulders on either side of face; neck slender. Some of white of face preserved.

11. Grave 6.

Head of same type as that of Psyche in group V-h-4 on p. 409. Face white, lips carmine.

12. Height, 0.061 m. Grave 6.

Head of young girl; neck narrows to base, probably originally tapered to point and fitted into body in characteristic Tanagra manner.

VI. ANIMALS

a. BIRDS.

4. See Group B.

7. Height, 0.106 m. Length, 0.06 m. Tail and legs missing. Outside Grave 244.

Rooster standing on pedestal with body slightly turned to front. Incision not so fine as for VI-a-1 on p. 381; modelling not detailed, but more realistic. Traces of red on ridge of neck and wattles.

b. QUADRUPEDS.

12. Length, 0.063 m. Fragment of back and trunk preserved. Outside Grave 244.

Elephant? Heavy cloth hanging over back. Careful and detailed modelling.

13. Outside Grave 244.

Monkey. Head, well modelled, emerging from formless circular base. Condition very poor.

GROUP I (280-200 B.C.)

The last group of graves, as the first, is without terracottas. A few fragments were found, but they belong to early types which must have been shovelled in with the earth fill. The vases of these graves consist of forms found in Group H with the addition of Megarian bowls which first appear in the Athenian Agora in the first quarter of the third century.⁸⁷ The unguentarium has a more elongated profile. Bronze coins occur more frequently with this group than in any other and wherever sufficiently well preserved for identification, they represent the head of Demeter on the obverse and Poseidon leaning on his trident with right foot raised, on the reverse. This coin is dated 220-197 by Head⁸⁸ and, for convenience, the round number 200 is used here for the lower date of the group.

UNCLASSIFIED GRAVES

A large number of terracottas came from graves which could not safely be classified in the above groups. Those types which were also represented in classified graves and so could be properly grouped have been listed above; the remainder are described below.

I. SEATED FEMALE FIGURE

a. WITH POLOS.

6. Height, 0.146 m. Grave 230*.

Hands in lap. No indication of back of chair or of drapery. Probably Group B Type.

b. WITH VEIL.

1. See Group B.

2. See Group D.

c. WITH STEPHANE AND VEIL.

3. See Group B.

- 5, 6. See Group B.

7. See Group D.

10. Height varies from 0.091 to 0.094 m. Grave 230* (five). Head from outside Grave 129* may belong to this type. (Pl. VI.)

Close-fitting chiton; veil falling from beneath stephane over shoulders to hands; hair parted in middle, puffed out and wavy. Red and

yellow stephane; broad red stripe down front of chiton, rest of chiton possibly yellow; white flesh. Group B type.

11. Head, shoulders, part of back, feet and lower legs preserved. Grave 173.

Stephane set rather far back on hair.

12. Height, 0.097 m. Broken on left side below shoulder and obliquely upward on right to neck. Grave 9*.

Head, possibly from late seated type. Features obliterated, but face of short, thickset type; veil falls over angular stephane. Red over white slip.

e. WITH SAKKOS.

2. See Group F.

II. STANDING FEMALE

a. WITH POLOS.

1. See Group B.

⁸⁷ Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 457.

⁸⁸ *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Central Greece*, p. 41. Head comments on the fact that all these coins are apparently restruck, but the Halae coins showed no signs of this.

- 2. See Group C.
- 5, 7, 9. See Group D.
- 10. See Group E.
- 17. See Group F.

b. WITH STEPHANE AND VEIL.

- 5, 6. See Group D.
- 11, 12. See Group F.
- 14. Height, 0.103 m. Head and breast preserved. Between Graves 131 and 133*.
Left leg slightly advanced; right hand brought up to breast, holding uncertain object; left grasps end of drapery at side; wearing low stephane and veil, falling to shoulders; loose-fitting chiton set off plastically at neck; himation falls in diagonal folds from right shoulder, leaving left breast uncovered. Hair, palmette on end of diadem red; necklace of blue beads on red chain.

c. MISCELLANEOUS.

- 1. See Group B.
- 4. See Group D.
- 6. See Group F.
- 9. See Group F.
- 20. Height, 0.148 m. Between Graves 136 and 137. (Pl. XIII.)
Left foot advanced; left arm hanging at side, right held in front of body, probably to hold drapery; veil, close-fitting chiton. Traces of white on head and drapery; feet red. Group B type.
- 21. Grave 47*.

Part of figure in rapid motion, with clinging drapery suggestive of Nike. Many fragments of exceedingly finely modelled figure. No base. Possibly Tanagra.

III. YOUTHS

a. WITH CLOAK.

- 2. See Group E.
- 3. See Group F.
- 7. Height, 0.108 m. Grave 271*.
Wrapped in himation which is held to-

gether by left hand at side; right hand brought up to breast under cloak; modelling very flat; poor, unattractive work. Flesh red; himation white; base yellow.

b. WITH COCK.

- 1. See Group D.
- 4, 5, 7. See Group E.
- 8, 9, 10. See Group F.
- 12. Height, 0.23 m. Head, chest, right arm, drapery and base on right side preserved. Outside Grave 129*.
As III-b-11 on p. 403, without stephane; cock not preserved, but almost certainly existed. Traces of flesh color.

- 13. Height, 0.17 m. Grave 217*.

Weight on both feet; cock in crook of right arm, left hand holding corner of cloak which falls over arm to waist and in folds over right shoulder; hair arranged in long wig-like curls on either side of face; pilos on head. Traces of white.

c. SEATED.

- 2. See Group E.
- 5. Preserved height, 0.095 m. Grave 271*.
Like III-c-1 (p. 389) in technique and more like III-c-2 (p. 396) in position. Reconstruction uncertain. Flesh pink; hair dark red.

d. WITH ARYBALLOS.

- 1. See Group E.

e. WITH LYRE.

- 1. Only fragments preserved. Grave 269*.
Position and costume as for III-d-1, holding lyre in left hand which hangs at side.

f. RECLINING.

- 1. Length, 0.062 m. Height, 0.07 m. Missing below waist. Grave 269*.
Entirely covered with pinkish red.
B.S.A., XIV, 1907-1908, pls. XIII f.; *Aryballoi*, p. 69, 18. 266. Cf. *Typen*, I, p. 192, 4a, reclining man with lyre, from Halae. Group B type.

IV. MASKS

a. FEMALE.

2-6. See Group B.

8, 10. See Group C.

13-16. See Group D.

17, 18. See Group E.

23. Height, 0.163 m. Between Graves 136 and 137 (two). (Pl. XIX.)

High, offset stephane; hair parted in three rippling strands to either side; ears high, large round earrings; eyes protruding; breasts not indicated. Ears and lips red; rest white.

See Group B types. Cf. *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 4; VII, pl. 1. *Lindos*, I, pl. 116. *Clara Rhodos*, III, fig. 119; IV, figs. 108, 221, 290, 323, 327; VIII, fig. 181 on p. 190 (cf. fig. 179 for context). *British Museum*, pl. VIII, B241. *Aryballoi*, pl. XVIII, 18. 265. *Typen*, I, p. 236, 6. *Danish National Museum*, no. 114. A common Rhodian type.

24. Preserved height, 0.077 m. Face and hair on right side, piece of stephane in middle, left cheek and eye preserved. Grave 272*.

Stephane sharply offset, ridge at base; hair parted in middle and arranged in four stiff, carefully modelled scallops on either side; eyebrows heavy. White. Group B type.

25. Height, 0.064 m. Only portion preserved. Grave 272*.

Sharply offset stephane worn over hair which is parted and arranged in horizontal waves.

26. Height, 0.098 m. Grave 272* (two); outside Grave 158.

Veil falling from high round stephane with sharp edge; hair parted in simple masses; breasts indicated. One example white; thin red band edging veil.

27. Height, 0.095 m. Broken at bottom and side. Grave 217*.

Veil falling over shoulders, plastically offset from neck; stephane upright and apparently worn over veil; hair parted in middle; breasts not indicated. Traces of pink flesh color.

V. MISCELLANEOUS FIGURES

d. PAN.

2, 3. See Group F.

6. Height, 0.076 m. Grave 217*.

Head and neck of youth, like type III-b-1, p. 389, with goat glands and single horn over forehead; unbearded. Fine workmanship. Identification probable, but not certain. Red over white slip.

j. CHILDREN.

6, 9. See Group H.

13. Height, 0.042 m. Preserved to slightly below arm pits. Between Graves 247 and 252. (Pl. XXIV.)

Child with long hair, looking down to left; arms apparently at sides; upper body nude. Delicate Tanagra style.

k. GROTESQUE.

1. Height, 0.056 m. Grave 103. (Pl. XX.)

Very fat, nude old woman with hanging breasts, squatting on ground; left hand supporting bowl on shoulder; right hand, palm turned out, held at level of right shoulder; features distorted, mouth wide, nose a knob, cheeks puffy, ears hanging; high, bald forehead with hair drawn back in sparse strands into peak on top of head. Mouth red.

For standing types of nude old women, cf. Charbonneaux, *Les terres cuites grecques*, p. 76, no. 83; *Typen*, II, p. 456, 4, 7A, and 8d from Halae; *ibid.*, p. 458, 5, squatting type; *Arch. Anz.*, VII, 1892, p. 118, no. 146.

l. HERM.

1. Found in soil. (Pl. XXIV.)

Bearded, phallic.

Typen, I, p. 231, 2. *Clara Rhodos*, IV, figs. 85, 204, 205. *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 23, no. 258. *Lindos*, I, pl. 110, no. 2340.

VI. ANIMALS

a. BIRDS.

3-4. See Group B.

8. No complete example; sizes variable. Grave 271* (five).

Bird resting on two short legs and tail;

head very small; wings spread; no indication of details of feathers. Body white, beak red; red stripe at joint of tail and body, wings and body and stripe on wing itself.

9. Height, 0.118 m. Length, 0.095 m. Grave 230*. (Pl. XXIV.)

Grotesque swan (?) standing on two short legs and fan-like tail; neck turned to side. Ithyphallic, "geometric" rider; face merely pinched into shape. Flesh of man red. Probably a Group B type.

10. Height, 0.069 m. Length, 0.097 m. Head and neck missing. Between Graves 136 and 137.

Bird with sharply offset neck. White: broad red stripe at end of tail, narrow red stripe around body.

Fragments of terracottas too small for reconstruction, exact type uncertain or not otherwise represented, from following graves:

Seated female figure (Class I):

Graves 74, 108, 269*

Standing female figure (Class II):

Graves 6, 133*, 173, 217*, 231*, 236*, 246, 251, 269*, 269a, 271*, 274*

Outside Graves 54*, 129*, 230*, 231*

Above Grave 27

Between Graves 131 and 133*

Seated or standing female figure (Class I or II):

Grave 157

Outside Grave 87

Youth (Class III):

Outside Graves 54*, 55, 108, 110*

Youth with cock (Class III-b):

Graves 9*, 74, 115*, 162, 163, 196

Outside Graves 51, 87, 129*

Above Grave 27

b. QUADRUPEDS.

14. Height, 0.047 m. Length, 0.043 m. Head and part of neck only. Grave 100*.

Ram, larger than VI-b-12; slightly greater attempt to indicate horns, but both poor work.

15. Height, 0.054 m. Between Graves 136 and 137.

Sheep. Very summary geometric modeling; pinched head.

VII. INANIMATE OBJECTS

a. FRUIT.

- 1-2. See Group B.

b. RATTLES.

1. See Group B.

d. BELLS.

1. See Group F.

Female mask (Class IV-a) :

Graves 47*, 128*, 131, 199, 208, 221*, 236*, 265, 269*, 272*, 273*, 274*

Outside Graves 87, 104*, 108, 110*, 111, 158, 197, 260*, 262

Between Graves 136 and 137, 223* and 224*, 269* and 271*, 269* and 272*

Miscellaneous figures (Class V) :

Graves 9*, 115*, 190*, 221*

Outside Graves 49, 51, 74, 87, 90, 110*, 111, 129*, 174, 197, 231*, 236*, 260*

Tanagra girls (Class V-j) :

Graves 6, 246

Above Grave 27

Birds (Class VI-a) :

Graves 49, 63, 79, 128*, 271

Outside Graves 79, 87

HETTY GOLDMAN

FRANCES JONES

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

ABBREVIATIONS

Antiquarium = E. Pernice, *Ausgewählte griechische Terrakotten im Antiquarium der königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1903.Aryballoi = P. N. Ure, *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona*, Cambridge, 1934.Black Glaze = P. N. Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona in Boeotia*, Oxford, 1913.British Museum = H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the British Museum*, London, 1903.Danish National Museum = N. Breitenstein, *Catalogue of Terracottas: Danish National Museum*, Copenhagen, 1941.Der strenge Stil = V. H. Poulsen, *Der strenge Stil* (*Acta Archaeologica*, VIII, Copenhagen, 1937).Eutresis = H. Goldman, *Excavations at Eutresis*, Cambridge, 1931.Figurines du Louvre = L. Heuzey, *Les figurines antiques de terres cuites du Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 1883.Lindos = C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos, fouilles de l'Acropole, I, les petits objets*, Berlin, 1931.Musée de Madrid = A. Laumonier, *Catalogue de terres cuites du Musée Archéologique de Madrid*, Bordeaux and Paris, 1921.Myrina = E. Pottier, S. Reinach, *La nécropole de Myrina*, Paris, 1887.Olynthus = D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, Baltimore (volume indicated).Priene = T. Wiegand, H. Schrader, *Priene*, Berlin, 1904.Sammlung Loeb = J. Sieveking, *Die Terrakotten der Sammlung Loeb*, Munich, 1916.Sixth and Fifth = P. N. Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona*, London, 1927.Typen = F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, Berlin, 1903 (Vol. III of *Die antiken Terrakotten*, edited by R. Kekulé von Stradonitz).

TABLE OF GRAVES

Grave Number	Group	Grave Type	Terracotta Types	Number of Terracottas In Grave	Number of Terracottas Outside Grave	Grave Number	Group	Grave Type	Terracotta Types	Number of Terracottas In Grave	Number of Terracottas Outside Grave
1	G	Earth cut	III-d-3, p. 407.....	1	—	51	F	Slab Sarc.	I-c-7, pp. 387, 400..... II-a-1-3, 7, 9, 10, pp. 379, 384, 388, 395, 400. III-b-2, 5, pp. 389, 396, 403. III-b-8?, p. 403. IV-b-5, p. 404. VI-a-5, pp. 397, 406. Frag. III-b, V, pp. 414, 415.	—	23
6	H	"	II-c-16, 17, p. 408..... V-h-4, p. 409. V-j-10-12, p. 410. Frag. II, V-j, pp. 414, 415.	15	—	52	F	Pithos	II-a-11, pp. 395, 400.... III-b-7, pp. 396, 403.	—	2
8	Unc.	Pithos	VII-d-1, pp. 406, 414....	1	—	53	F	Slab Sarc.	I-c-6, pp. 379, 400..... II-a-1, 3, 15, 17, pp. 379, 388, 395, 400, 401. II-a-2, 11?, pp. 384, 395, 400. II-a-2 or 3, pp. 384, 400. II-b-11, 12, pp. 395, 401. II-b-10 or 11, pp. 395, 401. II-c-8, p. 402. III-b-7, 8, pp. 396, 403. V-d-2, p. 404.	2	16
9*	Unc.	Sarc.	I-c-12, p. 411..... II-a-2?, pp. 384, 412. II-a-10, pp. 395, 412. III-b-1, pp. 389, 412. III-b-4, 9, 10?, pp. 396, 403, 412. Frag. III-b, v, pp. 414, 415.	10	—						
10*	C	"	IV-a-8, 9, p. 384.....	—	2						
11	D	"	II-a-2, 7, pp. 384, 387, 388. V-a-2, p. 390. V-c-3, p. 390. Frag. IV-b?, p. 390.	1	4						
14	C	"	IV-a-8, 10, 11, p. 384...	5	—						
16	D	"	I-b-2, p. 387..... I-c-7, p. 387. II-b-5, p. 388. III-c-1, p. 389. IV-a-8, 12, p. 384, 389. VI-b-6, p. 391.	11	—	54*	F	Sarc.	II-a-11, pp. 395, 400.... II-c-12, p. 402. V-f-1, pp. 397, 405. Frag. II, III, p. 414.	1	7
17	B	"	VI-a-3, p. 381..... VII-a-2, p. 382. VII-b-3, p. 382.	3	—	55	D	"	I-c-8, p. 387..... II-a-3, 8, 9, p. 388. III-b-2, p. 389. III-c-1, p. 389. IV-a-15, 16, p. 390. Frag. III, p. 414.	7	8
25	B	Pithos	IV-a-2, p. 380.....	3	—						
27	E	Sarc.	III-a-2, p. 395..... III-b-4, p. 396. IV-b-1, p. 397. Frag. II, III-b, V-j, pp. 414, 415.	—	5	60	F	Pithos	I-c-8, 9, pp. 387, 400.... II-a-9, pp. 388, 400. III-b-8?, p. 403. III-b-10, p. 403. IV-a-19, 20, p. 404. IV-b-2-4, p. 404. V-d-2-4, p. 404.	—	19
29	H	Pithos	V-i-7, p. 410.....	1	—						
47*	Unc.	Sarc.	II-c-21, p. 412..... Frag. IV-a, p. 415.	2	—						
48	F	Pithos	III-b-5, pp. 396, 403.... VI-a-4, pp. 381, 406.	1	1	63	F	Sarc.	III-b-6, pp. 396, 403.... V-j-3, p. 406. VI-a-6, p. 406. Frag. VI-a, p. 415.	4	—
49	F	Sarc.	III-b-8?, p. 403..... III-b-11, p. 403. IV-a-16 or 17, pp. 397, 403. V-e-2, p. 405. Frag. V, VI-a, p. 415.	1	5	69*	F	"	II-c-11, p. 402.....	1	—
						71	D	Pithos	I-a-2, p. 387..... II-a-1, pp. 379, 387.	2	—

Grave Number	Group	Grave Type	Terracotta Types	Number of Terracottas In Grave	Number of Terracottas Outside Grave	Grave Number	Group	Grave Type	Terracotta Types	Number of Terracottas In Grave	Number of Terracottas Outside Grave
74	D	Sarc.	I-c-7, p. 387. II-a-6, p. 388. III-c-1, p. 389. VI-a-3, pp. 381, 390. Frag. I, III-b, V, pp. 414, 415.	7	1	104*	F	Sarc.	I-a-4?, pp. 394, 400. II-a-2?, pp. 384, 400. II-a-8, pp. 388, 400. IV-a-16?, pp. 390, 403. Frag. IV-a, p. 415.	—	6
79	E	"	I-e-1, p. 394. II-a-4, pp. 388, 394. III-b-3, p. 396. III-b-8?, p. 403. IV-a-16, pp. 390, 397. IV-a-16 or 17, p. 397. VI-a-3, p. 381, 390. Frag. VI-a, p. 415.	4	7	107	Unc.	Earth cut	III-b-10, pp. 403, 412. . . .	—	1
82*	Unc.	Pithos	II-a-9?, pp. 388, 412. . . .	—	1	108	B	Sarc.	II-b-1, p. 379. III-b-7, p. 396. III-b-8?, p. 403. IV-a-6, p. 381. VI-a-2, p. 381. VI-b-4, p. 382. Frag. I, III, IV-a, pp. 414, 415.	9	4
83	G	Slab Sarc.	III-b-11, pp. 403, 407. . . .	—	1	110*	F	Slab Sarc.	I-a-4, pp. 394, 400. II-a-1?, pp. 379, 400. II-b-8, 9, 12, p. 401. II-c-2, 6, 10, pp. 388, 402. III-c-4, pp. 396, 403. III-d-1, pp. 396, 403. IV-a-19, p. 404. V-d-3, p. 404. V-e-3, p. 405. V-f-1, pp. 397, 405. V-i-3-6, pp. 405, 406. Frag. III, IV-a, V, pp. 414, 415.	—	28
84*	F	Sarc.	II-c-7, p. 402. VI-b-11, p. 406.	2	—	111	F	"	III-b-5?, pp. 396, 403. . . . V-h-1, p. 405. V-j-2, p. 406. V-i-1, 2, 4, p. 405. VI-a-5, pp. 397, 406. VII-d-1, p. 406. VII-e-1, p. 406. Frag. IV-a, V, p. 415.	4	8
87	E	"	I-a-4, p. 394. II-a-2, 7, 10-16, pp. 384, 388, 394, 395. II-b-6?, p. 388. II-c-4, 5, p. 395. III-b-5-7, p. 396. III-b-4, 8?, pp. 396, 403. III-c-2, p. 396. III-c-4?, p. 396. IV-a-14, 16?, pp. 389, 390, 397. IV-a-17, 18, p. 397. — IV-b-1, p. 397. V-e-1, p. 397. V-f-1, p. 397. VI-a-5, p. 397. Frag. I or II, III-b, IV-a, V, VI-a, pp. 414, 415.	—	47	113	B	Sarc.	I-b-1, p. 379. VII-a-1, p. 382.	2	—
88*	Unc.	"	II-a-1, pp. 379, 411.	—	2	115*	F	"	II-a-2, pp. 384, 400. II-c-14, p. 403. III-b-9, p. 403. Frag. III-b, V, pp. 414, 415.	11	—
90	F	"	II-a-7, pp. 388, 400. VI-b-10, p. 406. Frag. V, p. 415.	2	1	116*	F	"	IV-a-16, pp. 390, 403. . . .	2	—
94	Unc.	Pithos	III-b-8?, pp. 403, 412. . . .	—	1	120	B	"	VII-e-1, p. 406. I-a-1, p. 378. IV-a-4, p. 380. VII-b-1, p. 382.	4	—
97	C	Sarc.	II-a-2, p. 384. IV-a-8, p. 384.	2	1						
100*	Unc.	"	III-b-8, pp. 403, 412. IV-a-18, pp. 397, 413. VI-b-14, p. 414.	2	1						
103	"	Pithos	V-k-1, p. 413.	1	—						

Grave Number	Group	Grave Type	Terracotta Types	Number of Terracottas In Grave	Number of Terracottas Outside Grave	Grave Number	Group	Grave Type	Terracotta Types	Number of Terracottas In Grave	Number of Terracottas Outside Grave
121	F	Slab Sarc.	I-c-5, pp. 379, 400. II-b-12, p. 401. II-c-6, p. 402.	—	5	158	Unc.	Slab Sarc.	II-a-5, pp. 388, 412. IV-a-26, p. 413. Frag. IV-a, p. 415.	—	3
123*	B	Sarc.	II-a-10?, p. 395. VII-b-2, p. 382.	1	1	162	F	Sarc.	II-c-14, p. 403. III-b-9, p. 403. III-c-4?, pp. 396, 403. III-d-1, pp. 396, 403. Frag. III-b, p. 414.	5	—
124*	F	"	IV-a-16, pp. 390, 403. . . .	—	1	163	F	"	III-a-3, p. 403. Frag. III-b, p. 414.	2	—
126	H	Earth cut	II-c-18, p. 409.	—	1	173	Unc.	"	I-b-2, pp. 387, 411. I-c-11, p. 411. Frag. II, p. 414.	3	—
128*	B	Sarc.	I-c-1, 4-6, p. 379. II-b-2, p. 380. II-c-15, p. 408. III-c-1?, p. 389. VI-a-3, p. 381. VII-a-2, p. 382. VII-b-1, 3, 4, p. 382. VII-b-2?, p. 382. Frag. IV-a, VI-a, p. 415.	20	1	174	F	Pithos	II-a-17, p. 401. III-b-6, 7, pp. 396, 403. Frag. V, p. 415.	—	6
129*	Unc.	"	I-c-10?, p. 411. II-a-2, 7, 17, pp. 384, 388, 401, 412. III-b-4, 12, pp. 396, 412. III-c-2?, pp. 396, 412. IV-a-16 or 17, pp. 397, 413. V-d-3, pp. 404, 413. Frag. II, III-b, V, pp. 414, 415.	5	11	177	F	"	I-a-2, pp. 387, 400. III-b-7, pp. 396, 403. V-d-5, p. 404.	—	6
131	Unc.	"	III-b-5, pp. 396, 412. Frag. IV-a, p. 415.	3	—	180	F	Sarc.	II-a-17, p. 401. II-b-10, p. 401. III-b-6, pp. 396, 403. IV-b-5, p. 404. IV-a-16 or 17, pp. 397, 403.	5	5
133*	F	"	II-a-10?, pp. 395, 400. . . . II-a-15, pp. 395, 400. II-b-7, 13, p. 401. II-b-12?, p. 401. II-c-9?, p. 402. Frag. II, p. 414.	8	—	182*	F	"	II-a-15, 17, pp. 395, 400, 401.	1	1
135*	E	"	IV-a-16 or 17, p. 397. VI-a-5, p. 397. VI-b-8, p. 398.	4	—	186*	F	"	III-b-8, p. 403.	1	—
146	G	Slab Sarc.	IV-a-21, p. 407.	1	—	187*	Unc.	"	II-c-9, pp. 402, 412.	—	1
151	F	Sarc.	I-e-1, pp. 394, 400.	1	—	188	D	"	IV-a-13, p. 389.	1	—
153	F	"	III-b-2, p. 389.	1	—	189	C	"	VI-b-4, pp. 382, 384.	1	—
157	D	"	I-a-3, p. 387. I-c-7, p. 387. II-a-5, p. 388. V-c-1, 2, p. 390. VI-a-4, pp. 381, 390. Frag. I or II, p. 414.	10	—	190*	F	Earth cut	II-b-12, p. 401. III-b-7, pp. 396, 403. III-d-2, p. 403. IV-b-2, p. 404. Frag. V, p. 415.	8	—
						193	D	Sarc.	II-b-6, p. 388. II-c-2, p. 388. IV-a-13, p. 389. VI-b-7, p. 391.	6	—
						194*	E	"	III-c-3, p. 396.	1	—
						195	B	"	I-a-1, p. 378. II-b-4, p. 380. IV-a-3, p. 380. V-a-1, p. 381. VI-a-2, p. 381. VI-b-5, p. 382.	6	—

Grave Number	Group	Grave Type	Terracotta Types	Number of Terracottas In Grave	Number of Terracottas Outside Grave	Grave Number	Group	Grave Type	Terracotta Types	Number of Terracottas In Grave	Number of Terracottas Outside Grave
196	D	Sarc.	II-c-3, p. 389..... III-b-1, p. 389. V-d-1, p. 390. VI-b-4, pp. 382, 390. Frag. III-b, p. 414.	6	—	231*	F	Sarc.	II-a-2, 8, 18, pp. 384, 388, 400, 401..... II-c-13, p. 402. III-b-6, pp. 396, 403. IV-a-16, pp. 390, 403. V-g-1, p. 405. V-j-1, p. 406. VI-b-9, p. 406. Frag. II, V, pp. 414, 415.	9	11
197	Unc.	"	III-b-7, pp. 396, 412.... Frag. IV-a, V, p. 415.	—	6	236*	F	"	I-a-5, p. 400..... II-a-2, 3, pp. 384, 388, 400. IV-a-16 or 17, pp. 397, 403. Frag. II, IV-a, V, pp. 414, 415.	6	1
198	B	"	I-c-2, p. 379..... V-b-1, p. 381. VII-b-1, 2, p. 382.	4	—	237	F	Pithos	I-a-3, pp. 387, 400.....	1	—
199	B	"	Frag. IV-a, p. 415.....	1	—	241	G	Sarc.	III-d-3?, p. 407..... V-j-4-6, p. 407.	2	2
200	D	"	I-c-7, p. 387..... II-b-6, p. 388. IV-a-13, p. 389. V-c-3, p. 390.	6	—	242	G	"	III-d-3, p. 407..... IV-a-22, p. 407.	2	—
203	B	"	I-c-6, p. 379..... I-d-1, p. 379. II-a-1, p. 379. IV-a-7, p. 381.	11	—	244	H	Pithos	II-a-11, pp. 395, 408.... III-a-4-6, p. 409. IV-c-1, p. 409. V-h-3, p. 409. V-j-7, 9, p. 410. VI-a-4, 7, pp. 381, 410. VI-b-12, 13, p. 410.	—	16
207	B	"	I-c-3, p. 379..... VI-a-4, p. 381.	2	—	246	H	Earth cut	V-h-2, p. 409..... Frag. II, V-j, pp. 414, 415.	3	—
208	B	"	I-c-3, p. 379..... II-a-1, p. 379. II-b-3, p. 380. IV-a-3, p. 380. VI-b-1, 2, p. 382. Frag. IV-a, p. 415.	8	—	247	H	"	V-j-1, 8, pp. 406, 410....	1	3
210	D	"	IV-a-13, p. 389.....	1	—	249*	Unc.	Sarc.	I-c-7, pp. 387, 411.....	1	—
213*	F	"	II-c-9, p. 402.....	1	—	251	H	Earth cut	II-c-19, p. 409..... Frag. II, p. 414.	2	—
217*	Unc.	"	II-c-6, pp. 402, 412.... III-b-1, 13, pp. 389, 412. IV-a-27, p. 413. V-d-6, p. 413. Frag. II, p. 414.	9	—	260*	F	Sarc.	II-a-7, pp. 388, 400.... II-b-6, pp. 388, 401. III-b-8?, p. 403. Frag. IV-a, V, p. 415.	—	8
219*	F	"	II-b-12, p. 401.....	2	—	261*	F	"	III-b-4?, pp. 396, 403....	2	—
221*	F	"	I-e-2?, p. 400..... II-a-1?, pp. 379, 400. III-b-8?, p. 403. Frag. IV-a, V, p. 415.	14	1	262	Unc.	"	I-c-7, pp. 387, 411..... VI-a-3, pp. 381, 413. Frag. IV-a, p. 415.	—	5
222*	F	"	III-b-7, pp. 396, 403....	1	—	264*	F	"	VI-a-1, pp. 381, 406....	1	—
223*	C	"	Contents scattered be- tween; see end of list.	10	1	265	Unc.	"	Frag. IV-2, p. 415.....	2	—
224*						268*	E	"	II-a-2?, pp. 384, 394.... VI-a-5, p. 397. VII-a-1, p. 382, 398.	3	—
230*	Unc.	Earth cut	I-a-6, p. 411..... I-c-10, p. 411. III-a-2, 3, pp. 395, 403, 412. VI-a-9, p. 414. Frag. II, p. 414.	10	1						

(*one
end)

Grave Number	Group	Grave Type	Terracotta Types	Number of Terracottas In Grave	Number of Terracottas Outside Grave
269*	Unc.	Sarc.	I-b-1, pp. 379, 411. I-c-3?, pp. 379, 411. I-c-5, 6, pp. 379, 411. II-b-5, pp. 388, 412. II-c-1, pp. 380, 412. III-e-1, p. 412. III-f-1, p. 412. IV-a-6, pp. 381, 413. VII-a-2, pp. 382, 414. Frag. I, II, IV-a, pp. 414, 415.	26	—
269a	B	"	III-a-1, p. 380. IV-a-6, p. 381. VI-a-1, 2, p. 381. VI-b-3, 4, p. 382. VII-c-1, p. 383. Frag. II, p. 414.	5	4
270*	B	"	IV-a-1, p. 380. VII-b-1, p. 382.	2	—
271*	Unc.	"	III-a-7, p. 412. III-b-9?, pp. 403, 412. III-c-5, p. 412. IV-a-4 or 5, pp. 380, 413. VI-a-8, p. 413. VII-a-1, 2, pp. 382, 414. Frag. II, VI-a, pp. 414, 415.	16	—
272*	Unc.	Pithos	IV-a-2, 5, 6, 10, 13, 14, 24-26, pp. 380, 381, 384, 389, 413. IV-a-8, 16?, pp. 384, 390, 413. Frag. IV-a, p. 415.	17	—
273*	D	Sarc.	II-a-4, p. 388. IV-a-14, p. 389. Frag. IV-a, p. 415.	4	—

Grave Number	Group	Grave Type	Terracotta Types	Number of Terracottas In Grave	Number of Terracottas Outside Grave
274*	Unc.	Sarc.	I-e-2, pp. 400, 411. IV-a-8?, pp. 384, 413. IV-a-15, pp. 390, 413. VII-a-1, pp. 382, 414. VII-b-1, pp. 382, 414. Frag. II, IV-a, pp. 414, 415.	13	—
Between Graves		Groups	Terracotta Types	Number of Terracottas	
53 - 55		F & D	III-b-2, pp. 389, 403. . . .	1	
54* - 55		"	II-a-3, 9, 11, 17, pp. 388, 395, 401.	4	
131 - 133*		Unc. & F	II-b-12, 14, pp. 401, 412. . II-c-6, pp. 402, 412. III-b-4, pp. 396, 412. III-d-1, pp. 396, 412. V-d-2, 3, pp. 404, 413. Frag. II, p. 414.	17	
136 - 137		Unc.	I-c-5, pp. 379, 411. II-c-20, p. 412. IV-a-3?, pp. 380, 413. IV-a-5, 6, 23, pp. 380, 381, 413. VI-a-4, 10, pp. 381, 413, 414. VI-b-15, p. 414. VII-a-1, pp. 382, 414. Frag. IV-a, p. 415.	12	
223*-224*		C	IV-a-9, p. 384. Frag. IV-a, p. 415.	3	
247 - 252		H & Unc.	V-j-13, p. 413.	1	
269*-270*		Unc. & D	II-b-6, pp. 388, 412. II-c-1, pp. 380, 412.	2	
269*-271*		B & Unc.	Frag. IV-a, p. 415.	2	
269*-272*		"	VII-b-1, pp. 382, 414. . . . Frag. IV-a, p. 415.	2	
272*-274*		Unc. & Unc.	VII-a-1, pp. 382, 314. . . . VII-b-1, pp. 382, 414.	7	

INDEX

- Breakage, deliberate, 368.
- Bronze Objects, 370.
- Chamber Tomb, 366.
- Clay, 371.
- Coffins, 368.
- Coins, 370, 408, 411.
- Color, 371 f.
- Cremation, 368.
- Disturbance of Graves, 366, 368, 369, 374.
- Earth-cut Graves, 366, 368.
- Gold, 370.
- Grave Groups, 373.
- Graves, Description of, 366 ff.
- Groups, Division into, 373.
 - A, 374.
 - B, 375.
 - C, 383.
 - D, 385.
 - E, 391.
 - F, 398.
 - G, 406.
 - H, 407.
 - I, 411.
 - Unclassified, 411.
- Headdress, 386, 392 f., 399.
- Larnax, 366.
- Lead Jar, 366.
- Moulding, 372 f.
- Necropolis, Description of, 365 f.
- Orientation, 366.
- Pithoi, 366, 368 f.
- Pottery, 369 f., 373, 374 ff., 383, 385, 391, 398, 406 ff., 411.
- Purpose of Terracottas, 373.
- Reuse of Graves, 368, 369.
- Robbing of Graves, 366 note 3, 368 note 5.
- Sarcophagi, 366, 368, 369.
- Silver, 370.
- Terracottas, 365, 369, 370 ff., 376 ff., 383 f., 385 ff., 391 ff., 398 ff., 407, 408.
- Terracotta Types:
 - I. Seated Female Figures
 - a. With Polos, 378, 387, 394, 400, 411.
 - b. With Veil, 379, 387, 411.
 - c. With Stephane and Veil, 379, 387, 400, 411.
 - d. Hydrophoros, 379.
 - e. With Sakkos, 394, 400, 411.
 - II. Standing Female Figures
 - a. With Polos, 379, 384, 387 f., 394 f., 400 f., 408, 411 f.
 - b. With Stephane and Veil, 379, 388, 401, 412.
 - c. Miscellaneous, 380, 388 f., 395, 402 f., 408 f., 412.
 - III. Youths
 - a. With Cloak, No Cock, 380, 395, 403, 409, 412.
 - b. With Cock, 389, 396, 403, 407, 412, 414.
 - c. Seated, 389, 396, 403, 412.
 - d. With Aryballos, 396 f., 403, 407, 412.
 - e. With Lyre, 412.
 - f. Reclining, 412.
 - IV. Masks
 - a. Female, 380, 381, 384, 389, 397, 403 f., 407, 413, 415.
 - b. Dionysos, 390, 397, 404.
 - c. Comic, 409.
 - V. Miscellaneous Figures
 - a. Shepherd, 381, 390.
 - b. Siren, 381.
 - c. Silenus, 390.
 - d. Pan, 390, 404 f., 413.
 - e. Aphrodite, 397, 405.
 - f. Apollo, 397, 405.
 - g. Cybele, 405.
 - h. Eros, 405, 409 f.
 - i. Actors, 405 f., 410.
 - j. Children, 406, 407, 410, 413, 415.
 - k. Grotesque, 413.
 - l. Herm, 413.
 - VI. Animals
 - a. Birds, 381, 390, 397, 406, 410, 413 f., 415.
 - b. Quadrupeds, 382, 384, 390, 391, 398, 406, 410, 414.
 - VII. Inanimate Objects
 - a. Fruit, 382, 398, 414.
 - b. Rattles, 382, 414.
 - c. Stool, 383.
 - d. Bells, 406, 414.
 - e. Dolls, 406.
- Tile Graves, 368.
- Unstratified, Unidentified, and Uncertain Terracottas, 374, 414 f.

CORRIGENDUM: On Plate V for "Pp. 386, 391" read "Pp. 383, 391."



Pottery from Group A (top and center), Group B (bottom, except left),
and Group C (bottom left) .Pp. 374-376, 383



Pottery and Terracottas from Group C (Grave 14, top) and Group E (Graves 27, center, and 79, bottom). Pp. 386, 391



I-a-1. Group B. P. 378



I-e-1. Group E. P. 394



I-a-4. Group E. P. 394



I-c-1. Group B.
P. 379



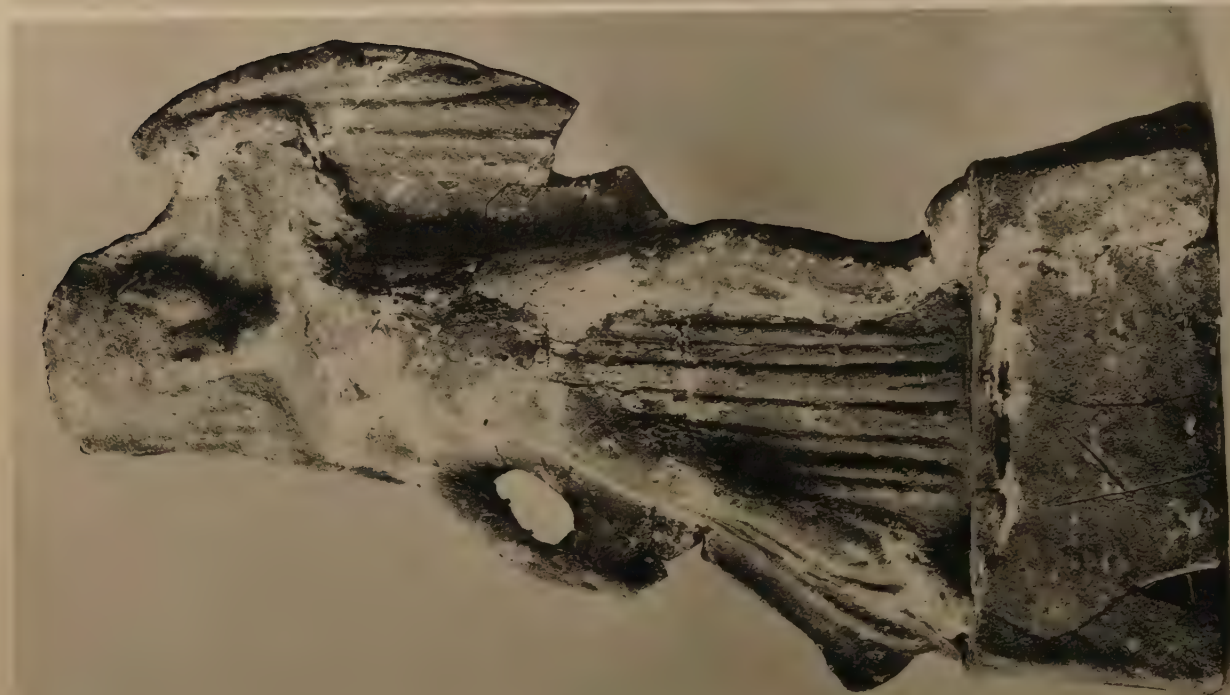
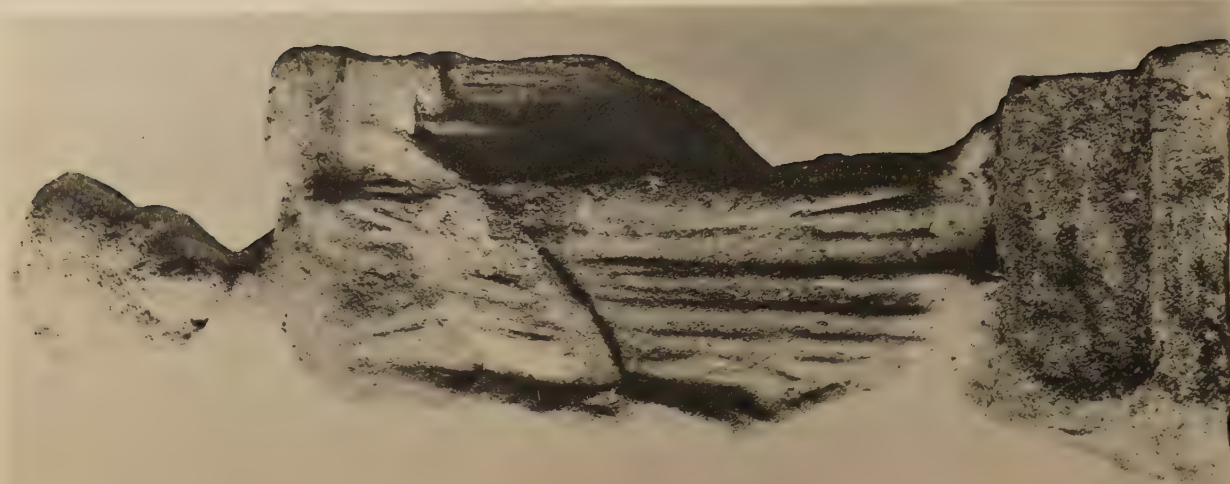
I-c-10.
P. 411



I-c-3. Group B.
P. 379



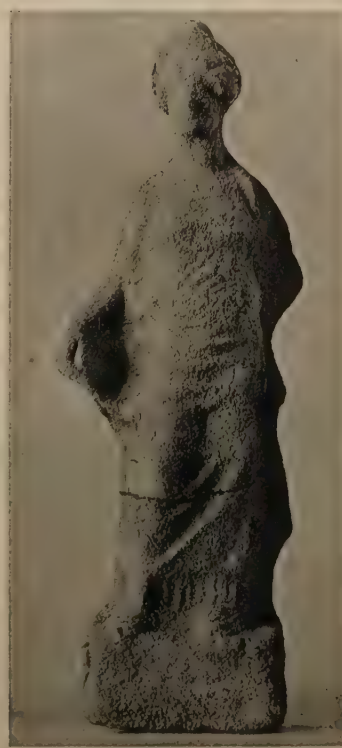
I-c-5. Group B.
P. 379



II-a-15, 16 (Group E, p. 395), and 18 (Group F, p. 401)



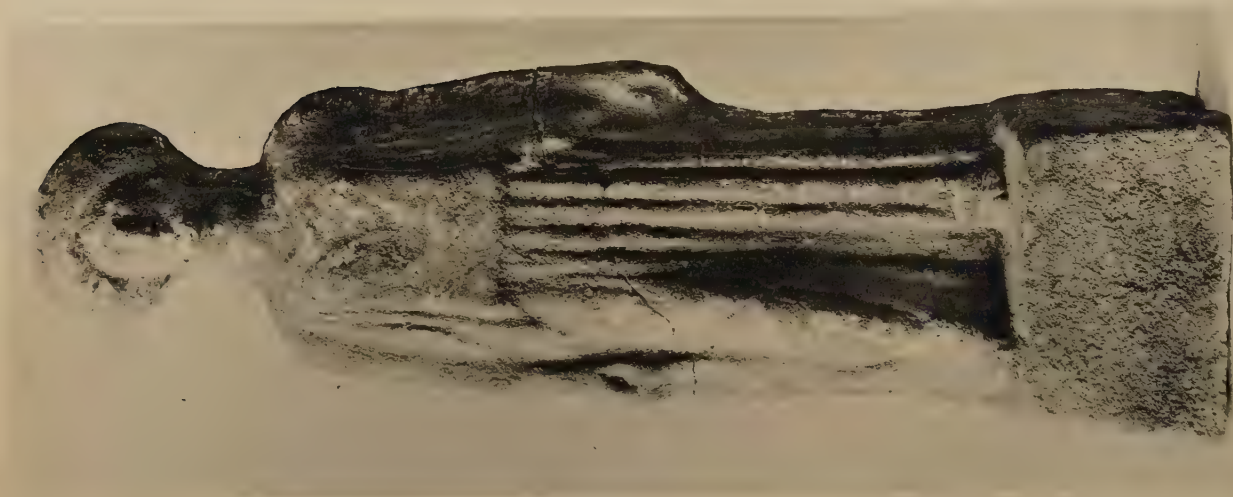
II-b-1, 2, 3. Group B. Pp. 379-380



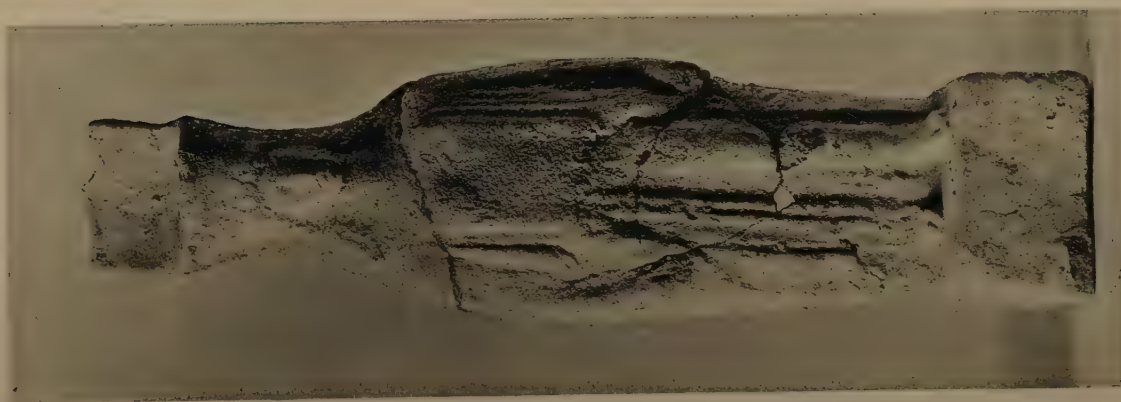
II-b-8, 9, 10. Group F. P. 401



II-c-8. Group F. P. 402



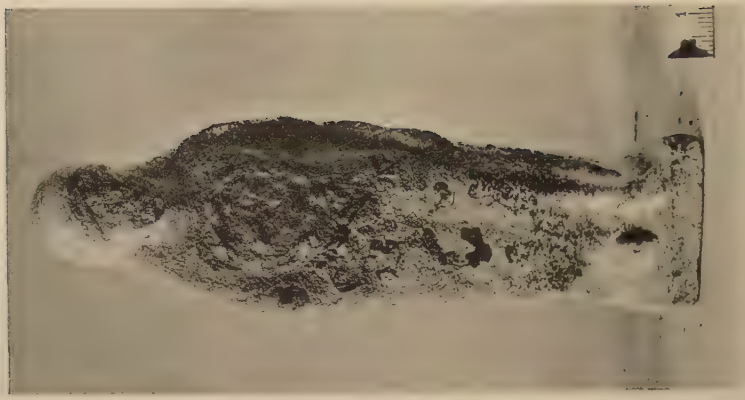
II-c-4. Group E. P. 395



II-a-6. Group D. P. 388



Top to Bottom, Left to Right: II-c-6;
II-b-13; II-c-6, 10, 12, 11. Group F.
Pp. 401-402



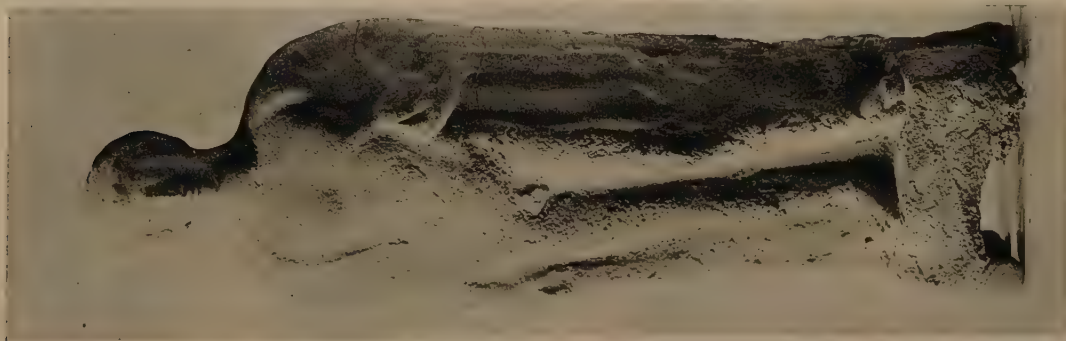
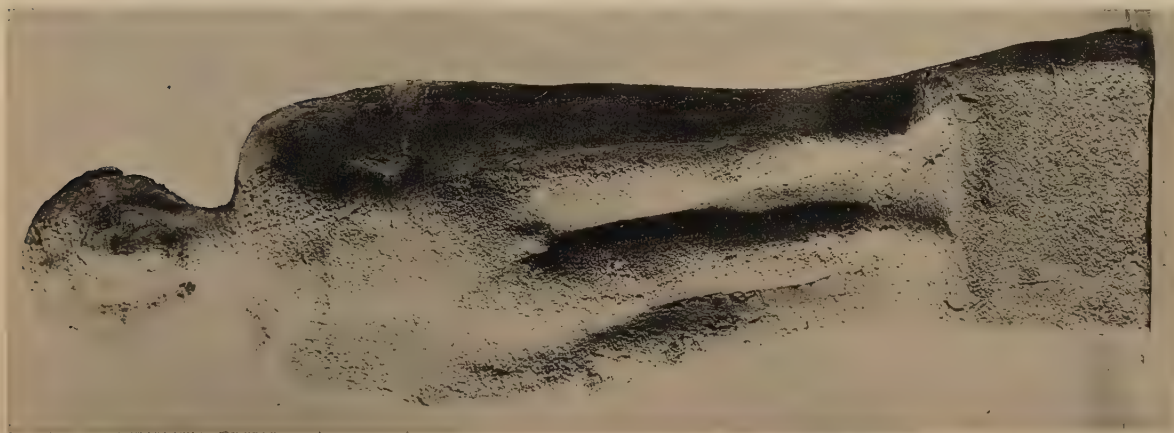
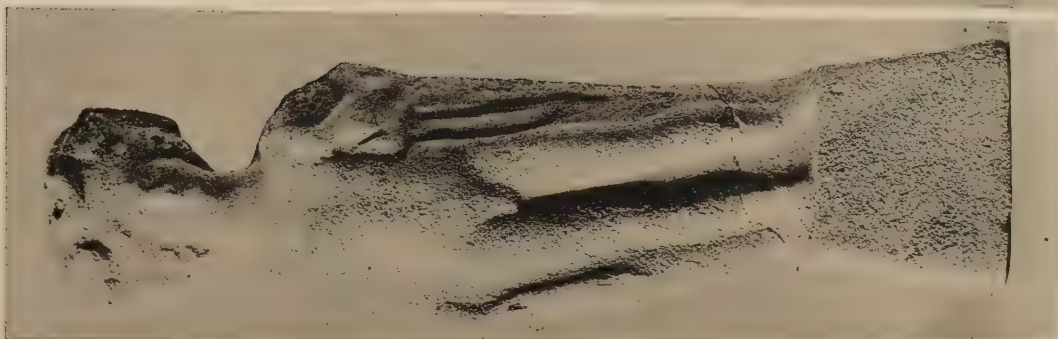
II-c-20. P. 412



II-c-16, 17. Group H. Pp. 408-409



II-c-15. Group H. P. 408





III-b-10. Group F.
P. 403



III-c-2. Group E. P. 396



III-d-1. Group E.
P. 396



III-c-1. Group D.
P. 389



I-d-1. Group B.
P. 379



II-b-10. Group F.
P. 401



III-a-6. Group H.
P. 409



IV-a-4, 6. Group B. Pp. 380-381

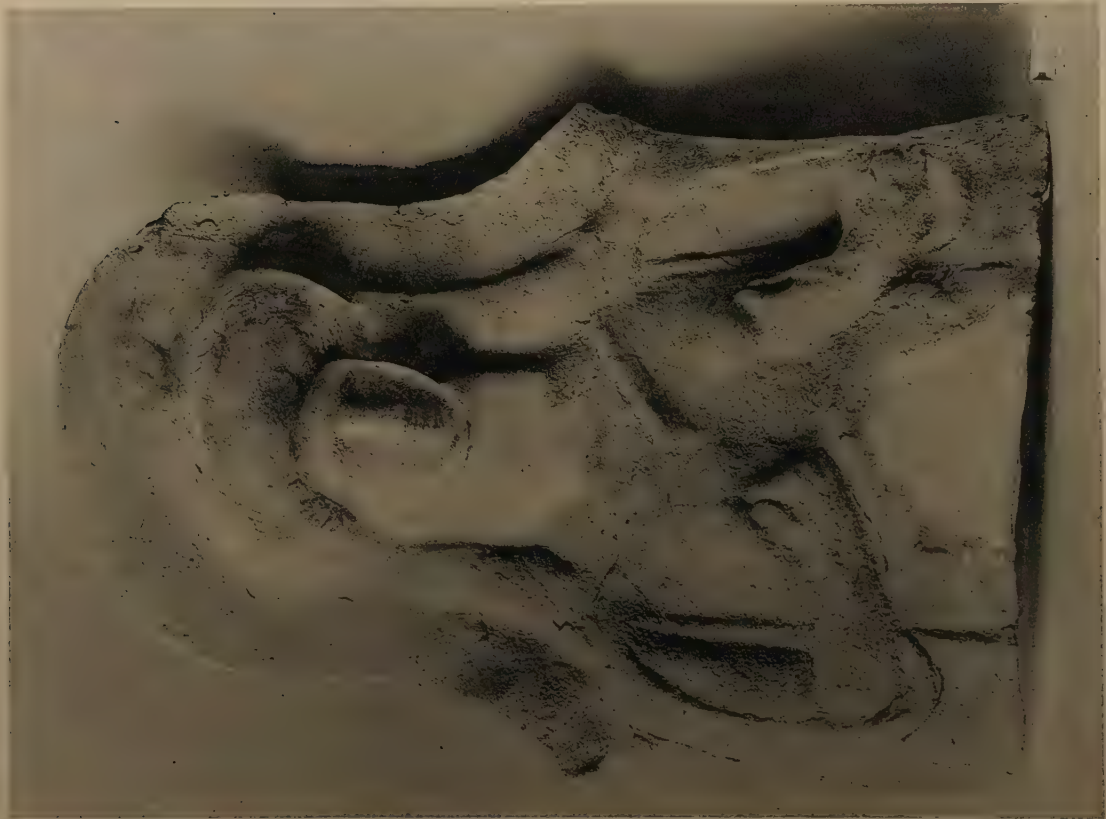
IV-a-8, 9. Group C. P. 384



IV-a-18. Group E. P. 397

Top: IV-a-10, 13, 14. Groups C and D. Pp. 384, 389

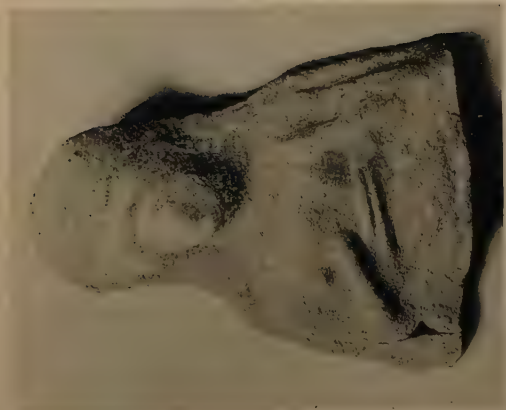
Bottom: IV-a-21, 22. Group G. P. 407



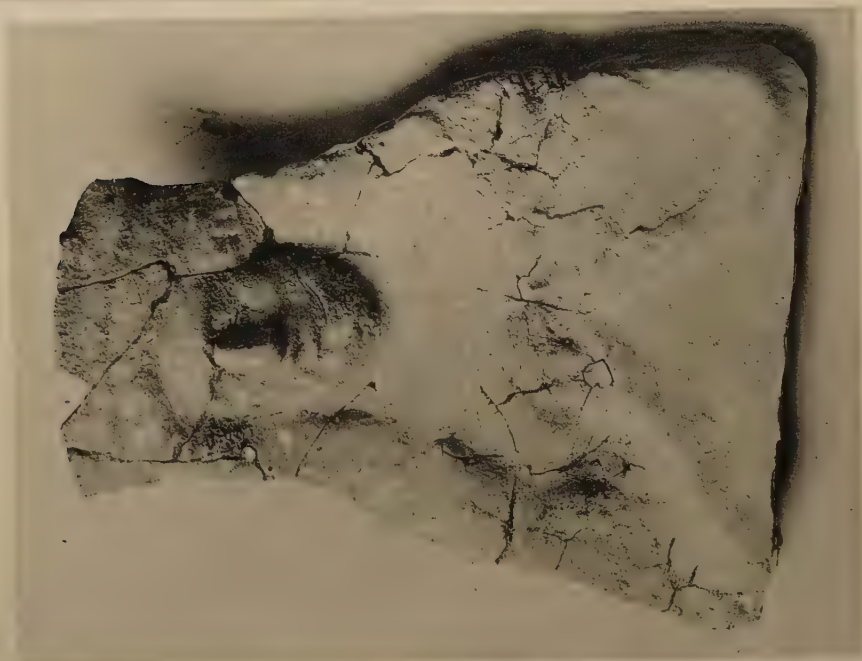
IV-a-16. Group D. P. 390



IV-a-17. Group E. P. 397



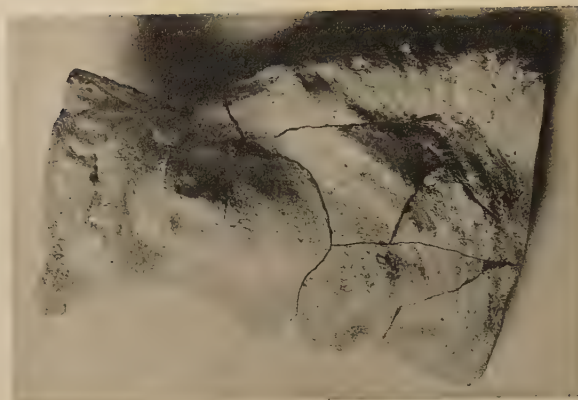
IV-a-20. Group F. P. 404



IV-b-3. Group F. P. 404



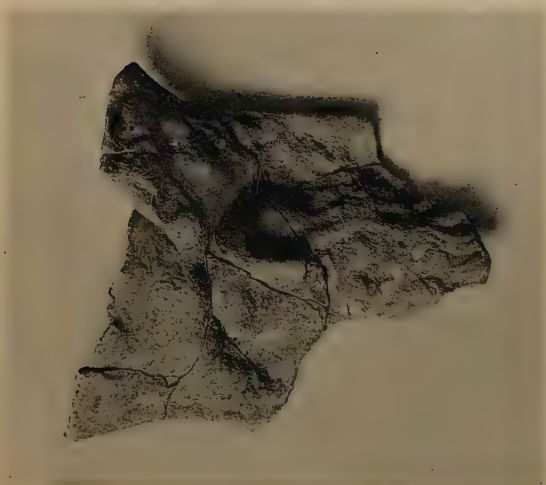
IV-a-23. P. 413



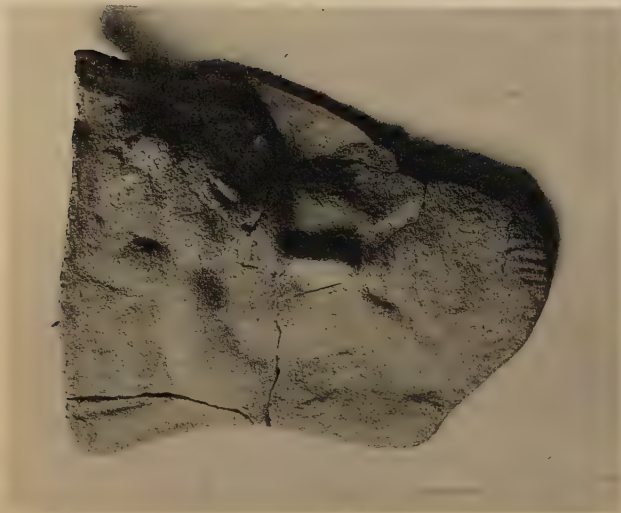
IV-b-4. Group F. P. 404



IV-a-19. Group F. P. 404



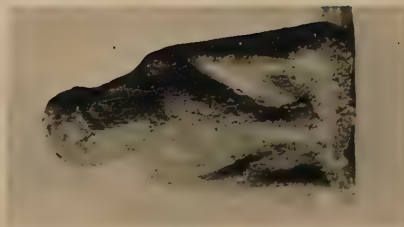
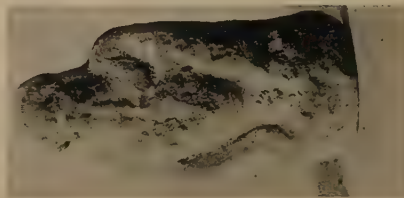
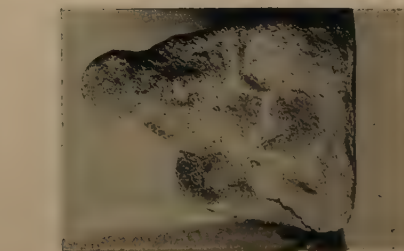
IV-b-2. Group F. P. 404



IV-b-2. Group F. P. 404



IV-c-1. Group H. P. 409



V-c-1, 2, 3. Group D. P. 390

V-d-2. Group F. P. 404

V-k-1.
P. 413

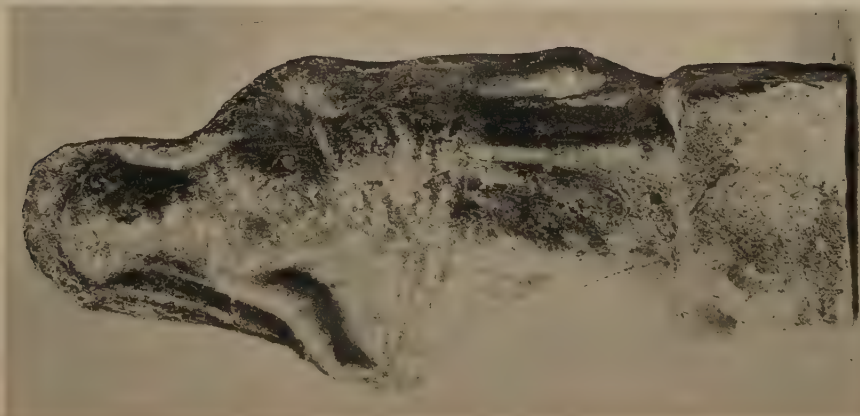




V-h-2. Group H. P. 409



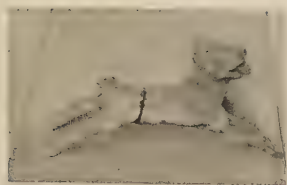
V-g-1. Group F. P. 405



V-e-1. Group E. P. 397



V-i-1, 2, 3, 5, 6 (Group F, pp. 405-406) and 7 (Group H, p. 410)



VI-b-9. Group F.
P. 406



V-h-3. Group H. P. 409



V-j-13. P. 413



VI-a-9. P. 414



II-c-3. Group D. P. 389



V-j-9. Group H. P. 410



V-h-4. Group H. P. 409



V-l-1. P. 413

HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME XI: NUMBER 1

JANUARY—MARCH

1942



THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

TWENTY-FIRST REPORT

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

1942

THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

TWENTY-FIRST REPORT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ALISON FRANTZ: Turkish Pottery from the Agora.....	1
JAMES H. OLIVER: Greek Inscriptions.....	29

American School of Classical Studies at Athens

HESPERIA. Beginning with Volume IX the annual subscription price will be \$5.00 net in the United States and Canada, \$6.00 net in other countries, payable in advance in dollars. Published quarterly. Current single numbers \$1.50 in the United States and Canada, \$1.75 in other countries; prices for back numbers will be quoted on request. Supplements are issued at irregular intervals, in the same format at *Hesperia*. Available now are:

Supplement I: *Prytaneis: A Study of the Inscriptions Honoring the Athenian Councillors*. By STERLING DOW. 259 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$3.00 net.

Supplement II: *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora*. By RODNEY S. YOUNG, with an Appendix on the Skeletal Remains by J. LAWRENCE ANGEL. ix + 250 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$5.00 net.

Supplement III: *The Setting of the Periclean Parthenon*. By GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS. 91 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$2.50 net.

Supplement IV: *The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors*. By HOMER A. THOMPSON. 160 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$5.00 net.

Supplement V: *Observations on the Hephaisteion*. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. 171 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$5.00 net.

Supplement VI: *The Sacred Gerusia*. By JAMES H. OLIVER. xii + 204 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$5.00 net.

Publication office: 12-20 Hopkins Place, Baltimore, Md. Executive and editorial offices: Princeton, New Jersey. All communications for the Editors should be sent to THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS, Princeton, New Jersey, U. S. A.

Entered as second-class matter March 22, 1939, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

(Other Publications Continued on Page 3 of Cover)

February

HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME XI: NUMBER 2

APRIL—JUNE

1942



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

1942

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
GLADYS R. DAVIDSON: A Hellenistic Deposit at Corinth.....	105
OSCAR BRONEER: Hero Cults in the Corinthian Agora.....	128
DOREEN CANADAY SPITZER: Roman Relief Bowls from Corinth.....	162
STERLING DOW: The Aigaleos-Parnes Wall.....	193
Conservation of Scholarly Journals.....	212

American School of Classical Studies at Athens

HESPERIA. Beginning with Volume IX the annual subscription price will be \$5.00 net in the United States and Canada, \$6.00 net in other countries, payable in advance in dollars. Published quarterly. Current single numbers \$1.50 in the United States and Canada, \$1.75 in other countries; prices for back numbers will be quoted on request. Supplements are issued at irregular intervals, in the same format as *Hesperia*. Available now are:

Supplement I: *Prytaneis: A Study of the Inscriptions Honoring the Athenian Councillors*. By STERLING DOW. 259 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$3.00 net.

Supplement II: *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora*. By RODNEY S. YOUNG, with an Appendix on the Skeletal Remains: Geometric Athenians, by J. LAWRENCE ANGEL. ix + 250 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$5.00 net.

Supplement III: *The Setting of the Periclean Parthenon*. By GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS. 91 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$2.50 net.

Supplement IV: *The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors*. By HOMER A. THOMPSON. 160 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$5.00 net.

Supplement V: *Observations on the Hephaisteion*. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. 171 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$5.00 net.

Supplement VI: *The Sacred Gerusia*. By JAMES H. OLIVER. xii + 204 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$5.00 net.

Publication office: 12-20 Hopkins Place, Baltimore, Md. Executive and editorial offices: Princeton, New Jersey. All communications for the Editors should be sent to THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS, Princeton, New Jersey, U. S. A.

Entered as second-class matter March 22, 1939, at the post office at
Baltimore, Maryland, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

(Other Publications Continued on Page 3 of Cover)

HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME XI: NUMBER 3

JULY—SEPTEMBER

1942



THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS

IN THE

ATHENIAN AGORA

TWENTY-SECOND REPORT

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

1942

THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA
 TWENTY-SECOND REPORT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
MARGARET THOMPSON: Coins for the Eleusinia.....	213
W. KENDRICK PRITCHETT: Greek Inscriptions.....	230
OSCAR BRONEER: The Thesmophorion in Athens.....	250
BENJAMIN D. MERITT: Greek Inscriptions.....	275
A. E. RAUBITSCHK: Notes on Attic Prosopography.....	304
Editorial Note. WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR: Note on a Circular Monument in the Corinthian Agora.....	314
Epigraphical Index.....	316

American School of Classical Studies at Athens

HESPERIA. Beginning with Volume IX the annual subscription price is \$5.00 net in the United States and Canada, \$6.00 net in other countries, payable in advance in dollars. Published quarterly. Current single numbers \$1.50 in the United States and Canada, \$1.75 in other countries; prices for back numbers will be quoted on request. Supplements are issued at irregular intervals, in the same format as *Hesperia*. Available now are:

Supplement I: *Prytaneis: A Study of the Inscriptions Honoring the Athenian Councillors*. By STERLING DOW. 259 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$3.00 net.

Supplement II: *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora*. By RODNEY S. YOUNG, with an Appendix on the Skeletal Remains: Geometric Athenians, by J. LAWRENCE ANGEL. ix + 250 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$5.00 net.

Supplement III: *The Setting of the Periclean Parthenon*. By GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS. 91 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$2.50 net.

Supplement IV: *The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors*. By HOMER A. THOMPSON. 160 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$5.00 net.

Supplement V: *Observations on the Hephaisteion*. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. 171 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$5.00 net.

Supplement VI: *The Sacred Gerusia*. By JAMES H. OLIVER. xii + 204 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$5.00 net.

Publication office: 12-20 Hopkins Place, Baltimore, Md. Executive and editorial offices: Princeton, New Jersey. All communications for the Editors should be sent to THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS, Princeton, New Jersey, U. S. A.

Entered as second-class matter March 22, 1939, at the post office at
 Baltimore, Maryland, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

(Other Publications Continued on Page 3 of Cover)

✓
HESPERIA

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL
OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME XI: NUMBER 4

OCTOBER—DECEMBER

1942



AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

1942

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
EDWARD CAPPS: <i>Misanthropoi or Philanthropoi</i>	325
EUGENE VANDERPOOL: <i>An Archaic Inscribed Stele from Marathon</i>	329
H. R. IMMERWAHR: <i>Five Dedicatory Inscriptions from the North Wall of the Acropolis</i>	338
NATHAN DANE II: <i>A Black-Figured Lekythos at Oberlin</i>	349
GORHAM P. STEVENS: <i>The Sills of the Grilles of the Pronaos and Opisthodomus of the Parthenon</i>	354
HETTY GOLDMAN and FRANCES JONES: <i>Terracottas from the Necropolis of Halae</i>	365

American School of Classical Studies at Athens

HESPERIA. Beginning with Volume IX the annual subscription price is \$5.00 net in the United States and Canada, \$6.00 net in other countries, payable in advance in dollars. Published quarterly. Current single numbers \$1.50 in the United States and Canada, \$1.75 in other countries; prices for back numbers will be quoted on request. Supplements are issued at irregular intervals, in the same format as *Hesperia*. Available now are:

Supplement I: *Prytaneis: A Study of the Inscriptions Honoring the Athenian Councillors*. By STERLING DOW. 259 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$3.00 net.

Supplement II: *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora*. By RODNEY S. YOUNG, with an Appendix on the Skeletal Remains: Geometric Athenians, by J. LAWRENCE ANGEL. ix + 250 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$5.00 net.

Supplement III: *The Setting of the Periclean Parthenon*. By GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS. 91 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$2.50 net.

Supplement IV: *The Tholos of Athens and Its Predecessors*. By HOMER A. THOMPSON. 160 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$5.00 net.

Supplement V: *Observations on the Hephaisteion*. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. 171 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$5.00 net.

Supplement VI: *The Sacred Gerusia*. By JAMES H. OLIVER. xii + 204 pages, quarto, paper, illustrated. \$5.00 net.

Publication office: 12-20 Hopkins Place, Baltimore, Md. Executive and editorial offices: Princeton, New Jersey. All communications for the Editors should be sent to THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS, Princeton, New Jersey, U. S. A.

Entered as second-class matter March 22, 1939, at the post office at
Baltimore, Maryland, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

(Other Publications Continued on Page 3 of Cover)

American School of Classical Studies at Athens

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Publisher: The Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.

European Agent: Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig, Germany

CORINTH: RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS CONDUCTED BY THE SCHOOL

- Volume I, Part I: INTRODUCTION, TOPOGRAPHY, ARCHITECTURE. By HAROLD NORTH FOWLER and RICHARD STILLWELL, with contributions by CARL WILLIAM BLEGEN, BENJAMIN POWELL, and CHARLES ALEXANDER ROBINSON, Jr. xviii + 240 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Frontispiece; 154 figures in the text, 21 folio plates in a portfolio. 1932. \$7.50.
- Volume I, Part II: ARCHITECTURE. By RICHARD STILLWELL, ROBERT L. SCRANTON, and SARAH ELIZABETH FREEMAN, with contributions by H. ESS ASKEW. xvi + 243 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Frontispiece in color; 189 figures in the text, 20 folio plates in a portfolio. 1941. \$10.00.
- Volume III, Part I: ACROCORINTH: EXCAVATIONS IN 1926. By CARL WILLIAM BLEGEN, RICHARD STILLWELL, OSCAR BRONEER, and ALFRED RAYMOND BELLINGER. vi + 68 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 60 illustrations, 8 plans. 1930. \$3.00.
- Volume III, Part II: THE DEFENSES OF ACROCORINTH AND THE LOWER TOWN. By RHYS CARPENTER and ANTOINE BON, with contributions by A. W. PARSONS. xvi + 315 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 242 illustrations, 10 plates, 1 map. 1936. \$5.00.
- Volume IV, Part I: DECORATED ARCHITECTURAL TERRACOTTAS. By IDA THALLON-HILL and LIDA SHAW KING. xii + 120 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 48 illustrations, 5 colored plates. 1929. \$5.00.
- Volume IV, Part II: TERRACOTTA LAMPS. By OSCAR BRONEER. xx + 339 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 210 illustrations in the text, 33 plates. 1930. \$5.00.
- Volume V: THE ROMAN VILLA. By THEODORE LESLIE SHEAR. 26 pages. Large folio. 7 illustrations, 11 plates. 1930. \$10.00.
- Volume VI: THE COINS, 1896-1929. By KATHARINE M. EDWARDS. xii + 172 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 10 plates. 1933. \$5.00.
- Volume VIII, Part I: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS, 1896-1927. Edited by BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. 180 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 331 illustrations in the text. 1931. \$5.00.
- Volume VIII, Part II: LATIN INSCRIPTIONS, 1896-1926. Edited by ALLEN BROWN WEST. xiv + 171 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 177 illustrations in the text. 1931. \$5.00.
- Volume IX: SCULPTURE, 1896-1923. By FRANKLIN P. JOHNSON. xiii + 172 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 332 illustrations. 1931. \$5.00.
- Volume X: THE ODEUM. By OSCAR BRONEER. xiv + 154 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 138 illustrations, 16 plates. 1932. \$5.00.

- THE ARGIVE HERAEUM. By CHARLES WALDSTEIN and others. 2 vols. xxi + 231 pages, 90 illustrations in the text, 41 plates; xxix + 389 pages, 209 illustrations in the text, 102 plates. 1902-1905. \$15.00 a set.
- EXPLORATIONS IN THE ISLAND OF MOCHLOS. By RICHARD B. SEAGER. 111 pages, 54 illustrations, 11 colored plates. 1912. \$3.00.
- KORAKOU: A PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT NEAR CORINTH. By CARL W. BLEGEN. xv + 139 pages, 139 illustrations, 8 colored plates, 1 plan. 1921. \$5.00.

American School of Classical Studies at Athens

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

(Continued from Third Page of Cover)

- SELECTED BINDINGS FROM THE GENNADIUS LIBRARY. 38 plates in color with introduction and descriptions by LUCY ALLEN PATON. 33 pages. 1924. \$25.00.
- THE ERECHTHEUM. Measured, drawn, and restored by GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS; text by LACEY DAVID CASKEY, HAROLD NORTH FOWLER, JAMES MORTON PATON, and GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS; edited by JAMES MORTON PATON. xxvi + 674 pages, 236 illustrations in the text. With a portfolio of 54 plates 21 × 14 inches. 1927. \$25.00.
- ZYGOURIES: A PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT IN THE VALLEY OF CLEONAE. By CARL W. BLEGEN. xviii + 230 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 20 illustrations in color, 2 maps. 1928. \$7.50.
- THE ATHENIAN CALENDAR IN THE FIFTH CENTURY. By BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. 144 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Illustrated. 1928. \$2.50.
- THE SCULPTURE OF THE NIKE TEMPLE PARAPET. By RHYS CARPENTER. 84 pages. Royal Octavo. Cloth. 29 plates, 15 figures, 1 plan. 1929. \$2.00.
- BYZANTINE MOSAICS IN GREECE: HOSIOS LUCAS AND DAPHNI. By ERNST DIEZ and OTTO DEMUS. viii + 120 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 42 half-tone plates, 15 colored plates. 1931. \$8.00.
- THE ARCHONS OF ATHENS IN THE HELLENISTIC AGE. By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. xviii + 568 pages. Quarto. Cloth. 1931. \$7.50.
- ANCIENT CORINTH, A GUIDE TO THE EXCAVATIONS. By RHYS CARPENTER. Third edition, revised and enlarged. 121 pages. Octavo. Paper. 18 figures, 1 plan. 1936. \$0.70.
- THE PERICLEAN ENTRANCE COURT OF THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS. By GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS. ix + 78 pages. Quarto. Cloth. Frontispiece, 66 figures. 1936. \$2.50.
- PROFILES OF GREEK MOULDINGS. By LUCY T. SHOE. xvi + 188 pages, 3 illustrations in the text. With a portfolio of 85 plates 21 × 14 inches. 1936. \$10.00.
- DOCUMENTS ON ATHENIAN TRIBUTE. By BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. Royal octavo, xi + 135 pp., 16 figures and 2 plates. 1937. Cloth, \$2.50.
- THE ATHENIAN TRIBUTE LISTS. By BENJAMIN D. MERITT, H. T. WADE-GERY, and MALCOLM F. MCGREGOR. Volume I: xxxii + 605 folio pages with 192 figures in the text, 25 plates, and a map. Cloth. 1939. Price \$15.00.
- THE CHRONOLOGY OF HELLENISTIC ATHENS. By WILLIAM KENDRICK PRITCHETT and BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. xxxvi + 158 pages with 14 figures in the text. Quarto. Cloth. 1940. \$5.00.
- THE LION MONUMENT AT AMPHIPOLIS. By OSCAR BRONEER. xx + 76 pages. Frontispiece, 37 figures, and 11 plates. Royal octavo. Cloth. 1941. \$2.50.
- GREEK WALLS. By ROBERT LORENTZ SCRANTON. xvi + 194 pages. 24 figures in the text. Royal octavo. Cloth. 1941. \$3.00.

GENNADEION MONOGRAPHS

- I. THE VENETIANS IN ATHENS, 1687-1688: FROM THE *ISTORIA* OF CRISTOFORO IVANO-VICH. Edited by JAMES MORTON PATON. xiii + 104 pages, royal octavo, cloth. \$2.50.
- II. SCHLIEMANN'S FIRST VISIT TO AMERICA, 1850-1851. Edited by SHIRLEY H. WEBER. ix + 111 pages, royal octavo, cloth. \$2.50.